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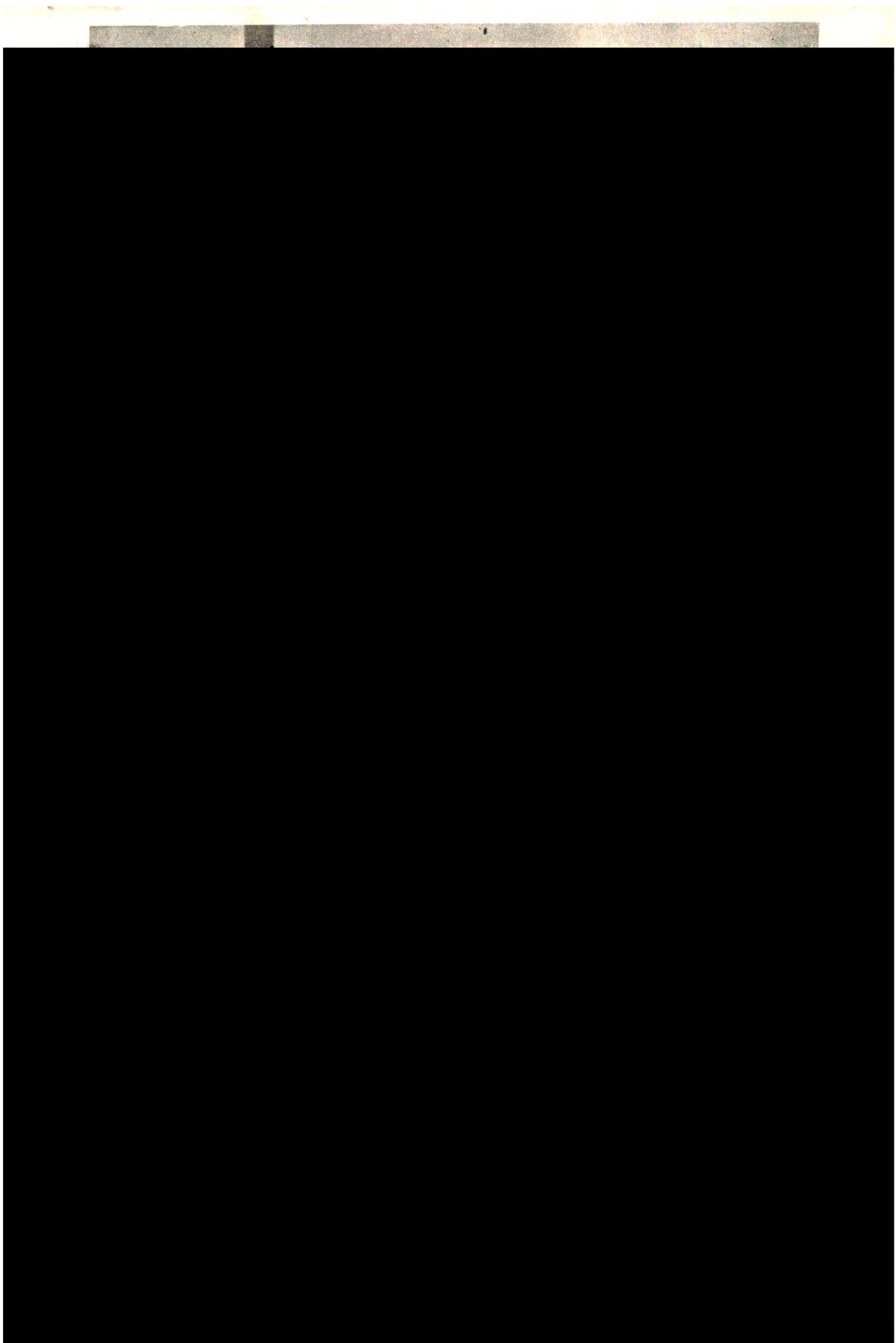
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NOTES

The Wavell Plan

The long awaited Wavell Plan has been announced. The main features of the plan are :

1. It seeks to establish a purely interim government at the Centre within the framework of the present constitution.

2. The veto power of the Viceroy will remain unaffected but he has assured that it will be sparingly used.

3. The Defence Department will remain unaffected under the Commander-in-Chief, but Home, Finance and Foreign Affairs will be transferred to Indian members.

4. The Executive Council will not be responsible to the Legislature but will reflect popular opinion as the members will be chosen from the main political parties.

5. The Council will contain mainly an equal number of Caste Hindu and Muslim members.

After the announcement of the plan, a conference of Indian leaders was summoned at Simla which is now going on. Judging from the reports published so far it appears that an agreement on matters of principle has been reached between the Viceroy and the political parties attending the Conference, the only difference has now centred round the question of the nomination of members to the Council.

At the very outset, we desire to make two things clear. It must be clearly understood that the proposed Government must be of the nature of a caretaker one and nothing beyond that. It must always be remembered that it is a mere interim government and its main function lies in paving the way for the drafting of an agreed constitution for the country by generally removing the mutual distrust so prevalent among different communities today and creating confidence among them.

The second point is that as a caretaker government, it has no power to bind the country into long term agreements, either with Britain or with any other country, of any character whatsoever whether political or economic. We have repeatedly said that no government or party has, any right to sell the unborn generations into slavery. Whatever action they take must not go beyond the limits of the life-time of the

present generation which has had an opportunity to discuss intelligently the proposed measures. The world is fast changing, and in such a dynamic world nobody, however representative he might be, has any right to fetter the freedom of the generations which are yet to be born.

With these reservations we welcome the Wavell Plan and believe that it has potentialities to do good to the country.

Communal Implications of the Wavell Offer

Protests against the communal proportions proposed to be maintained in the Viceroy's Executive Council have been made from several quarters. We would like to mention here that when Lord Wavell suggests equality of representation on the Executive Council of the so-called Caste Hindus and Muslims, he is seeking merely to stereotype the existing position. There are at present four Caste Hindus and four Muslims. The parity is already there. There are also one Scheduled Caste representative, one Sikh and one Parsee, thus making the total number of Indian members eleven. The real point is that the present composition of the Executive Council is not the result of agreement between the different communities or political parties, and the mischief of the present proposals lies in the attempt to obtain the approval of the people to the pre-set communal proportions. If we had joint electorates, the communal proportions in the Council would be of little importance. The Wavell Scheme will work within the framework of the present constitution. This means that if any real constitutional advance is possible to be made, it will depend upon the conventions that may be agreed to. In case the Congress finally decides to retain the pre-set communal proportions, which it is very likely to do, attempts should be made at the earliest possible moment to reintroduce joint electorates in every field of our political life. Conventions built up now should be given statutory recognition with the least possible delay.

There are many points of detail in regard to the working of the Executive Council which will be required to be covered by conventions of the character mentioned above. In his statement on the

Wavell proposals, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri touches one of such points when he says :

Both Government and public delude themselves into the belief that the mere increase in the membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council is a boon. Till these members can function as a Cabinet under a leader with constitutional initiative, till they can insist that every major decision shall be the decision of the whole Government and not merely the decision of the Viceroy and any particular members acting together mere numerical enlargement is a danger. We know how at present members complain bitterly that their opinions are not called for till vital matters are determined and that they therefore have responsibility for the acts of the Central Government, without any power or opportunity to influence its decision. If the Viceroy or the Home Member can settle the attitude of the Government to Congress, 13 or 30 members is equally an encumbrance. There is an ominous passage in the Viceroy's statement which says that the interim arrangement will work within the present constitutional limits. If the disability of members continues the constitutional advance stands in danger of being made nominal.

Administrative Implications of the Wavell Offer

Another such point may be mentioned by way of illustration. Certain provisions of the Government of India Act 1919, which are mentioned in the transitory provisions in the Government of India Act 1935 still operate at the Centre and certain provisions of the Act of 1935 which depend on the establishment of Federation are not in force. In the result, certain anomalies have arisen making the position of the Governor-General more autocratic than it was even when the Act of 1919 operated in full. A section in the present Act, which deals with the question of future recruitment to the I.C.S., I.M.S., I.P., etc., expects the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, to report to the Secretary of State. The duty of the Governor-General will be to keep the Secretary of State informed as to the operation of recruitment, and he may even make recommendations for the modification thereof. This point arose specially during a debate at the last session of the Central Legislative Assembly. The Government took the view that as this was a matter left to the Governor-General, acting in his individual discretion, the Governor-General in Council had nothing to do with it. This position is constitutionally correct, but the draft Instrument of Instructions to be issued to the Governor-General when Federation comes into being, which is already adopted by Parliament, contains a direction to the Governor-General to consult his Ministers, even though the matter concerned is to be decided by him, acting in his discretion. It states, "Although it is provided in the said Act (Act of 1935) that the Governor-General shall exercise his functions in part in his discretion and in part with the aid and advice of Ministers, nevertheless it will be our will and pleasure that our Governor-General shall encourage the practice of joint consultation between himself, his counsellors and his Ministers." This instruction extends even in the Governor-General's administration of the department of defence.

The attitude taken up by the Government at Delhi was that as the Instrument has not yet been issued, the instruction referred to has no application.

In the result, the position is that the Governor-General is to-day in a position to do whatever he likes in a matter of this kind without consulting his Ministers, although under the provisions of the Act of 1919 such powers were enjoyed by the Governor-General in Council and not by the Governor-General acting in his discretion. In such matters of utmost importance, even a resort to veto power is unnecessary because the Governor-General is not required to consult the members of his Council at all. In other words, a power which the Governor-General shared with the members of his Executive Council under the 1919 Act, has been left to him alone to be exercised in his own discretion, and the direction to consult his Ministers as contained in the draft Instrument of Instructions does not operate in this case according to the interpretation of the Government.

The Act of 1919 did not contemplate the Governor-General to act in his discretion in administrative matters, this distinction having been introduced for the first time in the Act of 1935. This matter has been discussed on more than one occasion during the last winter session of the Assembly. The present transitional constitution at the Centre is a hotch-potch of some provisions of the 1919 Act and others of 1935 Act, the net result being to make the position of the Governor-General more autocratic than it was prior to the enforcement of the 1935 Act and than what it would be if the whole of the 1935 Act relating to Federation comes into force. While much attention has been given to the veto power of the Governor-General, no specific mention has yet been made of the powers which the Governor-General is now enabled to exercise by himself without even consulting his Executive Council. Demand should be made now that in future all such powers must, as a matter of convention, be exercised by the Governor-General jointly with his Executive Council and not by himself alone.

Mr. Jinnah Intransigent

As was expected, Mr. Jinnah is playing his usual game to collect the largest number of loaves and fishes. His usual demand for Pakistan and self-determination is heard no more. He is now bent upon dividing the spoils and to get as much as is possible for his Muslim League. So long his demand was for parity between Hindus and Muslims. Once this parity has been conceded, he has started pointing out that the Muslims will be one-third of the total number of members in the Executive Council and we shall not be surprised if he comes up with a demand for 51 per cent of the seats in the Council for his League.

The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's main demand that he and his League represent the entire Muslim community, has been fully exposed. He could not keep his hold on the Frontier Province which consists of 95 per cent of Musalmans. He has been ousted from the Punjab, Sind has virtually broken away. Assam League now depends for its existence more on the Congress than on its own central organisation. In Bengal, the League came into power through fraud. Its records were so black that it could not be maintained in office even through the active support of the Europeans and the Civil Service. Then who is behind Jinnah? Whom does the League represent when it puts forth the tall claim of being the sole mouthpiece of "ninety millions" of Muslims of India?

It is encouraging to find that influential sections of the Muslim community with very large followings have, of their own accord, come forward to tell the truth that Mr. Jinnah can never be accepted as the undisputed leader of the Muslim community. In a conference of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Muslim Majlish, the Momins and the Independent party of Bihar held at New Delhi, a resolution was passed declaring that "the League was not the sole representative of the Muslims and that there were other organisations working for India's freedom and making sacrifices for it."

Has Muslim League Grown in Strength?

Released after two and a half years of detention, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been made to say that there were many Muslims who did not follow the League although he estimated that the League had grown in strength in the years. To an well-informed observer, the League will appear just in the contrary light. The League had gradually come very nearly on the verge of extinction when a new lease of life was given to it by Mr. Rajagopalachari and subsequently by Gandhiji's visit to Mr. Jinnah. We cite the following facts from which the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions about the strength of the League. Unguarded statements about the League's strength by leaders of the Congress has always helped this communal body in consolidating its strength and it will be for the good of the country if they ascertain facts before making any statement on the position of the League.

The results of the general elections in 1937 revealed the following strength of the League in the Provincial Legislatures:

Province	League	Other Muslim groups
Madras	11	17
Bombay	20	9
Bengal	40	79
United Provinces	27	37
Punjab	1	83
Bihar	Nil	39
C. P.	"	14
Assam	9	25
N. W. F. P.	Nil	36
Orissa	"	4
Sind	"	36
	108	379

With the formation of Congress Ministries in eight provinces, the Muslim malcontents naturally rallied under the League. The results of Muslim bye-election for Central and Provincial Legislatures between 1938 and 1942 indicated some accession of strength and were as follows:

Legislatures	Number of Elections	Muslim League	Other Muslim groups
Central	6	4	2
Madras	1	1	—
Bombay	4	3	1
Bengal	13	12	1
U. P.	7	4	3
Punjab	12	—	12 (Unionist)
Bihar	4	4	—
C. P.	2	2	—
Assam	1	—	1
Sind	2	1	1 (Congress)
N. W. F. P.	4	3	1 "
	56	34	22

In popular propaganda, both by the League and the Imperialists, the 12 Punjab seats were included in the League lists and thus it was shown as if the League had won 46 seats out of 56. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan never signed the Muslim League creed nor did any other member of his party do so. Since his death, under Malik Khizir Hyat Khan, and after the Shaukat Hyat Khan episode the Punjab has lost even the loose friendship that prevailed during the life-time of Sir Sikandar.

Much change, since then, has taken place in the history of the League. It is ridden with quarrels and differences, specially in U. P., Sind and Bengal. Mr. Jinnah was openly flouted by League leaders like Sir Sultan Ahmed who refused to come out of the Viceroy's Council when ordered by him to do so. He was expelled. Sir Azizul Huque accepted office at the Viceroy's Council in defiance of the League resolution. He was however not punished. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Md. Usman, etc., are all given out as League stalwarts. This is for the Centre.

In the provinces the condition is worse. In Bengal, League succeeded in smuggling itself into power through the tactics of Sir John Herbert and in coalition with the Europeans. It has since been ousted from office. In Assam, a League coalition formed the Ministry when the Congress coalition resigned but it could not maintain itself in power for long. It has since formed a new coalition and is holding office through sufferance of the Congress. In the N. W. F. P. a League Ministry came into power only to be ousted shortly afterwards by the Congress. In Sind, similarly, the League-Coalition Ministry is tottering and one of the League Leaders is trying to share power with the Congress and make a complete reorientation of the League there along lines so long followed by the Congress.

Danger of Self-determination

Mr. P. R. Venkatrama Sastry in an article on Pakistan in the current *Indian Review* quotes the opinion of Lippman, the eminent American writer, on Wilson's formula of self-determination. Wilson made the mistake of identifying himself with the principle of self-determination. Forgetting Abraham Lincoln, forgetting the greatest constitutional issue in the history of the United States, he never paused to consider the difference between self-determination and the principle of secession. To make the principle of self-determination the supreme principle of international life is to invite sheer anarchy. For the principle has been and can be used to promote the dismemberment of every organized state. None knew this better than Adolph Hitler himself. The principle of self-determination was his chief instrument for enlarging the Reich. . . . At its worst, it rejects the ideal of a state within which diverse peoples can find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination, which has nothing to do with self-government but has become confused with it, is barbarous and reactionary. By sanctioning secession, it invites majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.

The danger of the principle of self-determination has been revealed in India to the fullest extent. Demands for Pakistan, Sikhistan, Achhutstan, etc., are all products of this dangerous doctrine. Imperialist powers have ardently encouraged this doctrine when ever some further action had been needed to strengthen the policy of divide and rule.

Export of Food and Cloth and the Consequences

Mr. Manu Subedar, in an article published in the *Tribune*, gives a compact account of how our food and cloth have gone to other countries while people in this country suffer death and indescribable hardship for want of them, and how goods worth several thousand crores of rupees were bought by the bureaucracy for Imperial interests at prices at which the civil population here never got them. He writes :

Several thousand crores of rupees worth of goods of all kinds, both the produce of fields and of factories, have been taken at controlled or negotiated price (price at which the civil population never got it) not only for the army, but for the civil populations of England, Allies, Eastern Group countries and the liberated Europe. Indian food, Indian cloth, Indian raw materials and Indian finished products have been taken not merely for the army, but for other people, when the civil population of India has had to suffer scarcity, high prices and black markets.

The price of these has been paid in printed notes, against which there is no security except sterling, (whose international value is on the decline) and this sterling is now mentioned by Sir John Anderson as not being a commercial debt and, therefore, not payable immediately. They are trying to evade the payment either wholly or partially. This may not be called a loan since it was compulsorily taken from India, and the price paid by India runs into millions of lives. If it is an ordinary cash accumulation, it should be returned on demand. If it is a loan, India should get interest. But, neither of these two things is done, and an attempt has even been made to show that India has overcharged England, which is like the story of the lamb and the wolf when the wolf accuses the lamb of having attempted to attack him ! The idea, that India was an Ally in this war (which India had not declared and in respect of which Indian leaders were not consulted), is also brought out in order to support evasion.

How Controls Encourage Black Markets

Dealing with controls and blackmarkets, Mr. Subedar writes :

Government controls have not been effective and have actually led to higher prices and black markets. The poor suffer in every case and they have to pay higher prices for their food, while the producers of food, viz., the agricultural community, are not paid adequately for their grain. The price paid for their food, which is compulsorily acquired, is not adequate and the amounts left with them are not sufficient for their own consumption throughout the whole year, because Governments have profiteered on these transactions. There has been waste and deterioration and the common man is either denied all that he needs, or is made to pay a heavy price regardless of the deteriorated supply.

When prices are brought down by the importation of foreign goods, including wheat, as a result of the effects of the Hydari Mission and the gates of India are opened to receive the flood of imported goods, all producers of agricultural as well as factory goods will be thrown into serious difficulties.

Year of Further Exploitation

Mr. Subedar, in the same article, draws pointed attention to the treatment India has received in her trade with the U. S. A. This market has been closed to her and the whole of the Indian trade has been sought to be diverted to England. Mr. Subedar writes :

The dollars acquired by sale of goods by India to U. S. A. throughout the period of the war have been taken over by the Government of the United Kingdom in the so-called Empire Dollar Pool. All dollars and dollar securities of Indians have been compulsorily taken at the beginning of the war. Much essential requirements of India in the matter of medicines, chemicals, photographic goods, films, machinery, lubricating, oil etc., from the U. S. A. must be purchased and every discouragement is being given to such purchases by the Government of India. The dismissal of Mr. J. C. Mahindra, who was helping Indian business as head of the Purchase Mission, speaks volumes in this direction. The secret and private ambitions of men handpicked by the Viceroy, both for financial and for commercial matters, and the much too frequent visits of Executive Councillors to England, and the desire to do things behind the back of the legislature, are all significant facts showing that the London-Controlled Government would permit and encourage processes calculated for further exploitation of India in British interests.

Military Burden on India

Mr. Subedar has brought out the salient features of the financial 'settlement' between England and India for the imposition of the military burden on this country in the following words :

Five hundred and forty-one crores of rupees military burden was imposed on India during the last year (in addition to other items still pending), of which the bulk is not only non-voted, but not disclosed as to what it is spent upon, and the bulk of which creates an apprehension that England's political power is being used for wrongfully throwing burdens on India, which should not be thrown. The claim that all this is being done in accordance with the 'settlement' makes the injury all the worse, because such settlement is made by an English official in England and an English official here, and the settlements were made by Grigg, an English Official from England with the British Government, and by Raisman, his secretary and successor, with Grigg. The principles of the 'settlement' were subsequently widened, stretched out and twisted as new situations arose, even supply obligations and the Reciprocal Aid obligations towards U. S. A. were thrown on India. That India should bear the Reciprocal Aid obligations with regard to U. S. A. when the benefits of the Lend-Lease and other arrangements have been largely taken by the United Kingdom, is a problem to ascertain and causes apprehension because all Lease-Lend operations have been shrouded in the greatest mystery. They have been kept unnecessarily a great secret and are not disclosed to any non-officials.

Mr. Subedar rightly says that India's destiny being in foreign hands, maximum and reckless use has been made of her resources for purposes other than those which directly concern India. The most wasteful of all the departments under the Central Government have been the departments of Supply and Information which are still expanding.

Government's Gold Mine—the Printing Press

The expansionist and inflationist policy of the Government of India, initiated by Sir Jeremy Raisman, is bound to spell disaster for this country unless checked very soon. Expenditure is being made recklessly as if the Government of India have found some gold mine. Mr. Subedar writes :

The only gold mine, which the Government of India is said to have found, is the printing press. Week after week, two, four and nine crores of rupees are being added to the notes in circulation, and these are being spent. The course of inflation in Austria, Germany, Russia, France and other countries after the war has disclosed that the people who suffer are the poorest, and there is no reason to believe that the rupee has got any special exemption and sanctity from Providence from the laws, which have affected other currencies and brought disasters. According to Sir William Hunter, there were in India forty million people, who did not get a full meal daily. This was seventy years ago. Since then, other estimates have been given of eighty million people being on the margin, and recently the Secretary of the Agricultural Department said that three quarters of the Indian population was under-nourished. Those, who could not have a full meal when the price of rice was Rs. 2-8 per maund, could not feed themselves when the price ranges from Rs. 14 to 21 per maund. India has lost more men in this war than all the belligerents on both sides put together, and the first instalment of the price in death and disease, which the poor pay from an inflationist policy, has already been experienced by India. It is there written large for those who will see and whose minds are not clouded by immediate self-interest, or by tall talk from official quarters with regard to all the great things, which India is going to do in future.

No solution of these crying problems is possible so long as India's destiny remains in the hands of an irresponsible foreign government.

Import of Foreign Goods

With the gradual withdrawal of restrictions on foreign trade in the U. K. and other countries, the import of consumers' goods into India is increasing. No steps have so far been taken to safeguard Indian industries against the import of foreign goods which may soon threaten to assume the form of an avalanche. The most peculiar feature of the existing controls in this country is the imposition of restrictions only on goods made in India and not on the imported ones. This, at the very outset, puts the Indian industries in a very unfavourable position. The Import Advisory Council set up by the Government of India did not consider it necessary to give an assurance that import of goods, which are manufactured in this country will be regulated so as not to destroy the Indian products. The discrimination between Indian and foreign goods in matters of control extends to big industries like cotton textiles, paper, etc. Indian cloth and Indian paper are subject to control while imported cloth and paper are not. This naturally encourages the sale of foreign products while Indian products remain stocked in shops and godowns as their sale is subject to quota allotments. It is a peculiar feature of the control system that accounts of total available stocks consisting of imported and indigenous products are never taken, the control is imposed in almost all cases on Indian

products alone. The distribution of Indian cloth has been so carefully managed, with an apparent look of bagging, that dhuties, saris, longcloth and other piecegoods popularly demanded are not available at this market. Consumers will naturally buy imported cloth which is not subject to control as soon as it is available.

Discrimination between Indian and foreign products have also been made while fixing control prices for them. The controlled price for Indian made bicycles and bulbs are higher than the price of imported articles. During the war, these industries might have gone well, but when imported goods flood the country it will be very difficult for them to stand competition.

It is a matter of utmost regret that our industries have not yet realised the great danger that faces them. No sign of any combination among them is visible. It is now open knowledge that Indian industries do not help each other by preferring Swadeshi products needed for their manufacture to foreign articles. We know instances where industrialists refused to help a brother manufacturer by taking in his product which was in no way inferior even to the British. We know of concerns that buy British while cashing in on the sentiment of Swadeshi. This disastrous policy of pursuing immediate and narrow personal gain to the sacrifice of larger interests of the Company as well as the country is particularly noticeable among Bengali businessmen. Bengal is the home of Swadeshi. It is high time that people of this province who have come over to the industrial and commercial field came to their senses and stood for the collective good.

Burma Rice Trade

Indian Merchants' Chamber, Bombay, in a letter to the Government of India, have drawn attention to the attempt of handing over the rice trade of Burma to the British firms. The Indian traders had built up the rice trade there under all sorts of adverse circumstances and now with the reconquest of Burma, this imperial trade is to pass out of their hands. The Committee say that Indian interests have been perturbed by receipt of information regarding certain proposals sponsored by the present Government of Burma as represented by the Governor and his advisers. It would appear that it now proposed to form Agricultural Projects Board and this body alone will be entrusted with the work and will alone have the right of purchasing all the surplus rice available in Burma and the supply will then be sold by the Board to the British Ministry of Food and the arrangement for its export will also be made by the Ministry of Food in conjunction with the British Ministry of War Transport.

The Committee are further given to understand that financing of those operations will be undertaken by the Exchange and other banks who were interested in the rice trade in Burma before the war. The banks in question will finance the Agricultural Projects Board and the Board will be able to draw upon the Ministry of Food from time to time. Under this scheme the Food Department of the Government of India will be expected to negotiate with the Ministry of Food for the requirements of Burma rice for India. According to information now available this arrangement is expected to be in force not only during the period of military regime but will remain in operation at least for two years after the Civil Government in Burma

begins to function. These reports have filled the Committee with serious concern. They feel that it is nothing short of attempting to deprive Indian merchants and traders of their legitimate rights and place in the rice trade of Burma which they have built up and developed after years of efforts and toil.

India Through Soviet Eyes

The Soviet fortnightly *The War and the Working Class* has published a striking article on colonial question in which present-day economic problems of India have been discussed. The author is Dr. E. Zhukov. He writes about India:

One can discern differences in the respective presentation of the colonial question by British, Dutch and American circles, although all base themselves on the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The Americans have in mind primarily such changes in the status of the colonies as would enable them to become spheres for unhindered investment of American capital and free market for American goods.

The *American Bulletin on Foreign Policy Reports* formulates this attitude of the Transatlantic republic towards the colonial problem as follows: 'This country undoubtedly has a genuine interest in the removal of monopolist trade and investment practices in foreign areas including colonial Asia.'

This, undoubtedly, provides a clue to the heightened interest in the fate of colonial countries and in the post-war prospects of India, in particular, that is displayed by American political and business circles. On the other hand, certain circles in India hope to obtain some advantage for themselves out of the tendency of American capital to break the British economic monopoly in the colonies. The desire of the United States to take part in solving the Indian problem has grown exceptionally during the past few years. This is due, in particular, to the wish of the Americans for making the fullest possible use of India's resources in their war against Japan. Critical utterances of a number of prominent Americans to the effect that British policy is hindering the utilisation of India's rich potentialities in the common war effort of the Allies are well-known. At the same time, American manufacturers and merchants are drawing up plans for increasing trade between the United States and India in the post-war period. This is not being looked upon with favour by Great Britain. The Calcutta newspaper *Amrita Bazar Patrika* recently reported that Mahindra, head of the Indian Trade Mission in the United States, was recalled because, as was reported from Washington, the Viceroy of India disagreed with his plans for expansion of Indian-American trade after the war.

In England frequent mention is made of the fact that during the war, that is commencing with 1939, India has not only been able to wipe out a considerable part of her debt to the metropolitan country but, as a result of London's war expenditure, has actually become Britain's creditor to the amount approximately of five hundred million pound sterling. This, however, does not alter the fact that India is still a colonial country completely under the political and economic control of Great Britain. As the above-quoted *Foreign Policy Reports* stated, 'there is every reason, therefore, to think that today, as before war, India is the most valuable of the world's colonies.'

American public opinion often expresses dissatisfaction with the fact that the United States, while waging war against Japan in the Pacific, is

regarded by the colonial powers as a force whose mission is to restore colonial territories temporarily occupied by the Japanese to their former owners.

The reconquest of Burma and its restoration to the British with an automatic constitution may be described as minus independence plus exploitation. There is little doubt now as to whether the Dutch, French or Portuguese possessions in the Pacific will also be restored to their respective "owners" when they are "liberated" with U. S. blood and gold. The British have paved the way and there will certainly be claims from them. The French, under 'liberator' De Gaulle have shown singular alertness for the recovery of their lost Empire.

Future of Colonial People

Zhukov in his remarkable article admits that "of all the post-war problems the colonial question is attracting particular attention for two reasons. First, because the colonial status of a number of big and small countries and peoples has always been fraught with international complications and conflicts. For this reason, the solution, or even partial regulation, of the complex colonial problem is regarded by many foreign observers as one of the most important conditions for ensuring lasting peace. Secondly, because important economic and political changes have taken place in many colonial countries during the present World War. On these grounds many people believe that the status of colonies will undergo considerable modification after the war."

Finally Zhukov concludes:

The spirit of the haughty racial coloniser's approach towards peoples of the backward and dependent countries still persists to a large extent. This spirit permeates a number of utterances on the colonial question. Often attempts are made to prepare world public opinion for 'revision' of the colonial status of a number of countries as would change only the external forms but not the substance of political and economic relations. This testifies to the influence wielded by the mighty forces that are interested in preserving their position in the colonial countries and in perpetuating the existing colonial system.

There cannot be any doubt that these forces will offer strenuous resistance to any positive steps that may be taken towards abolishing, or even alleviating, colonial oppression. At the same time, it is evident that the system of colonial enslavement of hundreds of millions of people is an extremely dangerous obstacle in the path of social progress and the bulwark of reactionary tendencies all over the world. The removal of this barrier is an essential condition for the inclusion of vast countries and peoples inhabiting them in the general channel of humanity's economic, physical and cultural development.

In his criticism of the British colonial policy, Zhukov instances "as a striking illustration of the tenacity of the extremely reactionary views on the colonial problem," a suggestion that "care should be taken not to provide modern education for inhabitants of South Africa," for without a "definitely religious foundation" such education would do "more harm than good." India knows in her heart of hearts what denial of education means to the political, economic and social life of the country.

Several colonial peoples' organisations had held a conference in London early in June and a draft memorandum outlining the problem of colonial libera-

tion was circulated. It was proposed to establish a Colonial Council, consisting of representatives not of imperialist powers but of colonial countries themselves, which would be entrusted with the following tasks: (1) To formulate the policy for unconditional ending of all colonial systems within a definite and stipulated period, (2) to supervise the establishment of representative and responsible constitutions based upon adult suffrage in the colonies with full safeguards for the minorities, (3) to ensure that none of the territories in Japanese control such as Burma, Malaya and others are permitted to revert to dependent status after their liberation, and (4) to bring about the immediate abrogation of all racial and discriminatory laws which deprive subject peoples generally of full democratic rights of citizenship.

The colonial question figured prominently in the San Francisco Conference as well. But unfortunately it has been tactfully buried there. Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit has correctly described the final outcome of the Conference with special reference to the colonial problem in the following words:

There is no doubt that a genuine effort has been made to embody those principles of international justice without which there can be no enduring peace, and yet looking at it not in its immediate setting but in the perspective of the things to come I cannot help feeling curiously dissatisfied that certain principles of vital importance to humanity have been passed over lightly and emphasis has been given to the immediate presence rather than to the protection of that future which the Charter claims to ensure.

For instance, I wish that it had not been necessary to compromise with such issues as the ultimate right of all peoples' independence.

The Soviet Army paper *Red Star* takes the same view as Mrs. Vijaylakshmi and writes: "The organisation for the maintenance of international peace and security now being created by freedom-loving nations cannot consider its task completed as long as all peoples including peoples of colonial countries are not insured opportunity to speedily realise their cherished aspirations."

India—Key to America's Industrial Future

The following is an article condensed from the U. S. magazine *Amerasia* which discusses Indian industrial power as a key to America's industrial future:

By virtue of her extensive natural resources and vast population, India ranks first among the industrially backward areas that might be developed as a new economic frontier for the American economy.

The wartime expansion of trade between India and the United States, the presence in India of American military forces, engineers, and government officials and the fact that India has amassed huge sterling assets in London, has also served to start Americans speculating on the possibilities of the Indian market in the post-war period.

In an appraisal of India's importance as a potential market for American industry, both economic and political factors must be considered. Disregarding for the moment the political aspects of the question, there is no doubt that India has the economic qualifications for extensive industrial development. And it is equally clear that a large-scale programme of industrial expansion and the modernisation of India's backward agricultural

system would create a huge market for all types of capital and consumer goods—many of which the United States is peculiarly well-fitted to supply.

In the first place, India's natural resources are exceeded in size and variety only by those of the United States and the Soviet Union. Her mineral resources include one of the largest high-grade iron ore fields in the world, with an estimate to total nearly 30,000,000,000 averaging 64 per cent iron content. She is the world's largest producer of mica and ilmenite, possesses the second largest reserves of manganese, 49 per cent of the world's bauxite, and rich deposits of chrome magnesite, sulphur, graphite, gold, etc. Estimates of Indian coal reserves range from 36,000,000,000 to 60,000,000,000 tons although the proportion of high-grade coal is said to be comparatively small. This deficiency is more than offset, however, by her immense potential of hydro-electric power resources, which are estimated at a reserve of 3,600,000,000 horsepower, ranking second only to those of the United States.

Like the United States, India is also capable of providing a strong agricultural base for her industrial structure. Even under her present backward and oppressive agrarian system, India ranks among the world's leading agricultural nations. Jute is a virtual Indian monopoly, and before the war India ranked first in the production of tobacco, sugar, and oil seeds. She is the second largest producer of cotton, rice, and tea, and among the leading producers of wheat, barley, hemp, rubber, lac, and silk. She is also the largest producer and exporter of hides and skins tanned and untanned.

Thus India is potentially capable of supporting both light and heavy industries on the basis of her own natural resources, as well as maintaining an ample volume of agricultural production to feed her people and to supply raw material for industry and export. Furthermore, India possesses a vast supply of labour power, with a heritage of skilled craftsmanship dating back to the days when India was one of the leading manufacturing countries of the world. It is sometimes forgotten that it was the lure of India's wealth in manufactured goods—not raw materials—that first attracted European traders to her shores. For centuries before the British conquest of the country Indian silks, cotton textiles, metal manufactures and woodwork were known and prized throughout the world.

Because of the backwardness of Indian industry in the modern period, comparatively few Indians have had the opportunity to learn the mechanical and technical skills needed to operate modern machinery.

But American engineers and supervisors who have co-operated in the development of some of India's few modern industries, such as the Tata, Iron and Steel plant attest to the fact that Indians respond quickly to technical training, and not only the workers, but the engineers, chemists, and technicians are the equal of any in the world.

India looms large on a new economic frontier for the American economy. The war and India's accumulated sterling balances have opened new vistas for the American enterprise which will benefit both the countries. India is qualified to become a first class industrial power which will create a huge market for all types of consumer goods and the United States is peculiarly well-fitted to supply many of them. The future Indian national government will certainly bear this important fact in mind when they are in a position to take steps for stopping the one way traffic with Britain that is going on at the present moment for dissipating her sterling balances.

India's Squander-Bug!

The British Weekly *News Review* gives a graphic account of how Indian civilian money is drawn for investment in War Savings. The following extract will illustrate that lakhs and lakhs of rupees spent on official propaganda abroad has completely failed to delude intelligent opinion overseas who find out their own means to know the truth. The *Review* writes:

On the walls of every city and town has lately appeared a rash of red, black and yellow oblongs and squares of paper bearing such legends as: "Make Your Money Earn Its Keep," "Buried Money is Dead Money," "Buy Defence Savings Certificates for Profit and Protection."

Usually these exhortations have been ripped down within a few hours of their appearance, many of them splashed with red where some passerby has expressed his feelings by neatly ejecting betel-nut juice.

These squander-bug symptoms have led the Governors of Provinces, on whose shoulders rests the responsibility for keeping war savings up to the mark, to think up other forms of persuasion. Last February Indians in the rural districts of Behar and the United Provinces heard "Oyez" men patrolling their villages, proclaiming by roll of drum that everybody who paid a tax of Re. 1 (1s. 6d.) must immediately buy Rs. 20 worth of War Savings Certificates. Householders who refused to fork out the necessary "contributions" were visited by petty officials, some of whom reportedly used their sandals to drub their victims into savings-mindedness.

Facing a furore of Nationalist protest in the Delhi Legislature, Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman retorted: "My opinion has always been that it is necessary to go out and use a high degree of persuasion. The danger is that the line might be overstepped."

Resentful Nationalists defeated the Government by 47 votes to 40 on a motion condemning "illegal and unfair use of force." But as the Indian Government is not responsible to the Legislature, nothing further happened.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Our suspicions about the death of an invigilator of the Calcutta University, expressed under the above caption in the May Number of *The Modern Review*, have been confirmed by the Coroner's verdict. The unanimous verdict of the jury at the inquest held by Mr. M. A. Haque, Coroner, on the death of Mr. Makhanlal Chanda, who died under mysterious circumstances, has been: "Death by injury inflicted by some unknown person or persons but the circumstantial evidence shows that the examinee Shahjahan is implicated in this matter." We consider this case as a very important one because here is an instance how a man lost his life for doing his duty, how the University which employed him failed to give protection to the unfortunate fellow even when asked for, how the police utterly neglected to get hold of the culprit or culprits responsible for the loss of this life and how the negligence of the police and the premier Medical College of the country contributed to the loss of the most important evidence in the case. By the time the police report was submitted, the body became highly decomposed and the doctors could not give their opinion as to the cause of the death. The police, the Medical College and the University have all come out

in this case against a very disgraceful background. For the benefit of our readers outside Bengal, we give below the facts of the case in the words of the Coroner himself:

The facts of the case was that the deceased was an invigilator of the Calcutta University and also a private tutor. On April 4, he acted as an invigilator of the B.A. Examination held on the top floor of the Darbhanga Building where an incident took place between him and an examinee named Mr. Shahjahan. The evidence was that the examinee was found in possession of a book by the deceased and the latter reported the matter to the University authorities. There was also evidence that while going to the Controller, the examinee threatened the deceased and gave him a hard push. He threatened to kill him.

On the night of April 7, the deceased attended the house of Mr. Bhaduri, a witness, to coach his son. He was there till about 11 p.m. He was in good health then. At about 2-30 a.m. that night he was brought to the Medical College Hospital in a rickshaw by two men and left there. He was found to be dead by the doctor. His attendants absconded and could not be traced by the doctors and coolies of the hospital. Some papers including his appointment letters as an invigilator were found in the shirt's pocket by the doctors.

Proceeding, the Coroner stated that Dr. Mannan, who was on duty in the hospital that night, admitted that he suspected foul play in the death when he found that the man was brought in dead and that the attendants absconded. But still no report about the case was sent to the police that night from the hospital. There was a telephone in the emergency room but no information was given to the police over the phone. The next morning the medical report about the death of the invigilator was sent to the police. The next day was a Sunday and the post-mortem examination was held on the following Monday in the afternoon. In the mean time the body was highly decomposed. It was decomposed so much so that the doctor, who held the post-mortem examination, could not give any opinion as to the cause of the death.

The Coroner severely criticised the dilatory action of the investigating officer Misra and that of the doctors of the Medical College Hospital, and pointed out that had Mr. Misra told the doctor of the Police Morgue that it was a suspected case, the doctor might have held the post-mortem examination on the Sunday and in that case the body would not have been highly decomposed. The Coroner was not satisfied with the explanation of the Officer-in-Charge of the Bowbazar Thana that as it was not a murder case, and so he had no suspicion he had deputed a junior officer to investigate the case. The fact was that the man was brought to hospital dead and that his attendants absconded, and if this did not rouse the officer's suspicion the Coroner did not know what would raise his suspicion.

It is clear that the Controller of Examinations, the officer-on-duty at the Medical College, the officer-in-charge of the Police Station and the Investigation Police Sub-Inspector are all guilty of gross dereliction of duty. The Controller of Examinations did not state material facts while making a statement to the police. He did not disclose Shahjahan's name nor did he say that the examinee had threatened the invigilator with death. The Registrar of the University also did not ask the Controller to supply these material facts to the police. We believe that in this case from beginning to end, the Controller betrayed a timidity which may be

called cowardice. It was his clear duty to lodge the first information report to the police and to make a clean breast of all the facts known to him. He has proved thoroughly unfit for holding the responsible post of the Controller of Examinations, who has to control thousands of examinees and hundreds of invigilators every year. It is the duty of the Syndicate to place him on duties other than administrative.

One thing comes out very prominently in this connection. The Controller's action in allowing Shahjahan to continue the examination was an act of unprecedented cowardice specially when students are expelled for much lesser offence. This action of the Controller certainly led the examinee to think that the University was at his back and if he could prevent Chanda from reporting against him his examination would stand. Chanda was thus helplessly isolated from the University administration and it is natural that he would become a personal target of the examinee's wrath. This foolish and cowardly act of the Controller amounted to have brought down the University administration to a stand-still.

The officer-on-duty at the Medical College admitted that when he received the dead body he suspected foul play but he took no care to preserve the dead body. The plea of the refrigerator having been out of order is absolutely untenable. There are chemical means of preserving a dead body for a few days as is practised in moffusil medical schools. The fact that the refrigerator was out of order for three months shows that the persons in charge of the morgue were also equally negligent.

The police must come in for the severest condemnation. The role played by the Court Inspector was so disgusting that the Coroner himself had remarked: "Mr. Mukhtadin, you are really playing the role of counsel for Shahjahan. It is for his counsel to put the questions you are asking, not for you. I do not know if you are sailing in the same boat with the counsel for Shahjahan." The Inspector was unabashed and openly stated in Court that the "police" had found on enquiry that there was no question of suspicion against Shahjahan." The action of this Inspector, as well as the Officer-in-Charge of the Bowbazar Thana and the Investigating Sub-Inspector have aroused a suspicion that causes other than normal must have prevailed over them to deduce the most unnatural conclusion that there was nothing suspicious about this death. Drastic enquiry should be made to find out what led them to take this most unnatural and astounding view and to act in such a manner as to cause the disappearance of the most important evidence.

We shall wait to see what action the Police Commissioner takes after the Coroner's verdict.

Another Instance of Petty-Fogging Highhandedness

Mr. N. M. Khan, I.C.S., ex-District Magistrate of Midnapore and at present Director of Agriculture, Bengal, has earned a notoriety for arrogance and highhandedness to which incompetence may be added. It is strange that this man has not only been retained in service but actually he has been promoted after each time when there had been a law-suit against him. In 1937 or 1938, he came into limelight as S.D.O. of the Brahmanbaria Subdivision in the Tipperah district. A case of malicious prosecution and wrongful arrest had

been filed against him at the Subordinate Judge's Court and damages were awarded. The charges generally were highhanded action, tyranny and torture. He appealed against his conviction but dared not contest the case and prayed for protection under the Judicial Officers' Protection Act. The Government has always been singularly kind to this arrogant official whose actions have been condemned by the High Court on more than one occasion and the proceedings against him at Brahmanbaria were dropped. Then we find him promoted to the rank of District Magistrate at Jessore. There his Magisterial dignity was wounded at the sight of a gentleman lying asleep on an easy chair in the waiting room at the Jessore railway station which he himself wanted to occupy. He had the man arrested and convicted on very scanty evidence and had him convicted at the lower court. This harassed man later was discharged by the High Court. Then we find him in charge of the bigger district of Midnapore where the atrocities perpetrated by him were described as "blood-curdling" by the then Premier Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq who wanted to institute an inquiry of his actions but Sir John Herbert took this person under his protecting wings and prevented the inquiry. Vivid accounts of the atrocities in Midnapore in 1942 when this person was in charge of the district have darkened several pages of the official proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

While Mr. Khan was the District Magistrate of Midnapore, his conduct in connection with the requisition of a car was discussed by Edgley and Sen JJ. Mr. Justice Edgley said that his action was not bonafide and Mr. Justice Sen described his action as "petty-fogging highhandedness arising out of the Magistrate's exaggerated notions of dignity."

The harassed man of Jessore had filed an application before the Calcutta High Court for damages which has recently been disposed of by Mr. Justice Gentile. We can do no better than quote the relevant portion of Mr. Justice Gentile's judgment below:

In a lengthy judgment his lordship animadverted upon the evidence of the defendant which his lordship disbelieved. His lordship observed *inter alia* that upon the evidence he had to make up his mind on the facts. The defendant in his lordship's opinion was a bad witness. His demeanour was most unsatisfactory. On more than one occasion, when asked a simple question, he made long statements mostly upon irrelevant matters and did not give a reply to the question put to him. His lordship rejected the defendant's evidence of the plaintiff's indecent posture as a fiction and invention. It was an embellishment in his evidence. If his lordship had any regard for reliability of the defendant's evidence, this part of his testimony would have destroyed it. Unhesitatingly his lordship rejected everything that he had stated save where it was in accord with the evidence given by the plaintiff, for example, his arrival in the waiting room and finding the plaintiff asleep, in the only easy chair. The plaintiff, his lordship remarked, was a good witness and his evidence was given in a perfectly satisfactory manner. His lordship accepted what he stated and found as an established fact what he had stated in the witness box.

So much for his arrogance. As regards his incompetence we may say that after 1942, when it became difficult even for Sir John Herbert to keep this man posted as a Magistrate, he was sent out to his home province, the Punjab, as the wheat purchasing officer

acting, on behalf of the Civil Supplies Department. The people of this province bitterly remember that it is this person who purchased the poorest quality of wheat and rotten atta for our consumption and that at an unreasonably high price. The man who failed to administer a district or even a sub-division, who betrayed utter incompetence in the procurement of food has now been placed in charge of the Department of Agriculture, which concerns the food of 60 million human beings.

Department for the last 15 years, which watches keenly the interests of its hill tribes and aboriginals. It has started a large number of free hostels for boy and girl students, and awards scholarships and free studentships in its schools and colleges with a liberal hand. But the Bihar Government, instead of coming forward with any appropriate scheme for the betterment of 50 lakhs or 17.5 per cent of its population, has abolished the board which was doing only a little bit of the work.

Aborigines and Backward Classes in Bihar

Mr. A. V. Thakkar writes in the *Leader* : - "The Section 93 Government of Bihar has recently been pleased to abolish the Advisory Board for the uplift of the aborigines and backward classes in Chhota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganas of Bihar. This board was started as a result of the work of the late Congress Government of Bihar after its resignation in 1939. Thus, after a few years' working, the Bihar Government has thought it wise to abolish the Advisory Board and thereby to close the special work of uplift of a very large section of backward people of that province.

"It is strange that when the whole world is frantically planning for betterment, the Bihar Government has seen fit to close down an important activity, which it was its special duty to attend to. A glance at the census figures will show how vital and of what great magnitude this uplift work is for Bihar. The total population of Madras, Bombay and Bihar is 493, 208 and 288 lakhs respectively. The population figures of aboriginal 'tribes' in the three provinces, in the same order, are 5.6, 16 and 50.5 lakhs. Thus, the tribal population is 1.1 per cent of the total population in Madras, 7.7 per cent for Bombay and 17.5 per cent for Bihar. Madras with its 1.1 per cent considers it a necessary activity and the department responsible for this work has earned for itself a reputation for efficiency. But here, in Bihar, with its 17.5 per cent of tribal population, the work is considered not worth pursuing, but worth closing down !

"Neither is this uplift work a minor activity, when we look at the question regionally. One should not be misled by the expression 'Chhota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas.' This 'partially excluded' area in Bihar really consists of six whole districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribag, Palamau and Santhal Parganas, which are to a high degree tribal in population. And when we remember that the total number of districts in the province is only 16, the magnitude of the injustice done to the tribal people appears in its true proportions.

"What will the poor Mundas, Oraons, Santhals, Kharias, Hos and other tribals, who were tempted to come out of their darkness and taught to dream of a better future for their children, say now? I can mentally see their rude yet childlike eyes, tear-stained, wondering confounded."

The Christian missionaries have no doubt done much for the uplift of the Bihar tribals, but that is evidently coupled with their proselytisation. The duty of the State does not end because of the work of the Christian or Hindu missionaries. The Madras Government has a special department, called the Labour department, for the last 25 years, which looks after the welfare and uplift of all its backward classes and spends lakhs of rupees annually for their betterment. The Bombay Government has its Backward Classes

Aborigines—the Forgotten People of India

For years the exploitation and degradation of the helpless aborigines of India have been going on. The Government did not care to do a thing for their uplift. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, they were constitutionally buried in the excluded and partially excluded areas. Their plight has been worse than that of the untouchables for the harijans have found champions; they have huge funds devoted to their welfare. Social conscience is at last being aroused on their behalf by selfless workers like Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Dr. Verrier Elwin and others.

Mr. Porus A. Mehta, writing in the *Indian Social Reformer*, has given an account of what good work can be done among the aborigines only if the Executive authority exerts itself in so doing. He writes : "Mr. B. G. Kher, as Premier of Bombay, exerted himself and Mr. D. Symington, I.C.S., made his report in 1939 on the aborigines which shocked the conscience even of the Government. Mr. Kher had by that time left office but he had impressed Sir Roger Lumley with his sincerity and zeal for the forgotten men and Sir Roger promised to help. A conference of local workers was called and with the support of Mr. A. V. Thakkar a small committee was formed to ameliorate their condition. The Adi-Vasi Seva Mandal has been working at several centres for the uplift of these men and to bring them a sense of self-respect. Mr. Kher was touring the district at this time to open several hostels for Adi-Vasi boys and girls. With him were some men who had taken the cause of these helpless people to heart. As the bus rolled I mused, Is it so small a thing that an ex-Premier of a big Province should so interest himself in men without a vote or a voice and without any influence and power, should go huddled in a bus, swallowing large quantities of dust and sweating under the sun in May, sleeping on hard floors, eating the simple fare of villagers, drinking whatever kind of water was available in these Cholera-ridden days and on the move all the time? It was not like the Governor or Collector on his well-planned tours with all the comforts that money and power can procure. When there are such men available in our land, there is hope, however black the present and however dark the horizon, that justice and humanity will not wholly perish here below."

Mr. Mehta then narrates his visit of the tribal areas and describes the selfless devotion of the workers who have dedicated their lives to the uplift of these forgotten men. He sums up his impression saying that there were men among the workers to remember and be proud of. "Most of the men in this party had been jail-birds. In fact I was perhaps the only respectable member of the party with no jail record. And I was the most useless of the party also. What times to live in when many good men are chronic jail-goers and when it is a matter

of pride and proof of your bonafides to have served a sentence! For the first time in my life, against all copy-book maxims, I felt small for not having been confined as a detenu."

Black Deeds of White Men

The tyranny of colour prejudice is probably nowhere so rampant as in South Africa. A very timely publication, *Verdict on South Africa* by P. S. Joshi, gives a vivid account of the black deeds of white men in the dark continent. It proves that although Germany is defeated and Hitler probably dead, Nazism is still alive thriving right in the British Empire itself. Despite the natural emphasis on the problem of Indians, the author has asked for full justice to all the Asiatic and African peoples who are victimised at the altar of "Whitemanism." Mr. Joshi writes about the countless inhumanities:

The history of South African Natives is a saga of countless inhumanities and indescribable injustices perpetrated by Whites, a tragedy pregnant with calamities caused by colour bar, a narrative of nameless horrors practised by the strong over the weak.

The natives are like foreigners in their own land. Their life is held dirt-cheap. The colour-mad Europeans consider it to be lower than even that of their dogs. Their spokesmen have been heard to exclaim, in fits of anger, that one white life is more valuable than a thousand black lives. It is always possible for Indian Untouchables to get justice in law courts; but in South Africa, black-white criminal suits are decided on the assumption that a black life is less precious than a white life.

The history of a century will hardly show the instance of a single white man awarded capital punishment for the murder of a native. But it will bring to light scores of cases in which the white murderer escaped scot-free or only with nominal punishment.

The Whites are not prepared to think about their most elementary rights as human beings. They cannot even brook the spectacle of natives driving a car or riding a bicycle. Although equipped with most meagre means of livelihood, the natives are required to pay a number of taxes, excluding a very heavy hut-tax.

South African politicians would like it very much if they could drive away the natives from cities, farms and villages to far off deserts. But this is practically impossible. The Whites are accustomed to behave as bosses in South Africa. They are so brought up as to think that the work of cleaning vessels, sweeping houses and roads, carrying burdens, tilling, cooking and washing is meet only for Kaffirs.

The status of the South African natives is the worst of all. They are insulted every moment of their existence. Many whites refer to them by the opprobrious term *Kaffir*. The prejudice prevailing against them in educational spheres, too, is harrowing.

Slavery in "Civilised" South Africa

About civilised slavery in South Africa Mr. Joshi writes:

The current South African Government policy is to keep the natives under perpetual bondage and slavery. This slavery is not of the old but of the modern type. . . . The slavery thrust by whites upon the natives in South Africa has played havoc. The encroachment of white civilisation has broken the

domestic life of the natives, shattered their traditions and destroyed their religious enthusiasm. Their racial pride has been humbled, and they have become the victims of immorality and evil conduct. The moral degradation of the natives has been accompanied by their economic downfall.

Natives working on the white farms have to live on the razor blade of misery. They get nominal wages and heaps of insults. The white farmer could treat them like dogs, whip them and make them slave for him. No attention is paid to their complaints. On the contrary, more and more laws are being framed to suppress these poor people.

These conditions of slavery run rampant in the "Commonwealth of Nations" presided over by Great Britain, the birthplace of Wilberforce.

Anti-Indianism in South Africa

Mr. Joshi's book throws a flood of light on the condition of Indians in South Africa. He writes:

. . . The whole white populace of South Africa is to blame for the injustice that has sprung from colour prejudice. In Natal, the English are busy doing injustices to non-Europeans; in the Transvaal, the Afrikaner antipathy to colour and the Jewish intrigues for trade monopoly are waging war against Indians; in the Cape and the Orange Free State, the Afrikaners are carrying on an open and the English a secret anti-Indian propaganda.

It is three quarters of a century since the Indians came into this country. And yet the British have not reconciled themselves to their presence. They are always engaged in the horrifying task of crushing, tormenting, ruining them. A single proclamation has eliminated the "Indian menace" from the Orange Free State. The Transvaal white is vehement in his demand for the downfall of Indians. The agreements with the Indian Government have not even the ghost of binding effect on the South African whites. These whites put any construction they like on them and treat them as scraps of paper. The South African bureaucracy has chosen to compromise itself with these currents of colour prejudice. No minister in the whole history of South Africa has ever uttered a word against anti-Indianism. On the other hand, instances are not wanting in which ministers have fanned the fire of anti-Indianism instead of extinguishing it, and have encouraged the hydra-headed monster.

The terrible suffering and humiliation of Indians in South Africa have been tolerated by the weak and indifferent Government of India which has very little to do with the welfare of her people both in India and abroad. The new overseas member, Dr. Khare fulminated against the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa and threatened retaliation but ultimately his temperature came down to humble submission. The Broome Commission angrily takes "a serious view of the present attitude of Indian politicians in India" and says that "the propaganda now emanating from India is highly damaging to South Africa and may well have serious international repercussions." The Commission contend:

South Africa's problem is not merely a problem of a quarter million Indians against two and a quarter Europeans. The problem is largely conditioned by the presence in South Africa of seven and a quarter million natives and three-quarters of a million coloured people in addition.

The Broome Commission must be aware of the fact that in the British Empire, non-white population

exceeds the whites by hundreds of millions. Does it follow that the South African policy should be extended to the whole of the Empire and the non-white people should be deprived of their vote and other rights of citizenship? We wait for the day when a fully Independent India will bring these votaries of racial discrimination to their proper senses.

Government of India's Oil Policy

No mention of mineral oil or motor and aviation fuel has been made in the Government of India's industrial plan, and those have not been included within the scope of nationalisation. Oil is the most important mineral either for war or for peace. It is most surprising that although the Government of India Act of 1935 leaves discretion to the Central Government to undertake legislation for controlling the development of minerals, including oil, no such attempt has been made so far with the result that each province is at liberty to follow its own course in the matter. As a result of repeated suggestions made by Mr. K. C. Neogy at the Central Legislature, Dr. Ambedkar made the declaration that the Central Government proposed to initiate legislation for the purpose of controlling the development of certain minerals. Oil will, of course, be one of the minerals to be centrally controlled. Apart from oil-fields that are at present actually worked in India, very large petroleum deposits have been discovered near Rawalpindi, and the Punjab Government granted a prospecting license to a non-Indian company in 1936 over the oil-field concerned. The prospecting license, as is usual, contains the condition that the licensee has the discretionary right to take a mining lease. The result is that this oilfield, which is supposed to be the largest so far discovered in India, is passing into non-Indian hands; but as the holder of a prospecting license under the Government rules has the prior right to a mining lease, it is too late now to suggest that the concession should be granted to genuine Indian interests. Apart from this oil-field, it is an open secret that certain non-Indian concerns have secured licenses for the purpose of carrying out preliminary scientific investigations over virtually all the areas in India where oil is suspected to occur. The terms of these licenses granted by the Provincial Governments have not yet been disclosed, and the Central Government pretend that they have no knowledge about any licenses granted by the Provincial Governments in this matter. The first step that should be urged is early legislation at the Centre to enable centralised control over oil as well as other important key minerals. Having regard to the provisions of the Government of India Act, it is futile to suggest that genuine Indian concerns should be granted these concessions in preference to British and other foreign interests. It is also useless to demand that the concessions that have already been granted in favour of British or other foreign interests should be cancelled and granted anew to Indian interests. Apart from the statutory difficulties in this matter, there is no Indian concern of any standing which can justly expect to be granted an oil concession, as no Indian industrialist can be said to have any experience or organisation which is essential for the purpose of carrying out investigations about the occurrence of oil. The best course, therefore, is to demand nationalisation of all oil resources in the country on payment of due compensation to the interests that already hold these

concessions. If any industry deserves to be nationalised, it is oil, and we consider it very reasonable to put forward a demand of this character.

The Four Judges' Statement on the Draft Hindu Code

Four Judges of the Calcutta High Court have, in a recent statement to the press given their opinion against the draft Hindu Code. This statement of their own accord seeks to carry importance because it bears the stamp of having emanated from the judges *qua* judges and not as public men. We do not know of any other instance where judges of a High Court came forward in this fashion to give their opinion in public on a proposed measure of legislation which, when passed, might come up before them for adjudication. In the U. S. A. when the entire country was rent with the New Deal controversy, the Supreme Court judges could not utter a single word about the soundness of the Bill. When the measure was passed and a provision of the N. R. A. came up before them under a suit, they declared the main provision of that Act as *ultra vires* of the Constitution. In another case, while reviewing the conviction of the Founder-Editor of *The Modern Review* for the publication of *Sunderland's India in Bondage*, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, Sir George Rankin admitted that the law under which the prosecution had been made had many defects, but he had no other option but to obey it as it stood for the function of the judges is to interpret the law after they have been passed, as the judiciary have nothing to do with the course of legislation. Any opinion passed by them during the process of legislation is bound to lead one of the parties in the controversy to think that the judges are prejudiced. People may be afraid that they may not get justice at their hands. We wonder what led these august judges to break the age-old judicial tradition and to go out of their way to pronounce a verdict in favour of those in this controversy, who are distinctly on the side of reaction. We are extremely sorry to find at least one name in a very strange company. Judging from the trend of public opinion in and out side the Central Legislature and from the volume of evidences before the Rao Committee it may reasonably be expected that the Bill will get through. There is no doubt that these judges have partly compromised the position of the Calcutta High Court and it will be very difficult for parties to appear before them for the decision of cases under the Code when and if it is passed. Prefacing the statement they say that they have expressed their views as a result of requests from several quarters and "a detailed discussion would have been more useful and appropriate with the members of the Rao Committee if they had thought it fit to invite us to meet them." This is no explanation. If they can come up in the controversy of their own accord, they could certainly send a memorandum to the Rao Committee and appear before it in their personal capacity. To our mind the Rao Committee was perfectly correct in not anticipating that in Calcutta a group of judges were then ready to break the judicial tradition by joining in a public controversy over a legislative measure.

The Judges Against Codification

The four judges say: "At the outset we must express our serious doubts as to the wisdom, necessity

or feasibility of enacting a comprehensive Code of Hindu Law . . . Most of the rules of Hindu law are now well settled and well understood and a code is not therefore called for at all. There is, in fact, no general demand for it, neither those who are affected by Hindu Law, nor those *who have to administer it* have felt the necessity of a Code."

The preceding sentence proves that they have given their opinion as judges and have arrogated to themselves the position of representing "those who have to administer" Hindu Law. We do not as yet know whether any other judge of any other High Court in India has authorised these four gentlemen to speak for them and to declare publicly that the Hindus "will stoutly resist any attempt to foist a code of personal law upon them." They have not however stated if they are prepared, in the event of the Code being passed, to resign and lead the movement for resisting the Code.

The other two arguments advanced by them are absolutely untenable. If there is any law in the country which needs to be immediately codified it is Hindu Law. At present Hindu Law is administered in different parts of India under different schools of principles. In ancient India when there was no mobility of movement in this vast country of ours, local schools of law in different localities naturally sprang up and developed. With the introduction of modern and quick means of transport, the mobility of population has enormously increased. The divergent and sometimes contradictory nature of the various local laws are more a hindrance than a help. Do not the judges believe that the levelling down of the difference in Hindu Law as administered in different provinces under a common code will unify the entire Hindu community and consolidate them for the achievement of Akhand Hindustan? Do they believe that the salvation of the Hindu lies in perpetuating the differences by leaving them free to be multiplied through the continuous growth of local customs all over this huge sub-continent? It is a matter of utmost regret that even High Court judges fail to realise the danger of division and subdivision in the Hindu society even at a moment when it has come on the verge of extinction and bluntly declare that "uniformity is an impossible ideal." Reactionary idea can go no further.

Their third argument against codification is that Hindu Law is well understood and therefore no codification is called for. The criminal law is well understood in the country; do they consider that it is time that the Indian Penal Code should go? Different provinces have different systems of land tenure; do they consider that a unification of all these tenures under one common system for the whole of India is necessary?

The Judges Against Daughter's Rights

The judges have expressed their strong dislike about the proposed inclusion of the daughters in the list of simultaneous heirs. They consider it a "change of revolutionary character." Their objections are mainly two: (1) that it would lead to further fragmentation of property and (2) that there is a traditional dislike in the Hindu mind of allowing strangers to the family to come and share the inheritance. The first objection is useless because the fragmentation of land is already at its worst. The inclusion of an additional

claimant in the property will add no more complication to the already acute problem of fragmentation which has reduced the average holding to a patch of one or two acres for over 70 per cent of the agricultural people of this province. The second objection also is untenable. Fear of participation in ancestral property by relatives through the married daughter may produce one very beneficial result, it may improve the relations between the two families united through the marriage.

In connection with the daughter's rights, the judges have made the statement that: "No Smriti writer, ancient or modern, no school of Hindu Law, progressive or otherwise, have recognised the daughter as such heir, (i.e., co-heir with the son)." Those of us who have had the opportunity of studying Raja Ram Mohun's famous tract on Hindu Women's Rights have found that famous lawgivers like Vrihaspati, Vishnool, Manu, Jajnavalkya and Katyayana have clearly defined the daughter's rights in the ancestral property and have accepted the daughter as a co-heir with the son. We give below some relevant extracts:

Vrihaspati says:—The daughters should have the fourth part of the portion to which the sons are entitled.— **तूयांशास्तु कन्यकाः**

Vishnool says:—The rights of unmarried daughters shall be proportioned according to the shares allotted to the sons.— **अनुद्वय दूहितरः पुत्रभागानुसराः**

Manoo says:—To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own allotments respectively. Let each give a fourth of his own distinct share and they who feel disinclined to give this shall be condemned.—

स्वेभ्योहं शेभ्यस्तु कन्याभ्यः प्रदद्युर्भ्रातरः पृथक् ।

स्वात् सादंशाच्चतुर्भागः पतिताः सुरदित्सवः ॥

Judges on Polygamy

As regards monogamy, the judges say: "We share the general view that as polygamy has practically disappeared from Hindu society, it is not necessary to enforce monogamy by legislation." Bestiality is a crime punishable under the Indian Penal Code. It is of very rare occurrence. Do the judges think that this clause should be removed from the Penal Code because the crime has practically disappeared?

It is common knowledge that polygamy is still quite frequent in the Hindu society. It is still a source of unmitigated suffering for many innocent Hindu women. Several people high up in the social ladder in Bengal and belonging to the same generation as that of the judges are known to have married a second time in the lifetime of their first wives. The reasons for these acts of polygamy were not barrenness or afflictment with incurable disease, etc. We consider it imperative and urgent that polygamy should be prohibited under severe penalty of law. This crime is still prevalent in all the strata of Hindu society.

These judges do not think that "the right of divorce has conduced to better social wellbeing or harmony where this right exists. At any rate Hindu conception of marriage as a sacrament is diametrically opposed to the idea of divorce, and we feel this idea is abhorrent to the average Hindu." We wonder what is the sentiment of these judges when they find either

in their own courts or in those of their brother judges, young Hindu girls appearing with prayer for divorce as converts to the Muslim religion. The Muslim law has granted her an opportunity to start life afresh and to get out of an intolerable position which her own law has denied. We consider that Hindu law suffers a great deal in comparison in this matter. The ancient lawgivers from the Vedic times down to Kautilya had granted the right of divorce and remarriage to women even on the ground of continued absence of the husband. This birthright of the tortured women fell into disuse during the supremacy of a corrupt Brahminism in the later Middle ages. This right of divorce is such a crying need for Hindu women that even these judges have faltered to pronounce their opinion definitely against them.

Bengal, even a few years ago, was renowned for having been the torch-bearer of progressive thought which lighted up the whole of the country far and wide. It is a matter of utmost regret to find her degenerating into a hotbed of reactionarism. The degree of degeneration may only be guessed when one finds eminent men like these judges going out of their own sphere to intervene on the side of retrogression.

Development of Fisheries in India

The Fazal Rahimatoollah Sub-Committee appointed by the Government of India has expressed the opinion that no material increase in fish production is possible unless a comprehensive programme of development based on an all-India policy is adopted and enforced at an early date. The first thing to be done towards this end is to obtain detailed knowledge about the sea, the fishes, catching methods, organisation of the fish trade and the economic conditions of the fishermen. They recommended collection of detailed statistics, and a preliminary survey of commercial fisheries, such as fishings grounds, vessels and boats employed for catch. The Committee, as also Dr. B. Prashad, the new Fishery Adviser of the Government of India, have recommended the establishment of a Central Fishery Research Institute. The work of the institute will be biological, physio-chemical, statistical, technological and educational.

From recent experiences, people will believe that the latter part of the recommendations, which seeks to create some high salaried posts, will be adopted while the former which deal with the welfare of the fishermen and the people will be pigeon-holed in the usual bureaucratic manner.

Development of Sunderban Fisheries

The Sunderbans in Bengal have great potentialities. Dr. S. L. Hora, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in May last, gave a valuable discourse on the development of the Sunderban Fisheries. At the outset he pointed out that among the body-building foods are fish, meat, poultry, eggs and milk. Of these, it would take a considerable time to increase the supply of the last four articles, whereas fish supplies could be easily increased. Development of Sunderban Fisheries was likely to play a very important part in the nutrition of the famine-stricken people of Bengal.

Public doubts about the sincerity of the Central Government plans were confirmed when Dr. Hora stated that on several occasions the Government wanted

definite schemes from his department for the development of Sunderban Fisheries, but no facilities were provided to Dr. Hora, the Director, to visit the Sunderbans on the plea of lack of suitable transport. About the month of April, Dr. Hora of his own accord availed of an opportunity to visit the area when the Divisional Forest Officer of Khulna took him out with him in his launch. It was during this visit that Dr. Hora found that all early accounts of these fisheries, carefully preserved in the antiquated departmental Reports, had become out of date and that favourable conditions now obtained for the control and exploitation of the fisheries of this region on a proper commercial basis under governmental direction.

Dr. Hora expressed himself against the introduction of trawler fishing in the Sunderban area. He said that the types of boats which were being used for fishing at present were quite suitable for they could be easily taken into shallow creeks during unfavourable weather conditions. As regards nets, he said they were being used rather too effectively and the only change immediately needed was to widen the meshes in order to check the slaughter of young fishes. Dr. Hora admitted the need for an improvement in boats and nets, but at the same time he emphasised that any change undertaken must not be hurried and must satisfy the fishing conditions of the particular area. Any foreign method of fishing, such as the trawler and the drift netting, recommended for the locality must first be tried on an experimental scale before any substantial measure could be taken to introduce them wholesale.

Dr. Hora's Fishery Plan

Assuming that the supply of fish in the Sunderban area was unlimited, the Government of India set a problem for Dr. Hora to draw up a scheme for obtaining one hundred thousand tons of fishes from the Sunderbans annually. On visiting the area himself, he found that the working of these fisheries was a very simple matter. He indicated that in working these fisheries twelve primary fish assembly centres along the northern boundary of the forests could be established from where motor-boats could go into the forest with ice and procure the fish from the fishermen, distribute the daily requirements of the fishermen to them and thus every day bring back fresh fish to the Assembly Centres. At each Assembly Centre, the fish should be sorted, graded and packed in numbered boxes to be sent to the consuming centre, chiefly Calcutta. Twelve such Assembly Centres could be worked from two secondary Fish Assembly Centres at the railway heads or road heads to Calcutta. One such head could be at Hosirabad area and the other at Port Canning. From these rail or road heads, fish could be sent to Calcutta where there should be a big cold storage accommodation sufficient to stock 50,000 maunds of fish. Such an organisation, according to Dr. Hora, could be set up for a capital expenditure of 17½ lakhs of rupees and could work at an annual recurring expenditure of 7 to 8 lakhs of rupees. Against this expenditure, he calculated on the basis of one lakh maunds of fish annually procured from this area at an average cost of Rs. 20 a maund for all varieties of fish and sold in Calcutta at the price of Rs. 40 a maund. The chief point for consideration was who is going to work such an organisation? Instead of the Government taking up the procurement, transport and marketing of fish, Dr.

Hora favoured the idea of entrusting it to a commercial enterprise. In his opinion, the Government might float a limited liability company in which half the capital might be invested by them, the remaining half being open to public subscription. Dr. Hora is definitely against any direct Government management, he thinks that the best result will be obtained by entrusting the management to an efficient and reliable firm of Managing Agents. The Government should retain only a controlling interest as in the case of the Port Trust or the Calcutta Improvement Trust. In order to ensure smooth working, he believes that every servant of the company should have an interest in the fish trade by having a portion of the profits given to him as gratuity at the end of the year.

Enhancement of Sales Tax in Bengal

While the Wavell talks proceed favourably at Simla, economic repression continues unabated in Bengal. The Bengal Government has enhanced the sales tax to three pies per rupee. Considering the scarcity of price coins, this enhancement in many cases means one anna in the rupee. The sales tax in Bengal has been planned and collected in a manner so as to make it the most disgusting and oppressive tax in the province. Exemptions under the Sales Tax Act have been so planned as to be extremely lenient for the British and the rich while the poorer and middle classes have been brought ruthlessly under its operation. It is a flat rate, and makes no distinction between luxury products and necessities. Its method of collection is such that it works out very heavily on the common people. The purchaser of a luxury product worth Rs. 100 will pay three pice in the rupee while a common man purchasing a tooth-paste with nine annas will have to pay three pice, i.e., about 10 per cent in taxation.

This enhancement, we apprehend, is only a fore-taste of what is in store for this famine-stricken province. The Government of Bengal is carrying a stock of rice, worth about sixty or seventy crores, purchased by means of borrowed capital. The handling of such a huge stock and malpractices in purchases and sales is bound to lead to heavy losses, which in fact has occurred. The losses are estimated as follows :

1943-44 —	Rs. 3 crores 50 lakhs
1944-45 (Budget)	" 5 " —
1944-45 (Revised)	" 13 " 39 "
1945-46 (Budget)	" 5 " 53 "

Judging from the proportion of difference between Budget and Revised Budget estimates in 1944-45, it would be no wonder if the revised budget for 1945-46 does reveal Rs. 16 crores as the loss for that year. It may be even more, but not much less. The famine-stricken people of Bengal have already paid Rs. 19 crores as losses on foodgrain transactions by the Government in two years. The present Governor of Bengal has shown concern for the cleanliness of Calcutta streets, Calcutta markets and Calcutta slums. Some one will have to exert himself to examine the accounts of the foodgrain transactions of this government in order to rid the people of the province of the Augean stables of the civil supplies department.

Raisman Champions Birth Control

Sir Jeremy Raisman, Ex-Finance Member of the Government of India, who frittered away enormous wealth from this country for the benefit of his own and had done thereby little else but harm to the Indian people, has now become a champion of their welfare. In his opinion, the regulation of Indian population by means of birthcontrol is of greater importance than planning to house, clothe and feed those already living. He said :

It is all very well to draw up plans for better feeding and housing. But how can these plans be put into operation when the population of India is increasing at the rate of approximately 10,000,000 annually? It is like trying to build a house to accommodate ten people, knowing full well that by the time it is finished the family will have increased to twelve.

The methods used in other countries to regulate the population should be widely introduced into India. Clinics should be set up throughout the country at which Indian women could be taught scientific methods of birth-control and where they could receive advice on this subject. If earnest workers would be prepared to go to India, feeling that they were doing great social work, they could accomplish much. I think it highly desirable that the Government of India should sponsor this work, but I doubt whether any Government would face the criticisms that would arise from religious and social organisations. The sentiment in India is as much against birth control as in the Roman Catholic world.

A lady member of the British Parliament gave a suitable reply to Sir Jeremy's proposal. We need not add our comment on Dr. Edith Summerskill's statement. She said :

I was in India last year and I was greatly impressed by the problem of India's rising population. The first thing to do is to educate the people; to teach them birth control is merely putting the cart before the horse. Better houses, education, proper food—these are three essentials needed for a solution of the problem.

"Caste Hindus"

Right at the outset of the Viceregal invitations, Mahatma Gandhi took exception at the term "Caste Hindus" used in the Viceregal broadcast. *The Hitavada* has given a very pertinent quotation with remarks, which speaks for itself :

In this connection we should like to quote what the authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report said about the introduction of the communal principle: "Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it proposes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charges of being hypocritical or short-sighted." We refuse to believe that the persons at the India Office are ignorant of past history and that they did not realise the implications of a communal division of power.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

AFTER the cessation of the European campaigns, the question of intensification of the Asiatic and Pacific campaigns against Japan has been the main topic of interest. The sudden collapse of the Japanese defence in the main territories of Burma, which led to the almost complete occupation of the bulk of the Burmese mainland and culminated with the capture of Rangoon after some desultory defensive fighting by the Japanese, has added to the hopes for a quick rise in the tempo and an early climax. The landing operations in Borneo conducted under the personal supervision of General MacArthur is generally assumed to be the preliminary to a new campaign being formed in a fresh field. It has been announced apropos of the assaults delivered in this area that the Japanese naval forces in the waters of the Dutch East Indies have been whittled down to the point of almost absolute neutralization. If that really be the case then we may look forward to fresh developments in that quarter which may lead to large-scale operations of the magnitude of the campaigns in the Philippines. Admiral Mountbatten has been waiting a long time in Ceylon and if he has not got sufficient forces at his command by now, he ought to have them before long if the Allied Supreme Command is really in earnest about finishing the Asiatic campaigns of the World War No. II by the end of the next campaigning season.

As yet there are two factors militating against a sharp rise in the tempo and magnitude of the campaign against the Japanese, one being natural and the other artificial, but both of temporary character. The seasonal climatic conditions now prevailing over the South-East Asiatic mainland and the Dutch East-Indies are anything but favourable for mechanised and aerial operations. Cloudy and stormy weather with continuous heavy rainfalls will now go on for about two months more. The weather will start clearing up in September and the soil start to regain its *terra firma* characteristics. Aerial strafing and bombardment would be easier to conduct as well as the maintenance of field supplies by air be easier. In short the campaigning season would open by the middle of October, and if by then the bulk of the forces to be transferred from the European to the Asiatic fronts have been brought into the field, then the real battle for South-East Asia will commence. The artificial factor mentioned is the elections and that should be over and the new Cabinet in action in Britain well before the opening of the campaigning season. It is to be hoped that the elections will not cause any slackening of the transfer operations in the meanwhile, for if there be any halting or weakening of the assault operations at the initial stage due to lack of forces, supplies or to insufficiency of mechanized or aerial armament, it may lead to a prolongation of the war in these areas. There is no doubt that the transport of large forces and very considerable bulk and weight of armament over long distances involves a certain amount of unavoidable time lag. But both in the matter of transport and in the availability of fighting forces and equipment, the Allies have vastly a preponderating advantage and so that factor should not affect the conduct of the South-East Asiatic campaign.

The battle for Okinawa has virtually come to an end and at last the U. S. Pacific Command has a really

large base within easy striking distance of the Nipponese mainland for aerial warfare on the continental scale. We do not know as yet what this 82-day struggle cost the American forces to conduct to a successful end, but from all reports the ferocity of the fighting rose to a new height even in comparison with Iwojima. The Japanese seem to be very far from folding up as yet, and when the Japanese campaigns really begin on a full scale, either on the mainland of China or in the Nipponese islands, we may yet see fresh peaks of ruthless fighting and appalling slaughter, and that on a scale comparable with that of the European fronts. Much has been said—and might be yet said with considerable justification—about the hopeless inferiority of the Japanese in the matter of armament, both as regards technical quality and weight. But we must not forget that the Japanese will have matters somewhat more in their favour as the battle nears their home and Manchurian bases.

There is a considerable amount of speculation as regards the nature and terrain of the Japanese master-plan for the final defensive campaign. More and more of the Western war-commentators are adopting the view that the Japanese defence centres on the Manchurian territories. Some have gone so far as to declare that by now the main arsenals and war-production plants have been dispersed over Manchuria and that the campaign against the Japanese will not end even if the greater part of the Nipponese islands be occupied by the Allied forces. In conjunction with this theory there is some speculation as to whether the Soviets would enter the war against Japan and if so, when. One such writer has discussed the matter at length and has come to the conclusion that the Russians must declare war on Japan and that within six months from the end of the war in Europe.*

There can be no doubt that the entry of the Soviets on the side of the Allies in the Asiatic struggle would shorten the Japanese war considerably. Assailed from both sides the Japanese would be put in the same position as the Germans faced after the opening of the second front. But it must not be forgotten that the Soviets have very much of an open choice in this matter and that they are in a position now to deliberate on the pros and cons and to take their own time over it. The formal repudiation of the Russo-Japanese Pact leaves their hands free and there is little possibility of their hands being forced in the way it was on June 22, 1941. As such the Allies must make their own plans and fight the campaign to the fiery finish. They certainly have matters very much in their favour now and the only dangers before them are of procrastination and faulty planning. Meanwhile, the world must wait and speculate on the extent of Japanese additions to their war-like resources in the three years' partial hiatus. It is impossible that they could have developed anything to match the tidal wave of American production which engulfed Germany. But even if they have got anything really ponderable by now then the campaign will be bitter indeed.

* Fedor Mansvetov. *Asia and the Americas*, April, 1945.

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN INDIA DURING PEACE AND WAR

By PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford), BAR-AT-LAW

MODERN political thought, liberal and democratic, is based on the fundamental concept of civil liberty. It implies the freedom of the individual in regard to expression of opinion, religious belief and worship, the possession and use of property, and personal action. It is a right of the individual against the State and implies a right of protection against private or governmental interference. It is born out of the schools of thought of liberalism and individualism. It implies resistance to the State in certain conditions as a moral protest. It recognises the worth of the individual as a person distinct and apart from the State and as possessing interests and freedoms of his own.

In the modern world there is developing an increasing government control over the individual. It is necessitated by the complexities of modern economic and social life. The problems of health, morals, safety, education, social insurance have expanded government's control and regulative and coercive authority. Constant wars and problems of security have still strengthened this encroaching tendency of State authority. There is repression of freedom of opinion, speech and press, movement and association under sedition and ordinance laws far beyond the military necessity or the demands of national safety. These laws are very broadly drawn, very vaguely worded, and very widely interpreted, and their application is in many cases not legitimate and oversteps genuine dangers. Under them it is for the active leaders of public opinion that prisons open. In modern governments the faith in civil liberties is decreasing. The totalitarian governments, and the totalitarian religions have been attacking this doctrine of Civil liberty. The modern collective tendency and the medieval religious rigidity are emphasizing this tendency. Since the World War of 1914 new ideologies, fascist and communist, have proved adverse to civil liberties. Under fascism the individual has no rights against the State or party. Communists subordinate all rights and interests to the needs of the Communist State. Individuals and groups cannot have any independence. The citizen is considered merely a means to an end. He is merely a functionary. He has no rights which he can exercise independently. Therefore, it is now a major problem of modern political theory and statecraft as to whether the concept of civil liberty can be adapted to the forms of a modern state which is becoming increasingly complex and interrelated as a social and economic order.

I. DURING PEACE

The problem of civil liberties in India has three aspects: (1) their nature, (2) their guarantees, and (3) the circumstances, necessities and interests which affect their working. Their nature is very limited. There is no recognition of any fundamental rights of citizens in the so-called Indian Constitution. The conception of citizenship in India is not common, but differential, based on racial, communal and feudal interests in some respect. The State is composed of two separate parts, the foreign rulers and the native ruled, and the Constitution is fundamentally constructed on the supreme authority of one and the complete obedience of the other. It is not democratic, where the sovereignty of

the people is recognised. The sovereignty of the State does not lie in India but outside in England. Therefore, the law which sanctions civil liberties and assures the guarantees of their maintenance are in the hands of this foreign authority.

The nature of the state in India is completely autocratic both in peace and war. What it allows is law and liberty. The government in India is a monoparty government. This party is the British party. It is not directly responsible to nor representative of any section of the Indian people. The British are not Indian citizens in any political sense. Their rights in India are the rights of British rulers and citizens. They have established a monoparty dictatorial state in India. Its essence is the identification of the British party with the whole apparatus of the Indian State-power. The heads of the Indian government in England, in the Centre and in provinces in India are not only executive heads, but also legislative and in a way judicial heads, though the process through which law making in peace times is carried on is very intricate and associative in some respects. It is not however the constitution which binds them, but it is they who make and unmake, suspend and override the Constitution, dispense with and change the laws. This has meant that all opposition to the British party has become opposition to the State and its government. The result has been that every aspect of citizen's life—political, economic, social and cultural—and his liberty, civil and political, has become subordinated to the single need of that party's retention of power, and the various guarantees and obligations it has created for the permanent maintenance of its rule. This has implied and worked in the overthrow of all constitutional habits and guarantees when circumstances developed so as to endanger the party's interests and foundations of power whether during times of peace or war. Therefore, there is no real difference between the question of our civil liberties during peace and their status during war. The problem is only one of degree.

We do not enjoy full and beneficent liberty during peace, and its diminution in war is only a problem of its lower degree. The contents and guarantees of our laws and liberties come from the British party's government in India. They have no other source. They depend in their formation and application on its ideas of government and the institutions and services it has organised to carry them out. What they have actually meant and how they have been put in practice in the past are too well-known. There are no binding principles but only compelling interests in the so-called constitution of our country. They are stated in various forms of obligations to be held sacred and binding even before the ordinary principles of citizenship and civil liberties are recognised. Therefore, no political scientist can profitably discuss or analyse the condition of civil liberties in peace and war in India and elucidate or estimate the conditions or principles under which they can be limited or controlled. Really speaking whoever has power, political and economic, has and controls civil liberty. It is the fundamental maxim of politics and civics. If the people are sovereign, have made the

constitution, have the democratic power of making laws, and have willingly accepted a definite set of civil liberties, then this question of civil liberties will have some scientific value. But if the centre of sovereignty is extra-territorial and ultra-popular, if the constitution is not of their make, if the fundamental laws are not made, maintained and executed by them, and if the civil liberties can be suspended at the first breath of opposition, then the problem becomes non-political and unconstitutional. How few civil liberties can people enjoy under foreign and autocratic governments, history furnishes ample testimony. Civil liberties have not been maintained and advanced through any changes in constitution in India, but only after the confidence and guarantee the British party has felt in getting its interests assured and its obligations admitted. To the extent they are endangered or repudiated, they have been denied, suspended or withdrawn. The history of the press law and the law of association, and of the safeguard clauses and reserved powers and discretions in the various government of India Acts—miscalled Indian Constitutions—make it very clear. The overriding consideration is that the present government—the monopoly government—will and must exert all its power to preserve itself, as it is, regardless of so-called guarantees of civil liberties. In India the law relating to and sanctioning civil liberties is ordinary, not constitutional. There is no sacredness about it. Therefore, to discuss the question of civil liberties in non-democratic systems of government has no political value. The law relating to it is changed at will.

Thus the question reduces itself to this: Is civil liberty in war and peace to any assured extent possible without any real self-government based on the will of the people and responsible to the people? Can there be any fundamental guarantees for any system of civil liberties under a monopoly and foreign government which makes its own constitution and the laws relating to them? My proposition is that under such a system of government even though administered according to its own law, where law is established by the executive, the law itself primarily protects its vested interests and is worked according to its notions of security, necessity and emergency. The conception of civil liberty can have political value only when the government is popular and impartial, promoting adjustment and harmony between conflicting interests but not when it is itself one of the contending and dominating interests and all political and economic power is centred and controlled by a monopoly which represents it. Under it a people may enjoy some civil liberty to the extent to which they subordinate or neglect their own interests for the sake of those of the party in power or identify their future with theirs.

In a master and slave society the conception of civil liberty has no independent political guarantee or value. It becomes a question of privileges. In peace times the problem of civil liberties must be approached from below, from the point of view of citizens' welfare and opportunity. In war times it will have to be approached from above, from the needs of the security and safety of the State. But in India it is always interfered with under a theory of protection against disturbance and sedition within the State, and against aggression from without. There is a theory of internal protection and justice and there is a theory of external defence and security. To what extent these necessities of

immediate protection and justice, defence and security should supersede the normal laws and constitutions and give place to a rule of the pure executive and its ordinances uncontrolled either by legislature or judiciary? This is an important question. In peace times if the government is popular, if the laws are not discriminatory, if the executive is responsible to the legislature and judiciary and does not supersede them by possessing concurrent or overriding powers, then the civil liberty will consist in applying impartially the laws to cases of conflict and disturbance without fear or favour. In questions of internal rebellion by discontented or revolutionary minorities it will take strong action against them in the interests of common law and order. The problem of civil liberties in modern times is not merely of individual rights but of their extension towards social security and economic welfare. It is not a problem of their limitation but of their expansion in desirable directions in times of peace which are not a period of disturbance. Civil liberty, however, is always a conditional and relative concept. Its aim of social security and economic welfare must recognise individual freedom and opportunity. But the government must not forget or ignore or limit this individual aspect in its own party or political or economic interest which it conceives as special or primary or overriding.

II. DURING WAR

Modern wars which are now total and totalitarian have practically destroyed the slender and slippery foundations of civil liberties in India. The world mind is orientated towards the security of existing governments and to the new problems of world security and economic welfare of groups. But the problem of civil liberties concerns primarily the group and the individual. There is a collapse of international law and morality between states. There is also a collapse of the rule of law within states, under the stress of war emergencies and necessities. There is also an advance of collectivism, totalitarianism and authoritarianism of the State over the life of the community on account of the needs of defence and order, war effort and war services. There is growth of the executive power and bureaucracy, their laws, ordinances and regulations for organising tranquillity at home and war abroad. The monopoly government decides all the questions of necessity and emergency, law and liberty, safety and welfare from the point of view of its own interests and needs. Then new need of social, economic and educational planning makes it divert its attention from the political and civic rights involved in civil liberties and undertake itself these tasks in a way suitable to itself.

The presence of war creates the primary problem of the safety of the State, *Salus populi suprema lex*. It has three aspects: (1) the mere existence of war, but not within its borders, (2) the actual invasion of the country, and (3) the locality or area in which it is being fought. The problem of safety and defence assumes greater and graver aspect successively in these three aspects. All these aspects give rise in a modern state to the organisation of war effort—the creation of fighting services, supply services, mechanical and engineering services, scientific services, civil services, industrial equipment and output, control of routes, communication and transport, and popular support. To promote its smooth working and to mobilise all the political, economic, physical and moral resources of the

country a certain unitary control and centralised direction become necessary, and all internal controversies and conflicts require to be laid at rest. And if they cannot, then the party in power adopts severe laws against those individuals, groups or interests who are against its own views of the necessities of war and war effort. The war effort may be opposed or interfered with by aliens and spies from abroad, and by opponents and profiteers from within, who may promote anti-war activities and hamper or tamper with war effort. These may incite disloyalty and foster indiscipline in the military and other services, or they may sabotage industrial output and transport system. They may communicate with the enemy or cause discontent amongst the people.

Though generally the argument about the safety of the State during war and invasion can be safely admitted in a self-governing country, most difficult and delicate problems arise when there is no identity of political aims and economic interests between the rulers and the ruled in any particular country. Besides this, we must differentiate between the actual necessities and emergencies of the fact of war and invasion and those of the interests of the ruling class who is not from amongst the people, and is not responsible to them, and has other interests to serve. Then the problem of necessity or emergency has to be judged on its own merits. The war may not be of its own making and in its interests. It may be for the extra-territorial obligations or political and economic interests of the foreign ruling class. This complicates the matter of judgment about its necessity as a whole and the particular emergencies which arise under it. The war having been undertaken by the rulers, the ruled cannot keep out of it, in spite of their protests or differences on the question of necessity. Then the question as regards civil liberties limits itself to whether the invasion is actual and is confined to a particular area, or has extended over the whole country. The study of the problem of civil liberties during peace and war is a great necessity in any self-governing country when governments are becoming more powerful and total under the stress of modern life, when the area of liberty is getting narrowed, and new despotism of the executive is increasing. It becomes much more important in a country which is not self-governing and which has very little civil liberty, which itself it is losing under the demands of modern life, and during both peace and war. It often happens that liberty may be suspended not so much in the interests of war effort, but in favour of the bureaucracy of services and their rights and interests which have been already created and also promised during the war and which are being extended in peace times. When war emergency ends, these new plants of irresponsible power will leave a dangerous legacy of precedents, interests, and obligations which will themselves become detrimental to the civil liberties and opportunities of the common citizen. Civil liberty can be assured after the war only if the people will possess full political liberty and are then assertive of their common citizen's rights.

No doubt there is and will be some need of delegated legislation and growth of administrative law after the war in view of the new economic and social planning conception, which is taking root in all countries. But the control and direction necessary on that account must be in the interests of people's common security and welfare. At present Indians possess no

guarantee of their own sovereign legislature, independent judiciary and a national executive. Till that political event takes place it will be futile to talk of civil liberty as an independent concept or category in Indian politics. The fundamental necessity for the existence of any system of civil liberty is an independent judiciary and a constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights which the executive cannot set aside on its own authority, even if they require to be curtailed during war and invasion emergencies. The legislature must be there to enact or sanction ordinances on its own authority. But a plea of emergency or necessity in the interests of the safety of the State must not give uncontrolled power to the executive to cover or excuse or indemnify all the vagaries and illegalities of its own discretion and administration.

It is very necessary in the interests of civil liberty that there should be definite statutory conditions which should be strictly complied with by the executive when it uses its discretionary powers very widely. There is however, as yet in India no sovereignty of legislature, no rule of law, and no independent judiciary as such. In each of them the executive shares and dominates and in some cases possesses independent and overriding powers. Unless the gulf between the rulers and the ruled disappears, and the ruled become the rulers, civil liberty in peace times cannot be satisfactory, and in war times it will hardly exist. No doubt it is true that it is not possible to demarcate a definite line between the limits of civil liberty and the executive control needed in an emergency, but this does not justify handing over all the control over liberty to the executive which in its nature is authoritarian and autocratic.

In a country like India the interests and objects of the executive are something over and above and independent of the necessity of war effort. Does the British party in power in India want to maintain its imperial hold and rights or only to fight the war in the interests of the security and independence of the world? If the legislative and executive powers are used for ulterior purposes and extended during and after the war to strengthen them, then the plea of war effort becomes invalid. In India the danger is of its being used against the political movement of the country for independence and against the freedom of individuals. Even before the war we had indefinite detentions without trials, and arrests without warrants on suspicion. Freedom of speech and press, freedom of association and procession, freedom from search and seizure, freedom of opinion and belief in academic bodies and public services were not free from a number of severe restrictions in the interests of the British political order established in the country. War legislation has extended them overwhelmingly. The nature of these restrictions is not definite during war, the delegation of ordinance powers to lower authorities is enormous, the central supervision if seriously meant is little, the guarantees of fair trial and safeguards against an abuse of power are few and weak. The ordinance of 1944 has taken away the power of the judiciary over all these ordinance cases. The executive reigns supreme in areas where there is no war or invasion or even a threat of it. There have been a large number of detentions without trial, without specifying any grounds and without providing any judicial trial or control or ministerial appeal or inquiry. Then there is an unprecedented censorship of the press and of the private postal correspondence, unlimited prohibition of meetings, asso-

ciations and processions, and movements of persons without any external check.

Dangers to civil liberty have arisen out of mere discussion and criticism of government war aims, of the causes of war, of governmental war measures, of the form of government prevailing, of the actions of individual officers of servants, even when there is no organised rebellion or disloyalty against the state or government as such. This confusion of real criticism with rebellious interference or opposition is the greatest enemy of civil liberty in India during this war. If the judicial and legislative process gives way or is superseded by the executive process in determining the breaches of laws, and the emergencies of the political situation, then civil liberty cannot be said really to exist. Civil liberty as a value in political life does not exist, or disappears when the executive is all in all and really rules, whatever may be the processes through which it operates. When there is no real separation of powers and consequent checks the system of government does not make civil liberty a stable and sacred element in a people's life. When there is actual invasion in any part of the country and when any system of ordinary courts, laws and procedure cannot work, then martial law, courts, and procedure are the only instruments of security and of whatever freedom is possible under the situation. But one cannot apply the rules of martial law areas to other areas of the country where there is an absence of invasion or where its chance is very remote. The British courts have laid down that martial rule cannot be introduced merely because a state of war exists or an invasion is threatened. Its necessity must be actual and present and the invasion must be real. It must lead to the closing of courts and civil administration. Then martial law must be confined to the actual area of the invasion. All the arguments advanced against Stuart ship-money theory are worth considering in this connection. There is a difference between the mere existence of a state of war and a state of actual war. In the latter case not merely the safety of the society but also the safety of the army, its discipline movements, etc., are to be considered. If ordinary judiciary will be allowed to interfere, it may paralyse the war effort. In a way the executive and the military must get a blank cheque in such areas, and their excesses though inquired into later on are indemnified by an Act of Indemnity. Certain considerations of military necessity are to be allowed, certain scope for honest individual judgment or discretion is to be conceded to the executive and the military.

Again what should be the limits of the war area has to be left to the military authorities. But there must be a clear line of demarcation between the theatre of war where civil liberties cannot properly function and will be greatly curtailed and other contiguous territories where civil courts and authorities are working. There specific controls may be introduced only over defined matters, leaving other aspects of civil life under normal control.

Having considered the area, the problem of the duration of ordinance legislation as a whole is very important. If it is continued long after the invasion and war are over under a plea of post-war rehabilitation it will be very harmful to civil liberty. In a system of such legislation the power of little bureaucrats is great, and there are no sufficient safeguards procedural or personal against its misuse.

The variety and complexity of situations and emergencies arising out of the war are great. An executive officer or servant who has to carry out the provisions of innumerable ordinances and regulations has to decide quickly and to work on his own responsibility. Unless he is free from corruption and greed and shows power of good judgment he may apply the rules in a way detrimental to whatever civil liberty is left under the emergency legislation. But after the necessity has ceased, it will be a great tragedy and tyranny to allow this power and discretion to executive officers and agents. The rules under the Defence of India Act have conferred on the Executive the most sweeping powers in matters covering almost every aspect of a citizen's life. They are not subject to any scrutiny by the representatives of the people. They have left no judicial remedy or redress whatever to any person detained without trial or affected in different ways. This power has been exercised recklessly and justified irresponsibly. Lord Atkin has laid down that even "amidst the clash of arms, the laws are not silent." But in India the laws and the ordinances are treated on the same level. The assumption of these powers needed on the plea of emergency and possessing no safeguards for their due exercise have been exercised for a totally different purpose—the suppression of the legitimate rights and activities of citizens. Civil liberties in India are in a precarious condition. No war whose theatre of operations is localised can justify the executive action and process of a large number of detentions in camps and prisons of persons without trial for an indefinite time and in places far removed from the field of operations. The Courts have decided that the powers of the executive can legitimately supersede the rule of law during an actual invasion alone. In a case of disputed jurisdiction it is for the civil courts to resolve the conflict, but in India the ordinances have themselves taken away the power of the courts to judge the validity of ordinance rules and their applications. It is the greatest encroachment on any scheme of civil liberties which a modern state has made. Therefore, to speak of civil liberty under fascist or foreign ruled states will be a contradiction in terms. Under them the rights of the citizens are always impaired by arbitrary legislation to protect some extra-national interests or to promote some imperial adventures, and many a time their citizens are treated worse than aliens. They are detained with trial, and often do not know the grounds of their detention. All avenues of redress or appeal are closed to them.

Civil liberty in India also suffers from a very dangerous doctrine of a discredited medieval jurisprudence about the collective responsibility of persons belonging to a particular group or area for crimes or agitation happening in that area. It is a resuscitation of the old medieval forms of criminal responsibility imposed on a particular area or group, without taking into consideration the actual perpetrators of crimes. This is done in case of crimes against or dangers to public safety and property even on mere suspicion and in cases of riots and agitational movements. In these cases every person in a particular area or a group has to suffer certain restrictions on his freedom, to undergo certain punishments, to pay certain collective fines and to live under a system of punitive police or military control. This conception of collective responsibility and collective fines and punishment is a grave attack on civil liberty. Its underlying principle is the hostage

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theory, resulting in detention without trial and confiscations without appeal. It is only possible under one-party state or foreign or autocratic rule which considers every manifestation of opposition or agitation or crime as a sign of incipient rebellion against its own power, and every person as a lurking or potential, suspicious or criminal character.

When such a conception of citizenship prevails and such a theory of law and jurisprudence is held, the theory of civil liberty has no place in the politics or constitution of the country.

There is also a system of compulsory labour prevailing in India for government services. During war or disturbance it develops into a system of compulsory conscription of persons for various services, of com-

pulsory acquisition of houses, lands, goods, property, conveyances, machinery, factories and industries. What should be the limits of control and compulsion in these matters is left to the sole discretion of the executive or the military authority. The conception of war, war-area, war-period, war-effort are so elastic and expansive that the claims of civil liberty are disappearing under the new despotism which war creates.

In India the struggle for civil liberty remains connected with and dependent upon the success of the struggle for national independence and the introduction of full responsible government in all the political units of the country. Otherwise modern totalitarian governments, new totalitarian parties, and old totalitarian religions will destroy the very foundations of civil liberties in India.

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OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE IN THE LIGHT OF THE STATEMENT ON INDUSTRIAL POLICY

By PROF. P. A. WADIA

For the last twelve months the air is resounding with talks about planning from all sides. Last year a leading group of industrialists and businessmen, anxious as they proclaimed themselves to be about the phenomenal poverty of the millions of their countrymen and seized with compassion for their condition, placed before the country their fifteen-year plan, involving an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores. A policy of gradualism was to reduce all glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunities, and by a magic wand the country was to be converted into a land of plenty, with security to the "haves" of their profits but with "bread and circuses" for the toiling millions. But the desire to plan was not confined to our industrialists; M. N. Roy followed up, as a representative of the "have-nots" with a contrasted plan, and the teachings of Gandhiji inspired his disciples to formulate a different type of plan, resting on an implied yearning to return to the simplicity of the past, with regional self-sufficiency and a break with the artificial wants of an age of large-scale, mechanised production with its trend towards reducing the human to the likeness of the machine. To these have to be added scores of plans with five years and ten years targets for growing more food grains, for road building, for the rehabilitation of the disbanded soldiers and seamen, which have been prepared by the Central and Provincial Governments during the last year and more Advisory Committees have been appointed consisting of experts for guidance; statistical departments have been set up for collecting accurate data; and one of the signatories of Part I of the Bombay Plan has been appointed a member for Planning on the Executive Council of the Central Government. And to complete the implementation of Government intentions the Government of India have issued a statement on Industrial Policy which will govern the transition period before the grant of self-government to India.

The statement claims as the fundamental objectives of the new policy (a) increase of national wealth by the maximum utilisation of the country's material resources and manpower, (b) better preparation of the country for defence, and (c) the provision of a high and stable level of employment. These objectives are

to be achieved by the abandonment of the *laissez-faire* policy which marked Government attitude down to the end of the last world war and the adoption of a more positive attitude with a view to promoting rapid industrialisation. Government propose the nationalisation of ordnance factories, public utilities, and railways which are to be State-owned and State-operated; as regards basic industries of national importance, such as aircraft, automobiles, chemicals and dyes, iron and steel, transport vehicles, electrical machinery and machine tools—such industries may be nationalised, if adequate private capital is not forthcoming, and if their promotion is essential in the national interests. It is also contemplated that Government may take over industries in which the tax element is more predominating than the profit element, e.g., the salt industry in the past. Certain industries of national importance, such as shipbuilding and the manufacture of locomotives and boilers will be run by the State as well as private enterprise. State enterprises will be managed by the State but in special cases management may be handed over to private agency for a limited period. All other industries are to be left to private enterprise, with no control except such as is required to ensure fair conditions for labour, or such control as may be necessary in the case of scarce natural resources or semi-monopolistic industries.

Government assistance is to be given by making loans or subscribing a share of the capital, or by guarantee of a minimum dividend on capital or undertaking to meet losses for a fixed number of years. Support will also be given to research organisations and by purchase of products of the particular concerns. Government will also exercise control with a view to counteracting the concentration of industries in a few big cities, and take legislative powers for licensing the starting of new factories and the expansion of existing factories. Such control will also secure balanced investments of capital resources, fair wages, decent conditions of living, and a reasonable security of tenure for industrial workers, and prevent excessive profits. Finally there will have to be control of capital issues and licensing of machinery.

This is a brief summary of the latest announcement

of what Government intend to do in the future for our economic development. It is an incongruous combination of what we are inclined to call State-capitalism with private enterprise and the profit economy. We see in this Government communique the natural complement of the proposals contained in the second part of the Bombay Plan. There is a remarkable parallelism between the proposals contained in the Bombay Plan and the recent Government communique. The following quotations from the Bombay Plan will afford convincing testimony. "Where ordinary methods of state control have to be supplemented by state ownership, it will be necessary to place management also in the hands of the state, as for example, in the manufacture of materials exclusively required for war purposes and the organisation of vital communications such as posts and telegraphs." (Part II, p. 29). "Enterprises owned wholly or partially by the State, public utilities, basic industries, monopolies, industries using or producing scarce natural resources should normally be subject to state control." "The following are illustrations of the form which control may assume: fixation of prices, limitation of dividends, prescription of conditions of work and wages for labour, nomination of government directors on the board of management, licensing and 'efficiency auditing'."

Any one who has carefully studied the Bombay Plan will recognise in its attempt at preserving a balance between private initiative and profit economy on the one hand and State control and State capitalism on the other an ominous presage of coming events. Both the authors of the Bombay Plan and the Government of India find themselves unable to accept *laissez-faire*; both want government control. What they seem to forget, both alike, is that the term controlled capitalism is in one sense a contradiction in terms, for it is impossible to separate economic and political powers. Any attempt to separate them makes for bribery and corruption and converts a pseudo-political democracy into a plutocracy. What we are heading for appears to be a combination of the forces of capitalism with the powers that be—an alliance of an open, undisguised character, which on the one hand by its profession of nationalisation of a few industries endeavours to win over the leftists who would advocate a socialist reorganisation of the economic structure, and to capture the profiteers by leaving vast fields of exploitation still open to their activities. Such an alliance between the profit-earning classes and the government would be bad enough in a free India; but it is infinitely worse as between the present ruling elements and the friendly combination of British and Indian capitalists, exploiting the resources of the country in the name of rapid industrialisation. It was only lately that Prof. A. V. Hill stated that British industry will not help in the development of Indian resources unless "they go equal shares with Indians."

Are we to accept, in the name of rapid development of our resources and of effectively raising the standard of living of the masses—a problematic assertion at the best,—a policy that makes for fascism in a new form? The history of Fascism in other countries in recent times reveals the presence of certain preparatory conditions favourable to its growth. One of these conditions, the most striking so far as India is concerned, is the absence for the last century and a half of democratic institutions and the habituation of the masses to rule from the top—whether the rule be

that of secular powers wielding the sword, or the rule of the Brahmin elite over the inferior castes. Secondly, the inflationary trend of the war period has brought with it the increasing impoverishment of the middle classes, amongst whom are to be included the skilled workers and the products of our Universities, anxious for whatever jobs can save them from the threat of poverty and unemployment. We may also include in these classes the teachers and professors of Economics and other Sciences who may be converted into apologists of the coming order by the offer of lucrative appointments. In the third place there is the fear of the communist, the possibility of a revolt of the proletariat, both industrial and rural, against their oppressors, the Zemindars, the landed interests and the industrialists. Both the Bombay Plan and the Government communique are guardedly reserved about their attitude to the landed interests, and the industrialists will have security of tenure under the protection of the government, purchased by handing over to the state a few industries in the management and control of which they will have a predominant share.

It is equally significant that there has been no reference in the Government communique to the nationalisation of banking institutions, and such control over investments as the present Government assigns to itself can well be exercised in favour of British capital which in co-operation with Indian industries is to benefit under the protective clauses of the Act of 1935. Whilst in other countries legislation is intended to protect indigenous capital against foreign inroads, it is the unique privilege of our country to have in the Constitution special provisions for the protection of foreign investors against competition by indigenous investments. Our press is dependent upon the capitalists. Their bias towards maintaining the present order will be re-enforced by the fact that they have to depend upon the patronage of advertisers and upon the bankers who lend them money. They are a private capitalistic enterprise, existing primarily for bringing profits to their owners, and if they profess to have at heart the general interests of the public, it is because, fortunately or unfortunately, that is the only device by which they and the rest of us can maintain contact with the world in which we live.

Whither, then, are we moving? Let us not be misunderstood. We fully recognise that the capitalist order is in a process of disintegration. There has been enough of loose talk about the new social order. Both the Bombay Plan and the Government communique by implication seem to give us a general impression that we are entering on an era of prosperity with the end of the war. But such an era of prosperity cannot be achieved by perpetuating the old institution of private property. So long as this new order is based upon private property in the instruments of life, we shall perpetuate dominance and competition, struggle and strife, with profits as the reward of business enterprise. We shall also need co-operation in the new order, but not the co-operation based upon competition, which results in increasing rivalry between the competing units, whether these are classes or nations. The only co-operation worth having must be on a scale that will bring a peaceful world and an economy of abundance for all. But we in India are further away from the promise of this new order than many other parts of the world. And we are led to believe that we

THE CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

By Mrs. LESLEY BLANCH



Down in Shoreditch, in the heart of the East-End of London, there is a small, yet significant building. By some miracle it has remained unharmed through all the bombing which has shattered so much of this area. This simple, unpretentious and rather shabby little place has great significance. It symbolizes that tranquillity of spirit, that casual cheerfulness and normality with which the people of London have met the challenge of total warfare.

ment amidst the squalor and tragedy of the battered neighbourhood.

FORMERLY AN ALMSHOUSE

Originally, the museum was a set of almshouses for old people. It was endowed by an eighteenth century benefactor, Sir Robert Geffrye. His periwigged statue standing in a niche over the creeper-covered facade, stares stonily down the length of the grass forecourt, where garden seats, and rows of two-hundred-year-old lime and plane trees offer an illusion of formal gardens. Beyond the iron railings (now torn up for salvage) is the perpetual clatter and roar of traffic, along the ugly main thoroughfare. Behind the railings, across the forecourt, stands the little museum. The main doorway

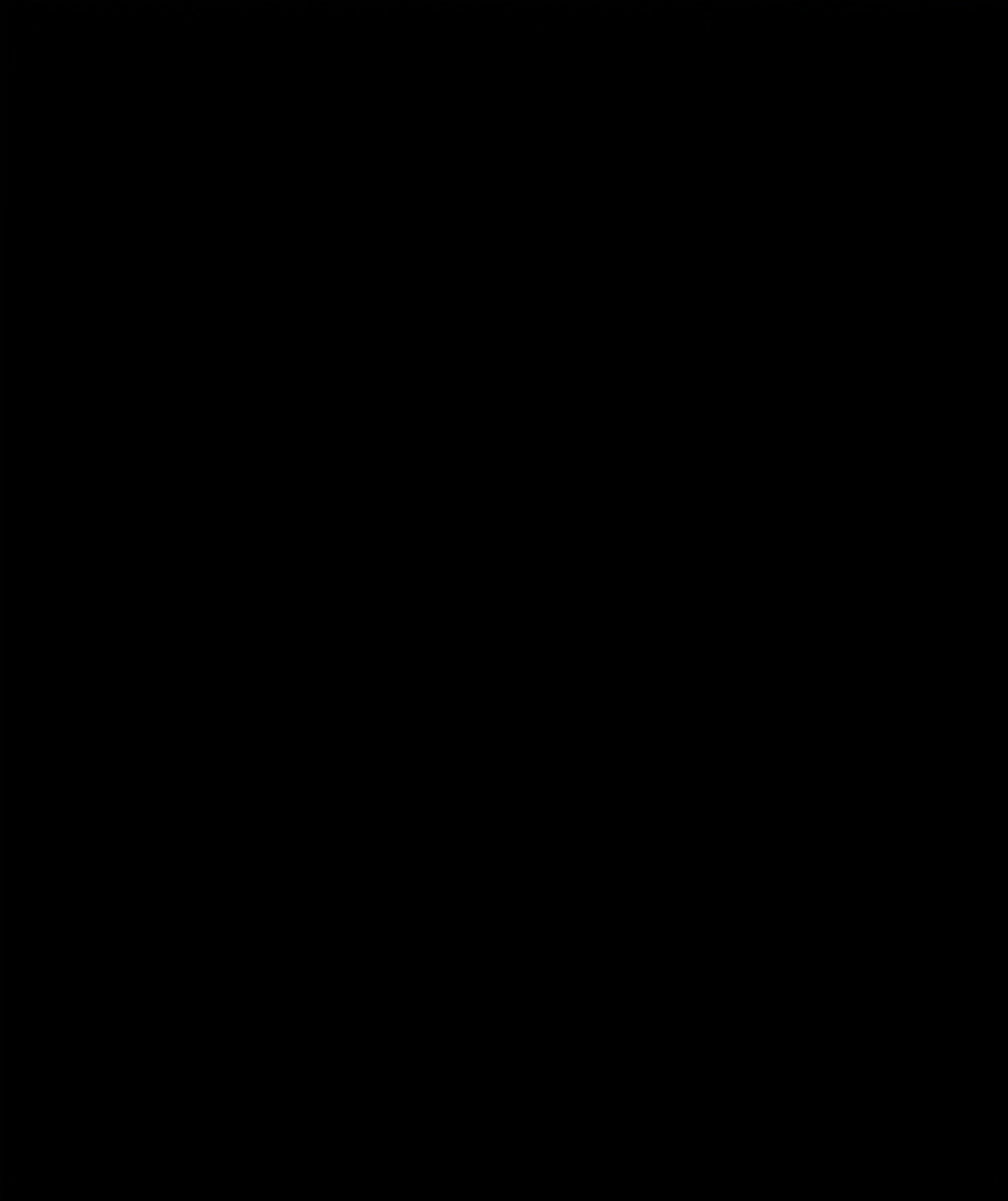


carving from St. Paul's Cathedral, great lush swags of fruit and flowers, a florid plaster ceiling from the Pewterers' Hall, stained glass, crude, early hand-coloured children's books, full of moral adages, delicately embroidered waistcoats, babies' lace bonnets, some fine old carved doorways, and specimens of elegant Regency iron balconies are all to be found here. It is the history of everyday things, through the centuries.

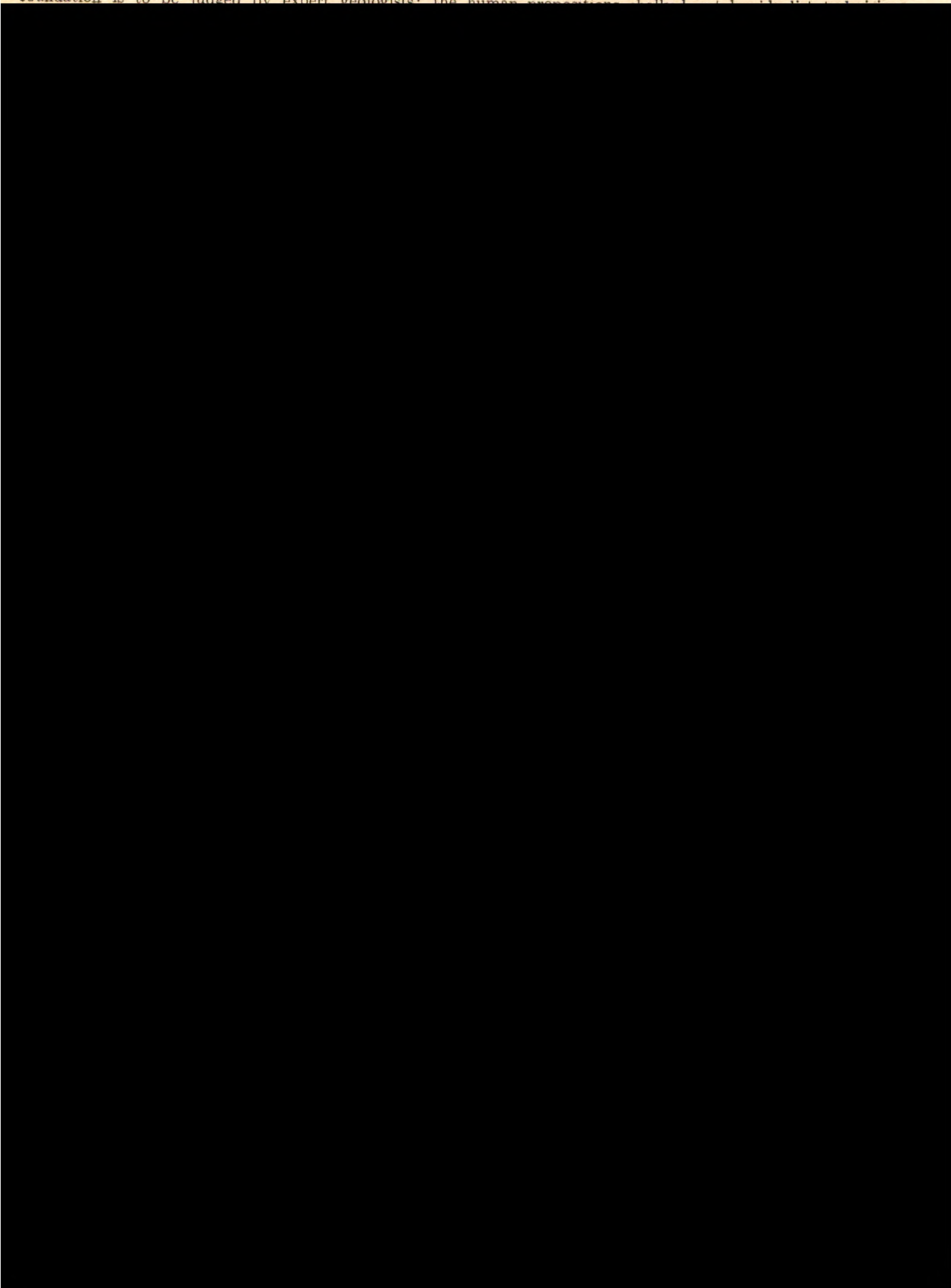
They are given paints and chalks to draw (rather freely) what they admire best in the museum.

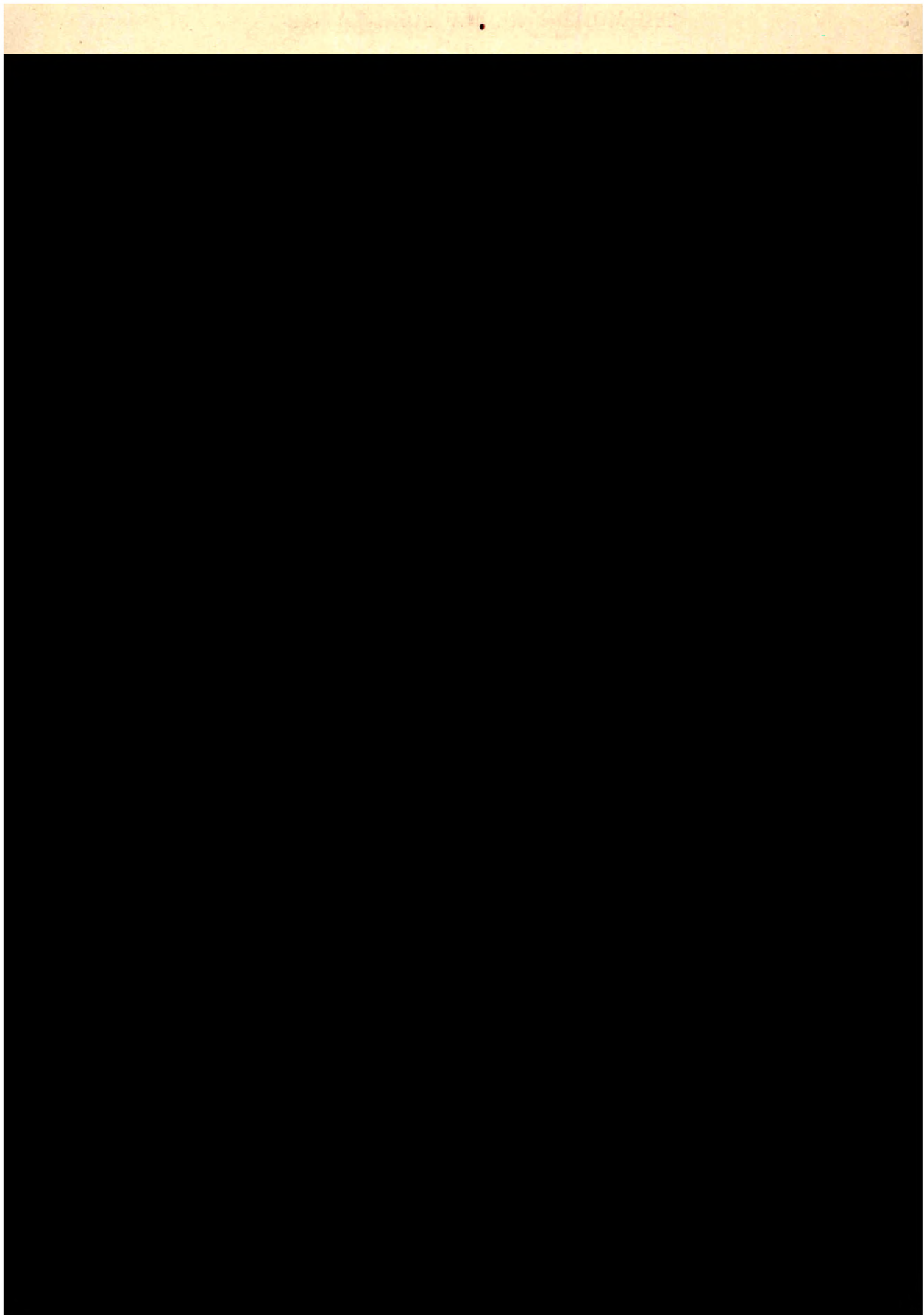
One small room was crowded with laughing and talking children, some sucking their paint brushes in the agony of creative frustration, others crowded round a boy who was modelling an Elizabethan frigate. These model ship classes are particularly popular among the older boys. Younger children enjoy playing with the huge Victorian dolls' house, arranging and re-arranging the quaint old toys inside.

FROM TUDOR ROOM TO MOUSE TRAP



foundation is to be judged by expert geologists: the human propositions, I shall not be disturbed by





So the conflict is between Nature and the Government. The TVA presents a happy reconciliation between the two powers,—not a conflict. "A new chapter in American public policy was written when Congress in May, 1933 passed the law creating the TVA. For the first time since the trees fell before the settler's axe, America set out to command nature not by defying her, as in the wasteful past, but by understanding and acting upon her first law—the oneness of men and natural resources, the unity that binds together land, streams, forests, minerals, farming, industry, mankind."

That which is required by science cannot be overruled by a government only by the merit of 'power' it possesses. The attempt has always proved and is still proving disastrous. The Government has to find out ways and means to co-operate with Nature and take advantage of modern science and technology in the matters of economic planning for the welfare of the people.

PROBLEMS OF INDIA

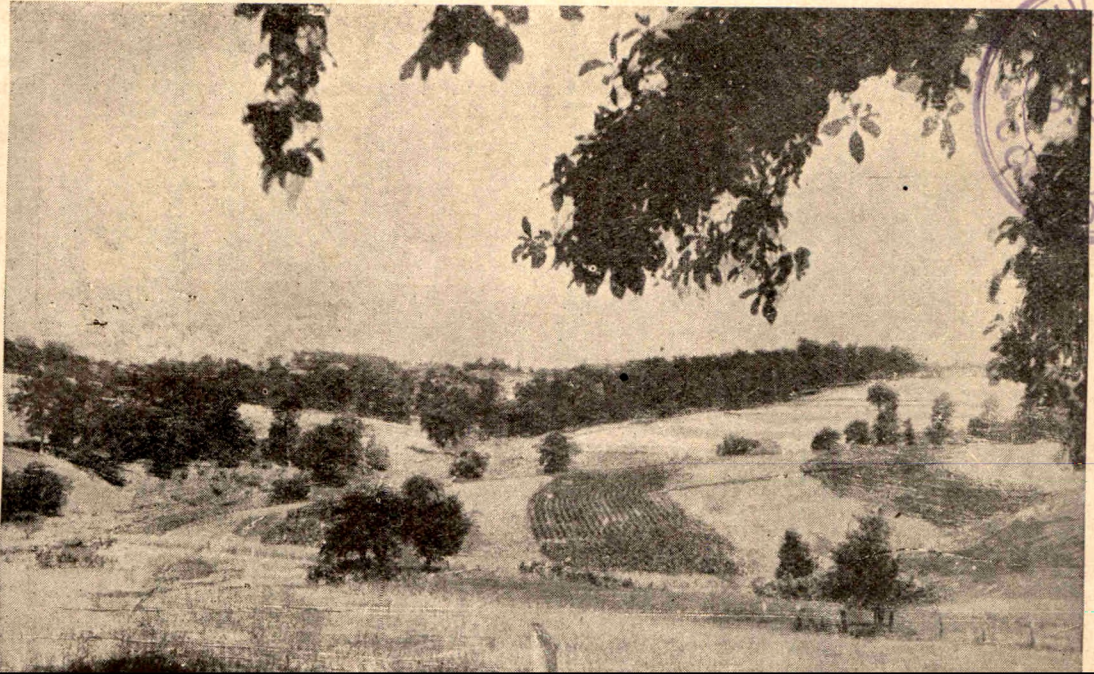
It has been indicated in the preceding pages that all the river basins have similar problems to solve—the flood, drought, soil erosion, and the conservation of water resources, maintenance of inland navigation for trade and commerce and generation of electrical power. In this respect India has nothing new to do, excepting to adopt the spirit of the TVA. This is also true for world reconstruction.

Take up the case of any river or river basin. The

its tributaries, the Tista, Brahmaputra and host of others remain to be surveyed for resources-planning of India. These will entail the said 'conflict' between provinces or states. All of them have to be removed, in future, by the TVA method.

It has been thoroughly explained how the conservation of water resources and utilisation of the great water cycle of Nature comes to the aid of industrialisation and efficient agriculture—both being at the root of the economic welfare of a country. India has her rich soil and rich mineral resources. But they go unworked and undeveloped. For *working* always involves power and energy. Compared with other civilised countries, while Britain has 2,000 units of energy per head per year, and U. S. A. 3,000 units, India has only about 100 units per capita. One can now easily imagine the helpless position of India in matters of developing her agricultural potentialities and mineral resources. The potentiality of power in India is by no means meagre. Nature has endowed India not only with agricultural soil and mineral resources but also with necessary power potentialities to develop them. India is now producing 4,000 million units of electricity while the total utilisation of power—including manual labour, cattle labour, coal and other fuels—amounts to some 40,000 million units (in terms of electrical units of Kilowatt-hour). The water power resources of India is now estimated (more tentative than thorough) at 39 million horse power amounting to some 2,60,000 million units a year, leading to an increase of some 650 units per capita. Out of these 39 million horse power of potential

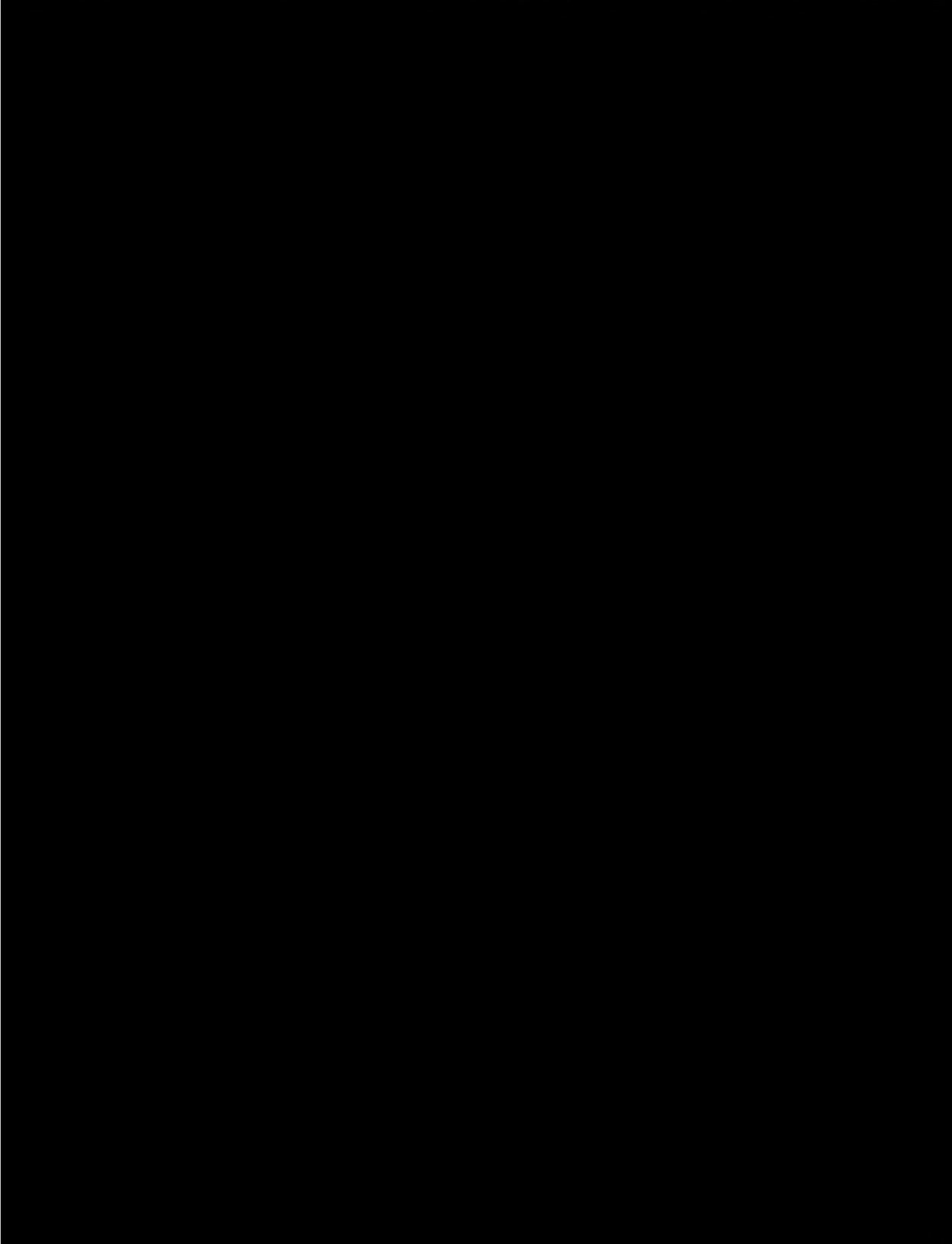
THE TENNESSEE VALLEY



THE MALA URALIS OF PERIYAR



ties, as the TVA undercuts and transcends State's more interested in TVA's way of working with people rights and boundaries), and adjust to promote the than we are in its dams and furthering of industrial planned development of regions of greater backwards development." It is the principle, policy and the spirit



broad forehead, black curly hair, massive chest, large torsos and somewhat fair complexion. They wear thick tufts on the back of their heads. *The Travancore Census Report* says that "the Urali is the most dolichocephalic of the hill tribes with a cephalic index of 70.6", and that "the average nasal index of the Urali is 84.6." They are still in the lowest rung of the ladder

home. Women during the period of menstruation have to confine themselves to distant tree-houses. Child-birth takes place inside a specially constructed tree-hut and the consequent pollution lasts for 21 days. The husband has to sit at home and abstain from work till the 22nd day when his wife returns to the house with the child. The Urali women wear pretty little bandeaux in their hair in Grecian fashion, and adorn their bodies with garlands of beads and shells. They use bangles and bracelets, and ear and nose ornaments. The Uralis are highly—almost ridiculously—superstitious. They offer homage to crests of hills which they believe are the sanctuaries of the "Shining Ones." The hill folk believe that the forests are peopled with fairies, devils, dwarfs



legends—are firmly rooted in the minds of the credulous hillmen who as a rule retreat at the advance of civilisation. Their colourful legends and tales reveal that they are steeped in superstition.

The Uralis bury their dead about a furlong from their hut. The principal mourner is the nephew. The grave is dug deep and billets of wood, and reed mats are thrown into it. The sides of the grave are also covered with reed mats. The corpse, bathed and

men. Their medicine men who, in their own language, are known as *Plathis*, are credited with the power of curing diseases and other human ailments by invoking the aid of the gods and spirits. The *Plathis* or witch doctors endeavour to cure diseases by songs and gruesome contortionist dances accompanied by prayers, incantations and wild and intoxicated chorus. In the course of performing black magic, they let loose a full blast of incantatory gibberish spiced with obscenities.

and untidy, and sanitation is very poor. Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer, the well-known anthropologist, in his informative book *The Travancore Tribes and Castes*, says :

"The Urali huts are isolated. Each man has a tree-house which is about 50 feet from the ground. . . . Each hamlet has a common tree-house reserved for women in menses. There is a common tree-house for granary."

Their chief weapons are chopping knives, pellet-bows and muzzle-loading guns. The pellet-bow which flings with tremendous force sharp stones has a range of 100 yards. It is of great use to the hill folk in killing small game and driving away monkeys. The Uralis use sickles and spades.

The Uralis are a good-natured, freedom-loving, pagan people, sun-bronzed, and handsome in a wild sort of way. They live in close association with Nature and their simplicity is really remarkable. They are extremely orthodox and do not intermarry among or interline with the other forest folk. The hill-men are supposed to be the original inhabitants of the country. These aboriginal tribes speak a corrupt form of Tamil.



Due to their great reverence for the hills and rivers which they believe to be the sanctuaries of the "Shining Ones", the hamlets of the Uralis are generally situated on beautiful sites and in superb natural surroundings. Their acts of adoration are characterised by devotion, simplicity and superstition. On seeing the hill folk at prayer one is reminded of the

beautiful lines of Wordsworth, the high priest of Nature :

Great God, I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn—
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn,
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
Or hear Old Triton blow his wreathed horn..

—:O:—

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE AND THE INDIAN POLICE SERVICE

BY RAI BAHADUR BIJAY BIHARI MUKHERJI

It has just been announced that the Government of India through the Secretary, Federal Public Services Commission, has issued a pamphlet on the recruitment of candidates, with approved War Services, to fill war-reserved vacancies in the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. Unfortunately the pamphlet has not been made available to the public by sale or by distribution. The subject-matter, however, is of very great public importance. No constitution can be of effective use to the people unless the agencies for administration are selected, trained, developed, and permitted to function and do respond to the demands to function for national progress and welfare. The recruitment and the future of these, which are generally termed the "Security Services", need very careful analysis and examination. While on the one hand the administration must perpetually guard against incompetence and corruption, on the other the personnel must be devoted workers for national cause and for national uplift. Nothing that militates against the one or the other could on any ground of expediency or sentiment be permitted to jeopardise the chances of success of the one and definitely the one objective—India's national progress and the progress of all sections of the nation.

Unfortunately political subjection brings on repercussions on varied expressions of national life. The marks thereof are patent all round. It was H. G. Wells who pointed out that the most outstanding contribution of the 19th Century to the history and the progress of the world was the constitution of the public services. It is so even in England which of all European countries is believed to have developed the highest standard of integrity and efficiency of the public services as a rule. It is not contended that the standard there reached is uniform or that there is no room for improvement. An analysis of the state of public services there from the day of Lord North to the present day will bear out the contention that a definite, marked and steady progress has been made in the morale of the public servants of that country. Even Disraeli and Gladstone had to be fought against because of their efforts to preserve the patronage system of distribution of the public offices and the provision of jobs for keeping the political party together. It is one of the inherent weaknesses of democracy and of the representative institutions that in power the human weaknesses have a strong urge to get to the top. In England a group of persons stood up and relentlessly fought against the tendencies that corrupted the public services and the standards of morals of public men. In India the very unnatural conditions of non-national

state raise other problems and produce what the modern psychologists would term other "behaviour-patterns" to the detriment of the efficiency of the public administration, to the degradation of national honour, and to the damage of the national interests. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the 19th Century India did develop a definite standard of morals and of efficiency in the public services. Subject to the Imperial interests up to a point these standards worked to the improvement of the public servants and to the betterment of the public administration and thus of the country in general. Then came the struggle of nationalism and the fight with bureaucracy. On the top of all came the Communal Award, followed by the communal representation in services. India finds in the complex the undignified spectacle of some one being picked to be a minister with the least qualification of being so from the intellectual and the moral point of view followed by the appointment of brothers as ministers, nephews as I.C.S.'s; in other cases brothers are followed by brothers in the ministry with brothers-in-law as Parliamentary Secretaries and so forth. The authors of the constitution which under the high guise of political philosophy brings about these changes, with disastrous results to the administration which is corrupted to the core and with deaths to millions such as the Bengal famine showed, escape. The cause and the effect are confounded. The syllogism is lost in the haze. In Bengal today no one in the Government is ashamed to put up a public advertisement for "the 1st Surgeon" of the Calcutta Medical College (the premier Medical Institution of the East) inviting candidates *only* from the Muslim community or putting an advertisement on behalf of the Government for "the Principal of the Government Art College" (again a premier institution) *only* "from the community of scheduled castes". The situation is comic but for the tragedy involved. To the credit of some sane individual in the Government, it must be said that both these advertisements were withdrawn later. But almost similar ones appear daily.

Those who are familiar with the history of the evolution of the public services in England from the patronage system of the era ending with the first quarter of the nineteenth to the present quarter of the twentieth century know what England owes to a group of strenuous fighters for dignified standards of public morals. Those interested might be referred to Northcote-Trevelyan Report (of Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan), to their paper on "the Reorganisation of the Permanent Civil Service" which with a letter from Benjamin Jowett was sent to

eminent men for criticism in 1853, to the Report of the Playfair Commission in 1874, to the Report of the Ridley Commission of 1888, to the Report of the Macdonnell Commissions of 1912 and the scrutiny thereof by the Re-organisation Committee of the National Whitley Council. Fortunately England had produced men of the type of Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Benjamin Jowett, John Bright, John Stuart Mill, Robert Lowe (Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Gladstone Ministry) to carry on an unceasing campaign. They fought against corrupt vested interests.

"Jobbing," said the Right Honourable H. N. Addison, the Under-Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, "*is a part, though an ugly part, of the price which a free people pay for their constitutional liberty.*"* The same argument that is strutted out for nepotism in the shape of so-called selection against the competitive system open to all and adjusted to the needs in the country was voiced there too. The Permanent Secretary to the Board of Control argued that "the best scholars were not necessarily the best clerks." Mr. Booth, Secretary to the Board of Trade, contended that the service would be, in the case of the open competitive examination being introduced, "filled by picked clever men from the lower ranks of society and that in consequence a lower tone of feeling would prevail."† One would hear the same voice against any system that stood for fair field and no favour. In India this is expressed in different terms and in different tones. But England had after all a national state, a national will, and a glowing improved standard for public morals. A just system was developed, freed from nepotism and patronage. No one, after the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill had been made into an Act, contended that in view of the great disabilities imposed by Law and the Public Acts on the Roman Catholics against entry into the public services for long periods in history a "Religious group representation" in services ("communal representation in services") should be introduced to make good the loss to the Roman Catholic. The leaders of public opinion had the sense to see that the ideal was to provide the best servants for the social organism—the State—in the interests of the people themselves.

The recital, brief as it is, shows what even in England had to be contended against. The task in India must be more difficult. The conditions for obvious reasons are more complicated. The call on Indians, therefore, is greater—provincialism, communalism, sectarianism, and ego-centricism must have to be ruthlessly rooted out. No euphemism, no slogan, no seemingly high falutin bunch of political ideologies could be permitted to stand in the way of a fight against principles that are unsound and that stand in the way of the evolution of a vigorous, efficient, broad-based Indian nationalism being built up. So far the self-governing institutions, the legislatures, even the universities, have not succeeded in holding up—specially of late—the touch of the highest idealism that may inspire the youths to dedicate themselves to the service of their country by an emulation of personalities in power and in action. A good constitution with a bad

machinery for administration is bound to fail. A bad constitution develops the worst traits in character and helps the scum of society to seize power and use the power to corrupt the administration by examples as well as by actions. That self-government is better than good government is a truism. But bad government is not an inseparable accident of self-government. Self-government is good because it paves the way for the efflorescence of all that is the best in efficiency and in effectiveness for national progress which is at once the one objective and the foremost test. The machinery of the administration, therefore, needs the most careful and the most anxious attention. India must strive to produce dedicated super-intellectuals to run her democracy, a vigorous public opinion and a vigilant press to uphold the standard of public life, and an effective, incorruptible, efficient, and strongly nationalistic public service to administer her affairs. The challenge goes to the youths of India irrespective of caste, creed and colour. It is for them to decide and to act.

A brief analysis will show that in the period that ended with the battle of Plassey outstanding administrators were born in India. Apart from kings like Chandra Gupta, Asoke, Akbar, Aurangzeb, men like Sher Shah, Man Sinha, Todar Mall, Shivaji, Rana Pratap, Protapaditya, Guru Govinda Sinha, to name only a few, were born and brought up in India and left their impress on national life and administration. That in more restricted spheres outstanding personalities were developed could easily be related. In the sphere of philosophy, in religion, in literature, in sociology, in law, names could easily be cited to show the wealth of personality and imaginative powers. Since 1757 the Indians slipped out of the positions of effective leadership and were condemned to occupy what, to quote an official phrase, were "positions of minor responsibilities." The stature of a nation is determined by its highest. It is regulated by the opportunities to play an unhampered part in the effective evolution of the national life. A country, which had produced the Sikhs and the Jaths, the Gurkhas and the Dogras, the Pathans and the Punjabis, a country which produced a Protapaditya and even in the nineteenth century a Ranjit Singh is held to be a country incapable of producing one single military Commander of position! In administration even the officiating Commissionership of a Division was considered an unlooked-for concession even up to the end of the nineteenth century and the then Headship of a Provincial Department, unconnected with law and order, a dearly conceded privilege. While the indigenous material was rejected the imported material the moral achievements of which are written on the pages of history in the diaries of Cornwallis, in the journals of Warren Hastings, in the proceedings of his impeachment, was provided with pay, positions and privileges till the Indian Civil Service reached a stage that was rightly noted by Mr. Montagu not as a service but a "ruling corporation."

Theoretically Indians had promises solemnly given. Sec. 17 of the Charter Act of 1833 assured the Indians that there was no bar of caste, creed, or colour (the Caste Hindus for the last decade read these with peculiar zest) "to hold any place, office or employment" under the said Company. This was repeated with particular emphasis in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858. The concrete result, however, was "steady decline for Indians to positions of minor responsibilities." In the despatch of 30th May, 1878, on the subject,

* See *Papers on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service, 1854-55*, page 393.

† See *Papers on the Re-organisation of the Civil Service, 1854-55*, pages 106-7.

Lord Lytton was constrained to write, "Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of *having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear.*"

The Indian feeling was voiced by that outstanding advocate for freedom of his country, Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the 20th Century when appearing as a witness before the Welby Commission he deposed that apart from the administrative and economic loss to India by the employments of foreign labour "there is a moral evil which, if anything, is even greater. *A kind of dwarfing and stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the existing system may be satisfied. The upward impulse, if I may use such an expression, which every school-boy at Eton or Harrow may feel that he may one day be a Gladstone or Nelson, or a Wellington and which may draw forth the best efforts of which he is capable, that is denied to us. The full height of which our manhood is capable of using can never be reached by us under the present system.*" The result of such a system is almost possible to demonstrate with scientific exactitude. We see in India an improvement in the blueprints of development and a definite system in view—points in which India is ahead of most Asiatic or any Asiatic country for which the present regime can take legitimate credit but we look round in vain for an outstanding administrator, an outstanding soldier, and an outstanding public servant of vision and creative powers. This system could not produce any and for the conditions imposed it was impossible that any could be produced.

During the World War I, the Mesopotamian muddle brought changes in the outlook. The declaration of 1917 stipulated "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration." It was followed up by Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the final embodiment in the provisions of Government of India Act of 1920. The privileges of the Secretary of State's services were carefully safeguarded. Not only were their appointments and conditions of services reserved to be regulated by the Secretary of State but their emoluments were not subject to the vote of the legislature. A simultaneous selection by nomination of Indians followed by competition in simultaneous examination in India—for which the Indian National Congress and national leaders had moved since the inception of the Congress—was introduced. The successful candidates, however, had to spend initially two years and later one year in a British University which was dropped altogether after the World War II started when a training centre at Dehra-Dun was started.

The Government of India Act of 1920 by its provisions in Part VII-A, Part VIII (Secs. 96B to 100) safeguarded the rights of the services. There was reported difficulty in obtaining British recruits and a Public Services Statutory Commission under Lord Lee of Fareham came out to India. It recommended various additions to the privileges and the emoluments of the services, framed definite rules about Indian nation, and laid down new provisions for leave, passage and pensions.

Sir John Simon then came out and examined the

whole question of services in their relation to the constitutional changes. A report by the Auxiliary Indian Central Committee was also submitted and published. The Simon Commission reported that the Governor in Council in Madras and one member of the Council in Central Provinces did not desire the continuance of All-India services and insisted on provincialisation. In two provinces, the Ministries opposed the view of All-India recruitment. The majority of the Central Committee recommended that except in Madras and Bombay, the new ministries should decide the question (*vide* Vol. I Part IV, Vol. II Part IX para 328 of the Report). The weight of evidence, the Simon Commission however reported, supported All-India Recruitment. The Round Table Conference came next—a Sub-Committee (No. VIII) examined the question. Some of the members wished for immediate stoppage of recruitment of All-India service. For all the existing system was kept up to be re-examined after five years.

The position stands thus to-day. The Government of India Act of 1935 secures not only appointments by the Secretary of State but all conditions of service—pay, pension, privileges, of these security services as subject only to the orders of the Secretary of State. The recommendations of the Service Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference that the condition should be re-examined after five years remain unattended to. The provisions stand embodied in Secs. 240 to 263 (Chap. II) of the Government of India Act of 1935. There is a list which enumerates the specific posts that must be secured to the members of the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. No change is possible in them without the authority of the Secretary of State. The Governor-General and the Governors are enjoined by their Instruments to safeguard the interests of the services. Rules of business ensure that members of these services have special rights of posting and of promotions. They are controlled by the Governors of the Provinces independently of ministries.

With India promised a definite political status—be that only Sir Stafford Cripps' offer as Mr. Amery contends or still farther as the Indian nationalists demand—the retention of services owning privileges on contracts with an extra-Indian authority is not only anomalous but impossible.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report it was contemplated that the new Indian Ministries will need the help of experienced administrators. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said that "clearly the first and the immediate task is to make a living reality of self-government" in India³ but they had seen too that the Indian Civil Service was "much more of a Government Corporation than of purely Civil Service in the English sense. It has been made a reproach to the Indian Civil Service that it regards itself as the Government; but a view which strikes the critic familiar with parliamentary Government as arrogant is little more than condensed truth."⁴ But they concluded, "Our aim throughout must be to make the change not needlessly difficult for the services, and to enlist their co-operation . . . Of the services much is being asked. We are confident that they will respond to the demand."⁵ They either indulged in conventional platitudes or were poor students of human psychology. The representatives on behalf of the British Services submitted

3. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para 127.

4. *Ibid.* para 126.

5. *Ibid.*, para 128.

to the Simon Commission a few years later a memorandum in which they correctly declared, "In some instances Provincial Legislatures have manifested an attitude of hostility to the British Services, and probably in all cases transfer has brought about changes in policy, in character, and the methods of administration with which the British services with their different traditions and ideas can not be properly in sympathy and with which they would not in fact like to be associated."⁶

"The discussions and the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report are altogether perfunctory and inadequate. If that report becomes the basis of legislation the contention of the Indian Civil Service that its status will be altogether revolutionised is unquestionably true. That service will no longer rule India . . . It may be committed but it will not decide . . . The seat of authority in India is being removed from the Civil Service to the Legislature and we must build up the system of Government accordingly. Wisdom compels us to see not very far off the end of the Civil Service as we have known it," wrote Mr. Ramsay Macdonald.

The reaction on the Indian public men was strong. "But of one thing I am quite sure, that no new order can be built up in India so long as the spirit of the I.C.S. pervades our administration and our public services. That spout of authoritarianism is the ally of Imperialism and it can not co-exist with freedom. It will either succeed in crushing freedom or will be swept away itself," wrote Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru.

"The camouflage with which the Act (India Act of 1935) abounds is so transparent that it is not difficult to detect that beneath the pretentious device of Ministers functioning in a system of Provincial Autonomy the real power is still vested in the permanent officials; the Ministers have been given a mockery of authority and the steel frame of the Imperial Services still remains intact, dominating the entire administration and casting sombre shadows over the activities of Ministers."

"During my experience as a Minister I found to my utter surprise that in many vital matters affecting the rights and liberty of the people the advice tendered by the Ministers was invariably subject to revision in the light of the counsel tendered by the more trusted members of the services whose omnipotence was almost of divine character . . ."

"A British civil servant had the audacity to put down in writing that the rates of payments made to the unfortunate evacuees of East Bengal were much higher than what they deserved . . . as an Imperial officer he refused to carry out the orders of the Provincial Government. This officer still remains in power and enjoys a position of great trust and responsibility."⁷

The views may be right, the views may be wrong. The fact remains that the Montagu-Chelmsford optimism has not been realised. Unfortunate remarks, such as "over-dramatisation" of distress in Bengal

when the tragedy was stalking astride, by a highly placed I.C.S. British officer from his place in the Government of India who could not have been in touch with his peers in Bengal, have not enhanced the reputation for either sympathy or judgment of the I.C.S. The net result is a complete disintegration of the forces a complete integration alone of which could be conducive to the interests of the State and of the people for which the State exists. The conditions sterilise the services, hamper the Ministers and paralyse the machine of State.

"It has been for us a sad task to enquire into the course and the causes of the Bengal Famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible."⁸

"Between the Government in office and the various political parties and in the early part of the year between the Governor and the Ministry and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine."⁹

A million and a half died and many through malnutrition are yet to follow! No legal responsibility can be fixed. England has ceased to produce Burkes and Sheridans. No impeachment has followed. But no camouflage can expiate the moral guilt of the authors of 1935 Act, the authors of Communal Award, the authors of Communal representation of services, the authors who safeguarded Service conditions, and the politicians who foisted the Democracy, and of the crowd that walked into power and of the men who revelled in Service privileges; took pay and shook off responsibilities. England that grows only 40 per cent of her food requirement, under daily bombardment and with imminent fear of attack by a ruthless enemy never permitted one single individual to die of starvation. Bengal which normally produces most of its food and properly organised could produce more let "a million and a half" to die and others to fight death with debilitated vitality and weakened resistance. Crop planning conferences and discussions were ceaseless.¹⁰

"We have been told that there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the frame-work of the permanent administration."¹¹ The deterioration is skipped over. The syllogism has not been completed. The causes have not been analysed or realised. The Commission easily contented itself with the thought that the Cinderella, the minor official, had deteriorated while definite charges of corruption and inefficiency were made against Ministers and higher officials.

It was the muddle of the Crimean war that drew the pointed attention of the people of England to the inefficiency of the public administration. The indignation of the people compelled the Government to issue the order in Council of 1870. "The order in Council not only checked an abused system but also paved the way for Departmental re-organisation."¹²

"The report of the Mesopotamian Commission proved that the Indian bureaucracy was not only

6. Indian Central Committee Report, page 294.

7. Government of India Report, page 113.

8. Auto-biography, page 445.

9. The letter of Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, to Sir John Herbert, the Governor of Bengal, dated 2nd Aug., 1942--Bengal To-day, page 10.

10. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji,--Legislative Assembly, 12th February, 1943.

11. Famine Enquiry Commission Report on Bengal 1945, page 107.

12. Ibid., page 105.

13. See Proceedings of Crop-planning Conferences, Delhi, 1934.

14. Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee of 1944-45, para 219.

15. The Growth of the British Civil Service--Cohen, page 123.

*inelastic—that had always been suspected—but also thoroughly inefficient.*¹⁶

The Bengal Famine brings out the tragedy of sentimental safeguarding of vested interests and of political jerry-building at the cost of a million and a half of human lives with many more to follow. A system which will be genuine Self-Government, which will have agents genuinely co-operating, and worked by people in power who will not have all privileges and no responsibility, must be evolved. The inefficiency of the present administration is writ large on the country. It is congenital and lies rooted in its constitution. It must change.

The Madras Government had pointed out to the Simon Commission, "Responsible Government if it implies anything implies that *the Province must be free to recruit its own servants as and where it likes. There can be no imposing upon it of a body of men recruited under Regulations from sources and at rates of pay prescribed by some outside authority.*"¹⁷ The Bengal famine is the result of other alternatives. As with individuals so with State to be effective the powers must be synthesised.

The Egyptian Government when it had to take over the powers of the State had the same dilemma in 1931. Loss of experience, risks in sudden changes, additions to pensionary charges on the one hand, and lingering old traditions thwarting initiation of new ideologies, thwarting new life with the urge and the emotion for National reconstruction and progress, disintegration of national forces and consequent ineffectiveness of the new regime on the other. The new Government chose the former, took all risks, found the expenditure worth incurring. This was provided for in the Egypt New Treaty. Re-appointment of non-nationals was under strict rules. These rules are contained in Device No. 44 of 1936 relating to the conditions of service of foreign officials.¹⁸

The conclusions are :

(a) New recruitment should be stopped except on purely temporary basis, to be clearly understood, which does not involve unfairness to recruits or binds India to shoulder heavy compensatory commitments later.

(b) The present All-India services personnel should be completely liquidated, the risk of disorganisation,

and addition to pensionary charges must be faced. It is probable that the existing members might have chances, in case of approved persons, of re-absorption in the New Provincial services, or on a contract basis re-newable at option of both the parties on terms which might be carefully drawn up. It is probable that those in the Judicial service might have preferential treatment. A strong, competent, justice-preferring Judiciary should be a bulwark to India in transition. Possibly the best had been drawn to it. The Indian and non-Indian members should be subject to the same rates and same conditions. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald had emphasised, "Mere polished efficiency is not the end of our custodianship of India; a pax-Britannica is not the end; the end is *Indian life, abundant, responsible, and spontaneous.*"¹⁹ Like many other hopes this hope unfortunately stands unrealised. On the background of power-starvation, and of responsibility—starvation of over a century and a half—the Indian officers placed in position not unoften illustrate Emerson's dictum that "many can stand adversity but few can stand prosperity." It is probable that conditions militated against their natural growth of sympathy and fellowship for their suffering countrymen. In the districts of Midnapore, Tippera, 24-Perganas and Noakhali, etc., not unoften the criticism was heard that the Indian officers in power built themselves on the greatest common measure of weaknesses of both the races, Indian as well as European. Probably again it was the difficulty of the conditions which was responsible for the impression. A few, in spite of difficulties, could stand by justice. But India needs a new outlook, a deeper emotional attitude towards its struggling fellow-countrymen, a more determined will and a capacity to build the India of tomorrow than could so far be found in its public servants. A new construction must be attempted and a fresh new corps, a new army put on the field of operation.

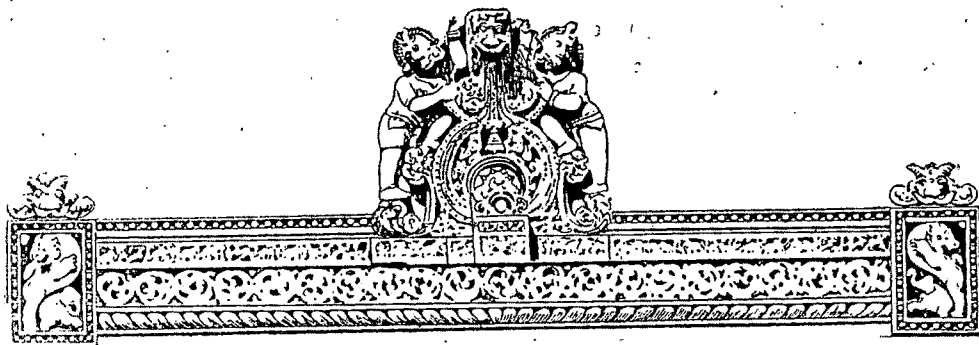
(c) A Committee of Indians should forthwith be appointed to go into the question of the Public Services in all their aspects and deal with them with justice, sympathy and vision, yet with practical wisdom and firmness. The Committee must lay the foundation for Indian National Service in every sense of the term. If India is to progress, and progress it must, *the new machinery must be evolved for the new tasks. It must be an Indian Committee to formulate the terms and the conditions.*

16. *An Indian Commentary* by G. T. Garrett, I.C.S., page 144.

17. Madras Government Memorandum, page 26; Report of Indian Central Committee, page 294.

18. Page 214. *Gouvernement Egyptien-Ministere de la Justice. Recueil des Lois, Decrets et Rescrits Royaux.*

19. *Government of India*, page 112.



A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shraddhananda PART V

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XLVI

WHEN I was a boy and the forest was, with me, a matter largely of speculation, I thought it to be quiet to the point of dullness. As I grew up and became acquainted with it, however, I found it to be alive and captivating. The wind-god used the vine-garlanded giants as his orchestra to produce, for persons who had the ear to hear, symphonies of infinite variety. Insects, birds, beasts of prey and those they preyed upon and man's kin—the monkeys—swelled this harmony, often off-key. Every thicket was a battlefield. Every pool mirrored the struggle that went on in the branches above and in the bramble beside its banks.

Beings held in the highest Hindu esteem found in the forest trials that form soul-stirring cantos in our Ramayanic epic. Sita, who insisted upon accompanying Rama thither, was abducted from a sylvan bower. Her brother-in-law Lakshmana cursed himself for a fool for permitting himself to be beguiled, otherwise Ravana would never have had the opportunity for perpetrating that foul deed.

XLVII

The "forest" that the Swami Shraddhananda entered after his *Shashti*—60th birthday—proved to be far from quiet. There originated struggles alongside which naught that could stand comparison could be resurrected from his earlier years, exciting as many of them had been. Ill will had set that forest on fire. The hot breath of the conflagration blew full blast upon him as he entered it. The flames burned his flesh and finally consumed all that was mortal of him.

His real self, however, withstood all trials. Never once did he whimper. Never did he regret having rushed into the fire, much less sought to beat a hasty retreat,—to save as much of himself as he could. No. On and on he went, until there was nothing left of that which could go on.

This is, in brief, the story of this valiant soul's "forest-dwelling" from the sixtieth year to the end of its earthly incarnation, save twenty-two months or so. These had seen him back at the Gurukula. An "S.O.S." had taken him there. That the institution of his creation could not hold him even when he had returned to it is, in itself, a sure indication as to the place where he fain would dwell and strive.

XLVIII

As the events of the final phase pass in front of memory's eye, in an outline that is bold in consonance with his sturdy physical frame and his sturdier courage, it seems to me that all his 60 years he had been, unwittingly it may be but none-the-less surely, almost inevitably, getting ready for this phase. Had he been present in my study as I, letter by letter, punctuation point by punctuation point, imprint these words with the typewriter bars, perhaps he might have joined issue with me. Joining issue had been the delight of his early as well as his mature manhood. He was uncommonly

shrewd, however, and even more uncommonly generous. It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that he may have dropped contention and concurred with me in this matter or even applauded me from burrowing under the surface and discovering the real spring of his speech and action.

XLIX

As we have seen he had broken away from gainful life to devote all his energy—and his energy was herculean—and all his time—and his time was stretched by hours stolen by enthusiasm from sleep—to the promotion of causes that the Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati had at heart. These causes would be classified into religious, social, educational and other categories by persons who have specialised in the science of splitting any and every entity into parts—persons who are increasingly happy as they multiply the number of parts. Munshi Ram might well have been of that number—even Shraddhananda also.

He had begun by laying the utmost emphasis upon the soul—*atman*. That being the real self, it alone mattered. It had become corrupt—degenerate through having been fed upon tales invented during a decadent age—*Poranak Kahanian*, he used to call them. It must be led upstream to the head waters of Aryan—Vedic—culture. Those pure waters would wash away poison of every description. Society composed of such purified persons would not need to be shed of evils: for it would have become automatically pure.

Sermons and speeches—brochures, books and propaganda organs—he had tried. After years of the most assiduous and persistent striving he had found such striving inadequate. Cogitation, searching and sincere, had forced him to the conclusion that salvation lay in imparting education to the youth—education modelled upon the Aryan pattern, in other words, the revival of the *gurukula* system.

In this fashion had proceeded the development of his own mind—the growth of his ideas—the acquisition of one technique, then another and so on. The development had not ended with the inauguration of the institution by the Ganges bank in the Kangri forest clearing. No. The process had continued. It had led him to the objectives and the methods that were to be his as he fared forth, staff in hand, into the "thorny tract of life," as the Sanskritists termed the sixties.

L

These objectives were political. He was led to them, however, by a circuitous route. It, in fact, looked for a time, as if humanitarian endeavours would absorb what remained to him of energy and years.

In settlements made by hardy people in Himalayan recesses, life is led with little or no margin of security. Failure of crops results in scarcity. Scarcity soon turns into famine.

The cry of the starvelings in Garhwal reached Munshi Ram's ears. He immediately went there. What

he saw and heard there moved him to the depths of his being. He threw his whole self into the organization of relief.

Hardly had he finished with this humanitarian job when he was drawn into a maelstrom. This had been caused by an unwise move made to control post-war activities. A committee presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt had produced a scheme that roused hostility everywhere in India. In Delhi there had been a conflict between the people and the police.

Shraddhananda sought to stop further bloodshed. He came near to being man-handled.

LI

Here a sudden turn was given to his life. So deeply were Muslims touched by the loving care he gave to some of their men who had been wounded, that they carried him to their central shrine—the Jamma (Jumma) Masjid. There he, by universal acclaim, was invited to mount the *mimbar* (the Muslim equivalent to the Christian pulpit) and preached the cause of unity. His eloquence created an impression that left his Muslim auditors dumbfounded.

And no wonder. They had expected him to speak with force and facility: but speak what he called Arya Bhasha. He had, however, used Urdu, as elegant as any cultivated native of Delhi or Lucknow, and it had flowed from his lips like water from a cunningly contrived jet in a landscape garden, fed from a carefully concealed perennial stream.

It was, however, his burning zeal for the collaboration of the two sections of the Indian people—not peoples—that had made the deeper, the more lasting impression. This was even more unexpected than the unfaltering Urdu.

LII

When I first had this report, I was inclined to pinch myself out of day dreaming. Inside me another voice was shrieking.

It was memory's voice. It was saying, this preacher of unity—of concerted action—was precisely the man who, a generation earlier, was seeking to make Hindus self-sufficing—assertive. Why did the Hindus neglect this calling and that?, he was asking. Why did they leave the field to others, and retire to their sulking chambers? Why did they stand with bowed heads and folded hands before persons who abused and belaboured them? Why did they permit their feelings to be harrowed, without uttering even an "ough"? Why? Why?

While memory's voice kept on asking such questions, suddenly the meaning of it all became clear to me. I realised why—just why.

Between a section of a nation inclined to have things its own way and a sister-section habituated to giving in and giving up, there could be no sort of concert. Grab on the one side and give on the other never produced a symphony. The notes may, indeed, be diverse: but they can be harmonised. Only submission to discipline was needed.

Shraddhananda was wise, I realised. He was wise, because he built upon the bases laid down by Munshi Ram. The conciliator was no other than the combatant, mellowed by age, experience and the charity that comes to controvertists as the result of much mental flagellation and tribulation of soul.

LIII

Tribulation of soul was waiting just round the corner. It was tribulation in form and intensity new even to long-suffering India.

It was, moreover, to be the portion of his beloved province. Malignity was to crash upon unsuspecting Amritsar. An unbuilt area, with houses on all four sides, known as the Jallianwala Bagh, was to be the scene of brutality as cowardly as it was unashamed. Near it a lane was to witness acts designed to abase the Amritsarias as never before in their history since the fourth spiritual preceptor of the Sikhs—Sri Guru Ram Das Sahib—chose a site that has become the most sacred to our people.

Lahore suffered agony hardly less excruciating. Gujranwala, too.

I have not the space for the details. This, happily, for me. They harrow my mind even now, 26 years later. There is not the slightest need of recalling them to the reader: they are indelibly etched upon his memory.

Not the slightest effort is needed by me to imagine the sufferings that must have been Shraddhananda's. As hundreds of boys had found out for themselves at Gurukula no tenderer heart ever beat in any woman's form than the one he carried in that huge, muscular frame that often shook with the storms roused by his contentious and contending soul.

LIV

It is not of his sufferings that I wish to speak here. There is no need for me to do so, even if the typewriters that I am using for transferring the words from my brain to paper were capable of reproducing the depth of that agony.

It is the mission that the suffering made him undertake of which I desire to write. It was as sorely needed as it was noble. It was, in my view, the most successful of the many missions that he had undertaken in his life. That is saying much, for he had been a crusader since early manhood.

I at the moment do not recollect whether the idea of holding the Indian National Congress that year at Amritsar originated with him or with some one else. But for him, however, there would have been no such assemblage there.

The idea, in itself, was great. That city had been the scene of outrages unparalleled in civilised annals: and that in the twentieth century and under British rule. The coming in of leaders from every corner of the country and the crowds that would assemble to greet them and to derive inspiration from their words, would focus attention upon the wrongs deliberately done there, as nothing else would do.

The difficulties in carrying out the idea were, however, numerous and stubborn. Dyer's terrible deeds had not only disorganised the place but also demoralised its people. This is what he had meant to do. That had been at least O'Dwyer's aim, and he ruled from Lahore, only 35 miles away, barely 20 minutes' journey by aeroplane, which was being employed in the Punjab then. The aim was to "cow down" the Amritsarias.

LV

The Amritsarias had been cowed down. Most of them had been so demoralised that they refused to talk about the happenings. This, not because the happenings were terrible in nature and they were too

harrowed and overcome to be able to speak. No. The reason was different. They were afraid that if they talked of that frightfulness they may get into trouble—serious trouble.

Why? By whom they were to be gotten into trouble? Who was to trouble them? What kind of trouble was to be theirs?

None of them stopped to ask these questions. None of them would try to answer these questions, when these questions were put to them.

Put to them these questions were. The putter was no other than this tall, broad-shouldered, big-featured, shaven-pated Swami, with a voice that could ascend and descend the scale of notes as does the air when it uses trees in the forest for its lyre. He would have asked them merely because of the tender heart that he carried about with him. He *had*, however, to ask them, whether he willed or not. This, then, was the reason:

LVI

Our people needed all the relevant facts about the outrages done in Amritsar. They had no faith in the official enquiry. They had only their fears. These fears amounted to a certainty—that the real issue would be buried—every high placed official would escape scot-free, or, at best, with a more or less mild censure.

They had, therefore, themselves instituted an enquiry. It was headed by a man, who had given up legal practice that had brought him lakhs every year, so that he could devote all his time and energies to protecting the people's right to further popular causes. This patriot—the Pandit Moti Lal Nehru—was as shrewd as he was self-sacrificing.

The Amritsarias, who for personal profit, sided with the officials were certain to boycott and even attempt to thwart this enquiry by the people's representatives for the benefit of the people. That was to be expected and had been taken into account.

No one, had, however, anticipated that the demoralisation of the dwellers of the small houses abutting

on narrow lanes had gone so far as to make them afraid of their own shadows. If they kept their mouths shut, how was the people's committee to get to the bottom of the tragedy.

LVII

The shaven-pated Swami found the way to unlock the Amritsarias' mouths. They found it impossible to resist him. They poured into his ears the trials that had been theirs—the indignities that they had suffered. At his bidding, rather than solicitation, many of them appeared before the Committee. It had all the materials it needed for the Amritsar section of report.

The self-same Swami, almost by himself, made it possible for the Congress session, to be held at Amritsar—held successfully. This he would have done even if he had not been pressed to serve as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, as he was.

The statements made by the leaders at that session and the decisions arrived at Amritsar are already a part of our national history. There is no need for me to recapitulate them here.

The contribution that Shradhdhananda made towards the writing of that history is, I fear, not as well known as it well be. It was a great contribution and one of abiding value. This, because he had revived the morale of the people who had been completely cowed down by frightfulness—not only revived it but rebuilt it,—stronger than it had been ever before. That is why I call him a "Revivalist"—not merely because he had revived the Gurukula type of education.

There this narrative must end, though there is some humanitarian work in which he engaged later. His work for the sufferers in Malabar, for instance.

We all know how he was attacked in December, 1926 by an assassin, who smuggled himself into the sick-room and stilled the form that lay prone temporarily disabled. Years have elapsed since that deed was perpetrated but I can not yet bear to write of it.

—O:—

"LOOKING BACK"—II •

Causes of Disease and Mortality

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

WHEN looking back to the events of 1943 that led to the famine of 1943, the Woodhead Commission not only bemoaned the moral, social and administrative breakdown (p. 107) but "a complete breakdown in the health services" (p. 142) also. Every measure that goes to prevent famine and relieve distress, mitigate sufferings and check unnecessary deaths failed to attain even the minimum standard. It is, therefore, no wonder that there was a considerable number of deaths that could have been easily prevented. It is a pity that India was under the direction and control of a Government that had been functioning from a distance of six thousand miles or more through a subservient local administration that proved to be inefficient, corrupt, without forethought and foresight and toppling down at the first appearance of danger.

It may be suggested that the local Government was overwhelmed with the magnitude of the problem. If it was, it must be at a very late stage. They failed to adopt any measure which, according to the Com-

missioners, "taken before a certain stage in the descent into catastrophe was reached, could have fully retrieved the situation (p. 132)."

They failed in every sphere of Governmental activity and their attempt at concealing truth and suppressing the number of famine deaths by subterfuge have not escaped the notice of the Commission. After a period of 24 days, i.e., from August 16 to September 8, 1943, of the publication of figures relating to famine deaths, the Government of Bengal discovered that "death in the majority of cases was due to chronic ailments and diseases which had been neglected in the past" and stopped supplying figures to the newspapers on September 9, 1943. Due to pressure of public opinion, the Government had to yield and from September 11 the number of deaths in the streets, etc., began to reappear. In this connection they coined a word of great significance, viz., *sick destitutes*. It meant in other words that death was due to starvation and nothing else. This spirit contaminated the high and the

mighty and on December 16, 1943, Mr. Amery giving the number of deaths etc. during August to December was pleased to say: "But this total may include some deaths not due to starvation."

The remarks of the Woodhead Commission on this matter are :

"A high proportion of the deaths which took place in the early stages of the famine can best be described as deaths from starvation. It is true that disease of some kind or another was usually present in starving patients, adding to the seriousness of their condition . . . The difference between death from simple starvation and death occurring in a starved individual who is suffering from disease is of medical interest, but a negotiable difference when the broad facts of famine mortality are under consideration" (p. 116).

In dealing with the causes of disease and mortality the Commission repeatedly refer to the undernourishment of the people at large which resulted in deaths of millions of persons from epidemics. They say :

"The calamity of famine fell on a population with low physical reserves and circumstances were favourable for a flare-up of epidemic diseases. The association between health conditions in normal times and the high famine mortality must be underlined" (p. 116).

Again at p. 120 they have dilated upon the point in the following language :

"A famine-stricken population is a sick population. Famine means not only lack of food in the quantitative sense but also lack of essential food constituents which are needed for bodily health. The functioning of every tissue and organ in the body is impaired by insufficiency of food. Susceptibility to infection may be increased, and resistance to disease when contracted will be reduced. Attacked by the same disease, an ill-nourished and debilitated individual is more likely to succumb than a healthy one . . . We have estimated that there were some 1.5 million deaths in excess of the average in 1943 and the first half of 1944. It is impossible to separate these into groups and to assign a proportion to starvation and under-nutrition, another proportion to epidemic disease, and yet another to non-epidemic disease. The famine and its effects on the life of the people must be held generally responsible for the high excess mortality recorded under all the headings in the mortality tables" (p. 120).

Perhaps due to the Government's attempt to divide the causes of deaths into water-tight compartments, the Commission have repeated their arguments that "the fatality rate of almost any serious disease is likely to be increased by undernutrition and starvation" (p. 121) and the one cannot be separated from the other.

In reviewing the causes of high mortality the Commission probed into the matter a little deeper, examined past events and very rightly discussed the conditions of the medical and public health organisations of the Province in normal times. In this connection the Commission have also tried to enquire

"whether, at the various stages of famine, it would not have been possible to reduce mortality by more effective health measures" (p. 132).

As regards the normal public health organisation of the Province the Report says :

"If a public health organization is to be capable of meeting emergencies, it must reach a certain degree of efficiency in normal times. In Bengal the

public health services were insufficient to meet the normal needs of the population and the level of efficiency was low" (p. 132).

And it is idle to expect that such an organization will be able to meet the exigencies of abnormal times !

The staff was inadequate, the pay of subordinate members of the service insufficient, financial allotments for travelling were or are often inadequate and in a particular case "District Health Officers and the subordinate staff were employed in activities other than public health, including political activities" (p. 134).

About the Civil Surgeons, who are practically in charge of public health in the districts, the Report has some hard words to say :

"In the opening months of the famine Civil Surgeons in general were not aware of, or at least did not report, the development of a critical situation in their districts. Their lack of knowledge of what was happening appears to have been partly due to inability or disinclination to tour their districts. There seems to have been lack of contact and co-ordination between Civil Surgeons and District Magistrates in certain districts with regard to the medical emergency created by the famine" (p. 135).

And again :

"In general the standard of efficiency reached by Civil Surgeons and subordinate medical personnel left much to be desired. Discipline and sense of duty were defective and morale low." (*Ibid*).

The Commission is, therefore, of the opinion :

"In view of the state of medical and public health organizations in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion. On the health side, no satisfactory attempt was made during the early months to deal with the situation; there was in fact almost a complete breakdown of health services, affecting both the centre and the periphery" (p. 136).

In times of scarcity and more specially, famine, food is the most important medicine which not only sustains life but imparts strength. Scarcity of food and consequent high price caused the famine; during famine relief there was again a serious lack of appreciation of the need of the hour and

"The quantities of food supplied as free doles of uncooked grains or in the form of gruel at the kitchens were very meagre (p. 128) . . . The gruel as issued did not at the best supply more than 600-800 calories for adults and about half this number for children (p. 129) . . . The methods of feeding followed in the free kitchens have been severely criticised. There is no doubt that the quantity of food provided was below normal requirements—it was in fact a starvation diet. Apart from quantity, the food was unsatisfactory in nutritive quality, e.g., in its content of protein and vitamins. It was widely stated that the unfamiliar millets usually included in the gruel caused many deaths. In the districts recipients had often to walk 2-3 miles to obtain their 800 calories or less" (pp. 141-2).

In connection with food distribution the Commission have administered a most scathing but nevertheless deserving condemnation to those dishonest self-seeking men who are worse than the profiteers who were out for gain and killed people in their greed. These men clothed themselves in the garb of public service to make money, help themselves, and their relatives in thorough disregard of the claim of the dying destitutes

for whom these kitchens had been started. The Report says :

"The management of kitchens was not always what it should have been; abuse and corruption were far from infrequent" (p. 141).

About hospitals in normal times and the emergency hospitals in Bengal, the Commission have given their opinion in a most candid manner. For weak destitutes hospitalisation is the first and foremost remedy and the Commissioners have discussed in an unbiased manner the disadvantages that were inherent in them :

"Existing hospitals in Bengal were in general poorly equipped and there was a deficiency in the province of most medical supplies, so that there was little to build on in the task of creating hospital accommodation (p. 126) . . . The hospitals throughout Bengal with certain exceptions, were poorly equipped and badly run" (p. 135).

Then steadily and surely came the demand for emergency hospitals throughout Bengal for accommodating the dying picked up from streets. There was shortage of civil medical officers, nurses, sweepers, etc. These added to the existing difficulties. But

"Previous to the famine, hospitals were not popular in rural Bengal. People were reluctant to enter them as in-patients, which is scarcely surprising in view of the low standard of nursing. In many hospitals there were no night nurses or attendants and a patient might die at night without attention" (p. 138).

With regard to emergency hospitals "certain criticisms must be made." The progress was slow at the early stages of the famine and many persons could have been saved if steps had been taken earlier.

"Conditions in certain famine hospitals at this time, notably the Behala hospital in Calcutta, were

indescribably bad. Visitors were horrified by the state of the wards and patients, the ubiquitous filth, and the lack of adequate care and treatment in spite of their appreciation of the efforts of the nursing superintendent who was striving, against formidable odds, to alleviate these conditions" (p. 138).

With regard to epidemic diseases, the Commissioners have given their judgment on each of the diseases separately. With regard to Cholera the Commissioners agreed "with the views of the 1901 Commission that much of the cholera mortality 'must be deemed to have been preventable'." There was an insufficient supply, or no supply of bleaching powder. Water supply was scanty and the tube-wells in the districts were in most cases out of order. There is no regular system of inspection and repair of these tube-wells and "the state of the wells under the local bodies may be ascribed as much to indifference and inefficiency as to lack of money" (p. 128).

With regard to Malaria, the Commissioners say that

"The main responsibility of medical and public health authorities was to provide facilities for treatment . . . and that the responsibility was inadequately fulfilled" (p. 123).

The Report concludes the chapter on "The Failure to Prevent High Mortality" with the remarks :

"The story is, in fact, throughout one of belated efforts to bring the situation under control. This is said with full understanding of the numerous and formidable difficulties and full appreciation of all that was eventually done to overcome them."

No comment is necessary.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIANS IN BRITISH INDUSTRIES : By Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A. Published by Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1-4.

There is a vague impression even among better informed nationalist Indians, thanks to systematic propaganda, that British industries in India have done us some good by developing the country and finding jobs for our intelligentsia and working class people. How weak and even questionable is this claim has been demonstrated with unassailable evidence and testimony by our esteemed teacher and social worker Dr. Mookerjee within the small compass of 74 pages. He has raised the pertinent question whether the British have any moral or legal justification for building up industries exclusively owned and managed by them, in our country, with our cheap labour and our cheap raw materials, denying all privileges to the children of the soil, drawing for themselves fat emoluments and dividends unheard-of anywhere else. He has also placed before us a lurid picture of the pitiful exploita-

tion of Indian labour about which we have had but a vague and intellectual comprehension. We must confess that the esteemed author has been remarkably restrained in his exposition, allowing his facts and figures to speak for themselves. What heavy price we had paid and are paying for British Industries in India, with what little return, and with what wastage of irreplaceable natural resources, was necessary to be recalled at this stage and Dr. Mookerjee has done a national service by doing it so dispassionately, yet so effectively. We only wish it were possible for him to publish also a table of average profit and personal emoluments earned and of wages paid in England and other western countries along with the Indian tables.

ECONOMIC POLICY AND PROGRAMME FOR POST-WAR INDIA : By Nalini Ranjan Sarker. Published for the Registrar, Patna University, Patna. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 2-8.

The theme of the book will be evident from its title. The thesis which forms Banaili Readership lectures discusses Indian agriculture, industry, transport, cur-

rency, exchange, trade, finance, distribution and other subjects with a view to "securing the greatest possible measure of welfare of the greatest number of the people." It is necessary to warn all readers beforehand that all these plans and programmes must be regarded as mere academic discussions and not the shape of things which will automatically come after the war. This remark applies particularly to those plans which have not the sanction even of a big political party behind them. Even then, some value should be conceded in their favour, as the distinguished author has himself put it that a sound plan should await the advent of a national government than that a national government should be kept waiting for a plan. In this content the book has raised useful and important discussions with which all educated Indians irrespective of his political or economic creed should be fully conversant.

The weakness of the book however lies in the fact that its author owes his allegiance to the conservative capitalist school of economics and fights shy of all present-day ideologies, nay, of all politics. Says he, "It seems to me that the wisest thing would be not to bring in the conflicting question of ideologies in shaping our plans . . ." Again, "that the prejudices and pre-occupations which are born of economic or social ideology should be scrupulously dropped," because in his experience these "dissensions grow, rather than diminish, when dealt with on the political plan." This stand of Mr. Sarker—to make a plan without a social ideology or to discuss economics without a political background—is wholly untenable in these days. It is somewhat like playing football without goal-posts and without opposing parties and the only order of the referee is to kick forward. This being the position, his treatment of the most important subject of distribution of wealth was bound to be evasive and it has been so. Here his last resort seems to be Beveridge's plan; but he could not invoke his authority by name as the disparity between England and India was too palpable. Thus though the distinguished author has placed his valuable economic thoughts and concepts in a non-political vacuum glass-case, yet we must unhesitatingly say that the book deserves to be read by all people concerned with the building up of India's economic future.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

RAJPUT STUDIES: By Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A. Pp. 340. A. Mukherjee & Bros., Calcutta.

Since the publication of Tod's famous book *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* more than a century ago, a halo of Romance has surrounded the medieval history of Rajputana. There hardly breathes an Indian to-day who is not filled with emotion at the very recollection of the Rajput hero of old. Bengal seems to have a special fascination for the glamour of Rajput chivalry which has inspired her poets, play-wrights and novelists far more than perhaps any other historical theme.

With the development of historical studies in a critical spirit the charm of Rajput history has faded to a considerable extent. But to the general public the romantic annals of Tod still pass current as history. It is time that the sober history of the Rajputs should be better known and find a wider circle of readers. For, when critically studied, the history of the Rajputs takes its proper place as a valuable chapter in the history of India, which may be less thrilling, but certainly not less inspiring, than the medieval bardic tales. For this reason we welcome the book written by Mr. Banerjee.

It is not a systematic history of the Rajputs, but a collection of eight essays dealing with different aspects of Rajput history. The first deals with the early history of the Guhilots and the next two with the medieval history of Mewar. The last four essays trace the circumstances under which Mewar, Jaipur, Marwar and other minor Rajput states came under British

protection. The remaining essay deals with the political and military organisation of the Rajputs in the days of Tod.

The first three essays were separately published before in different periodicals. Although they do not add much to our knowledge, they are good presentation of interesting topics from all points of view. In dealing with the early history of the Guhilots the author has subjected the different view-points to sober criticism and carefully sifted the available evidence in a judicious spirit. The same spirit of critical study is shown in his review of the struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the thirteenth century, and the character-study of Rana Sanga of Mewar which form the subjects of the next two chapters.

In writing the last four chapters the author has used a large volume of official documents, previously unpublished, and given a connected narrative of events which ultimately forced the proud Rajput rulers, one after another, to place themselves under the yoke of the British. In addition to the deterioration in the character of the Rajputs, the one common factor which mainly led to this tragic end is the rapacious plundering raids of the Mahrattas. The author has vividly shown how the insatiable greed of Sindhia and Holkar led them to bleed these Rajput states absolutely white for more than half a century. The whole of Rajputana was subjected to unspokeable oppression, till exhausted, impoverished, and torn hopelessly by internal dissensions prompted by the Mahrattas, the Rajput rulers had no other way left to save themselves than seeking the protection of the British Raj. The Rajput policy of the Mahrattas is a sad commentary on their statesmanship and patriotism. One even feels doubt whether the Mahrattas were really inspired by the spirit of restoring *Hindu Pad Padshahi* in India. For then they should surely have endeavoured to draw the brave Rajputs to their side by a spirit of friendship and conciliation, instead of using them as their milch-cow to fill their depleted treasury. The author's detailed statements, authenticated by official documents, leave no doubt on the inglorious activities of the Mahrattas, and one is led to fancy how different modern Indian history might have been if the Mahrattas had made a common cause with the Rajputs in an endeavour to restore the old glory of India. These are sad thoughts, but they are instructive and full of meaning to modern politicians. The author has done well in bringing out the true facts and we have no doubt his book will be widely read.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

MYSTIC TALES OF LAMA TARANATHA: Translated into English by Dr. Bhupendranath Datta. Pp. 90. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19-B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. 1944. Price Rs. 4.

This is a translation, in the abstract, of Professor A. Gruenwedel's German version of a work of the famous Tibetan monk Lama Taranatha dealing with the legendary lives of a number of Tantrik Buddhist saints (*Siddhas*). Neither the manner nor the matter of the original work justifies the alternative title '*A Religio-Sociological History of Mahayana Buddhism*' with which the translator introduces his work to his readers. Nevertheless, Taranatha's volume may justly be regarded as a mine of information for the religious beliefs and practices of medieval Buddhist saints, besides throwing important side-lights on the literature, history and geography of the land. The translator, who is already well-known for his important contributions in the field of Indian anthropology and culture-history, has therefore been well-advised in placing this rare work within easy access of English-knowing readers. We would offer a few suggestions for the improvement of this monograph, in case a new edition is called for. If the translation cannot be made directly from the

original Tibetan text, all technical terms, should be given in the original Tibetan with corresponding Sanskrit forms and full explanatory notes. The numerous historical and geographical references should also be accompanied with similar notes. Finally, the Introduction should contain a critical (and as far as possible historical) account not only of the biographies of the saints, but also and above all, of their cardinal doctrines. In writing such an account the translator should fully utilise the enormous advance in our knowledge of Tantrik Buddhism made since the time of Professor Gruenwedel.

U. N. GHOSAL

REPORT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM OF INDIA: By R. Coupland, C.I.E., M.A., D.Litt. (Hon.). Oxford University Press, 1944. Part I—*The Indian Problem 1833-1935*. Pages 161. Price Rs. 3. Part II—*Indian Politics, 1936-1942*. Pages 347. Price Rs. 4-8. Part III—*The Future of India*. Pages 208. Price Rs. 3-8.

In this Report on the constitutional problem in India submitted by Professor Coupland to the Wardens and Fellows of Nuffield College, Oxford, the entire field of the development of political institutions in this country since the assumption of sovereign power by the British Parliament has been surveyed with a view to devising a system of government in which the twin principles of freedom and unity could be balanced and combined. To Professor Coupland, the most burning question of Indian politics today is not so much the problem of freedom as that of unity. The Indian problem, again, is reflected in the wider international situation, and it is held by the author that the victory which will save or restore freedom to all nations will be unfruitful and precarious unless it is combined with the greatest practicable measure of international unity. The emphasis is shifted from the issue of a political settlement between India and Britain to that of a constitutional agreement among the major political parties in India manoeuvring for a share in the governance of the country. This characterizes the author's approach to the entire problem of India's freedom: "The British people want the Indian deadlock to be broken; and it could be broken if the major forces of Indian public opinion could come to terms." These words sound almost like echoes of Amery and Lintithgow, only fortified by the scientific reasoning of an apparently sincere Oxford scholar. Indian politics is not without its shortcomings; Indian political leadership is not infallible; but that alone does not make British intentions of transferring power to the Indian people sincere and beyond questioning. Professor Coupland takes this and several other cardinal points for granted, which unfortunately lends to his otherwise admirable and objective study the taint of bias.

Professor Coupland's Report has discussed a very wide range of subjects connected with the main question, but there is space in this short review only for an examination of some of his principal recommendations. In Part III the author discusses comprehensively the basic principles of a constitution for a free India; it reveals his close acquaintance with the constitutional history of India as well as of the Dominions and with contemporary Indian politics. He concedes, however, that few of his ideas found in this book are original, for many of them have already been canvassed by Indian students and publicists. Anyway, despite the amazing sweep of his knowledge of constitutional history and contemporary politics, the author has not been able to avoid certain inconsistencies while dealing with Indian problems. For instance, he pleads against the balkanization of India and at the same time suggests the retention of separate electorates in the

Provinces and the establishment of a "weak" Centre, its functions being limited to foreign affairs and defence, tariffs and currency and possibly communications. He further suggests that the other subjects of government will be divided between the Provinces and a new set of units to be created. These new units will be called regions and will be four in number—two Muslim (the Indus region and the Delta region) and two Hindu (the Ganges basin and the Deccan); these Regional Government will take charge of such subjects as large-scale economic planning and the maintenance of law and order in the last resort—functions which each Province by itself cannot discharge efficiently, and which cannot be vested in a "strong" Centre on account of the prevailing communal sentiment. Further, the Centre envisaged is an "agency centre," that is, the representatives of the regions would come to the Centre not on an all-India footing, but solely as the agents of their regions with mandates from their governments and legislatures. This scheme which contains evidence of much hard thinking on the part of its author introduces a fresh complication, namely, the three-fold division of powers between the Centre, the Regions and the Provinces, and does not solve the problem of freedom with justice since it seeks to assign to nearly three-fourths of the population of a country just equal vote with the remaining one-fourth in the determination of policy. Besides, a "weak" Centre seems to be out of place under modern conditions, as the Centre in federal constitutions is in a variety of ways, expanding its functions, both in war and peace. Coupland, however, is prepared to concede to India the freedom to secede from the Empire though he hopes that India's own interests will induce her to decide against secession. In this respect Coupland's proposals go farther than those contained in the Cripps Declaration: That Declaration had envisaged a treaty to be negotiated between the British Government and the Constitution-making body to cover all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, particularly the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the British Government's past undertakings. Coupland justly argues that external sanctions of any kind, such as a treaty, are inconsistent with the status of a free India. He holds, and we agree with him, that a lasting and valid guarantee of minority rights in an independent country ought to be sought in the fundamental law of the land framed by consent and modifiable only with the consent of all those affected. The author has also made certain suggestions regarding the composition of the Constitution-making body which, however, contain a bias in favour of separatism.

The one undisputed contribution which Professor Coupland has made to the study of India's political and constitutional problems is the introduction of a number of new ideas and proposals designed to solve the twin problems of freedom and unity. It might be argued by some that he has, by his wrong choice of emphasis, sought to rekindle the extinguished embers of dead controversy, but there is no doubt that his reasoned conclusions deserve the most serious consideration of all those who are interested in the evolution of a free and united India. We have not seen anything like this stupendous study of India's constitutional problems since the Simon Commission's Report, and as the work of an individual scholar, however controversial the issues involved, it is entitled to the highest compliment.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK, 1945: By S. C. Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd, 14, College Square, Calcutta. Price, paper cover Rs. 2-4, board-bound Rs. 2-12.

The thirteenth issue of this well-known year book has just been published. Its size is slightly thinner this year owing presumably to paper economy but its useful-

ness remains as before, if not higher. The most attractive feature this year is the inclusion of summaries of all important post-war plans in India, viz., the Government's 15 year reconstruction plan, the Gandhian plan, the Bombay plan, etc. Summaries of world plans like the Philadelphia Charter of the I. L. O., International Monetary Conference, Dumbarton Oaks Conference, International Civil Aviation Conference, etc., have also been included. The political situation in India during 1944 has been very ably summarised in the section 'The Congress in 1944'. We believe the book will continue to command its worthiness as a work of dependable ready reference.

D. B.

THE RENAISSANCE OF HINDUISM : By D. S. Sharma, M.A. Published by the Hindu University, Benares. Pp. 686. Price Rs. 15 or 21 sh.

This stimulating volume is the first publication of the Pratap Singh Gaekwad Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion, launched by the Benares Hindu University and edited by its Vice-Chancellor Sir S. Radhakrishnan. This book contains a series of profound studies in renaissance Hinduism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The learned author moves a mighty pen producing a style which is free and flexible, fascinating and dignified. The book is divided into fourteen chapters, besides the glossary and index. The last chapter merely provides a long reading list according to each chapter separately, while the first and the thirteenth are respectively introductory and concluding. In the remaining twelve chapters the prominent leaders of the modern Hindu renaissance, namely, Raja Rammohun, Justice Ranade, Swami Dayananda, Annie Besant, Shri Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurovindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and Prof. Radhakrishnan are separately studied and the contributions of the movements started by them are carefully surveyed. The first chapter which serves as a masterly introduction to the subject gives a short history of Hinduism from the earliest times down to the nineteenth century. The thoughtful author points out therein that the first renaissance in our religion was represented in the Upanishads which laid the firm foundations of Hinduism. The second renaissance took place in the epic age and is probably the greatest in our religious history and the finest flower of that renaissance is the Bhagavat Gita. According to the author, the third renaissance made its appearance in the last century with Raja Rammohun, who is "the morning star of the new day which dawns with Shri Ramakrishna and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi." Mr. Sharma characterises Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest figure of the modern renaissance, Rabindranath as its Leonardo da Vinci, Sri Aurovindo as its self-exiled and self-imprisoned Danté and Prof. Radhakrishnan as its greatest living exponent as well as a world-champion of religion in general. Two long chapters are devoted to the description of Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa and India. He pertinently observes that our age will be considered by the future historian as the age of Tagore and Gandhi, two mighty personalities of the present renaissance which is more comprehensive and far-reaching than the two preceding ones in extent and intensity. In the words of J. H. Holmes of Chicago the Mahatma by his unique example has made Hinduism the noblest religion of our times. In the opinion of the learned writer, Shri Ramakrishna is, in a way, the true starting point of the present renaissance; for, his life represents the entire orbit of Hinduism, and with Swami Vivekananda, our renaissance becomes self-conscious and adolescent. While surveying the contributions of the Ramakrishna movement, he rightly remarks that, of all the religious movements that have sprung up in India in recent

times, there is none so faithful to our past and so full of possibilities for the future, so rooted in our national consciousness and yet so universal in its outlook and, therefore, none so thoroughly representative of the religious spirit of India as the movement connected with the names of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. The concluding chapter estimates in the light of history the progress Hinduism has made by the present renaissance and insightfully points out what further action should be taken to ensure that the movement fulfils all the demands that modern age makes on us. This handsome volume is a unique and illuminating history of modern Hinduism and indispensable for the students of our religion. The survey is critical and clear, penetrating and popular, illuminating and impartial throughout and is evidently the result of lifelong study and thinking.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDA SAMHITA : With the commentary of Sayanacharya. Vol. III. 6-8 Mandalas. Published by N. S. Sontakke, Secretary, Vaidika Samsodhaka Mandala, Tilaka Memorial, Poona 2. 1941. Price Rs. 16.

With the publication of the present volume the Vaidika Samsodhaka Mandala or the Vedic Research Institute completes more than two-thirds of the entire work. And we have every hope there will not be much difficulty for the enthusiastic workers in presenting the concluding portion of the work before the world of scholars within a comparatively short time. For the present volume as many as thirty manuscripts arranged into 9 groups, were consulted. The variants noted reveal the extent of corruption undergone by the text of Sayana's commentary. Even manuscripts are not always dependable, as they did not hesitate, it is noticed, to supply what was lacking in Sayana, as the complete commentary on VIII. 19, 37. Nor do the manuscripts always preserve the correct reading, so that readings not supported by any of the manuscripts have sometimes had to be accepted in the present edition as well as in Max Muller's edition and the Bombay edition. In the present volume it is noticed that the learned editors have suggested two dozen emendations which generally appear to be happy. Besides these, there are a good many other cases where readings better than those adopted by Max Muller have been traced in the manuscripts and incorporated in the body of the text.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

NISSANGA : By Rampada Mukhopadhyaya. Kamala Publishing House, 8/1A, Hari Pal Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.

As a novelist and writer of short stories Rampada Mukherji has made a name for himself. He has a style of his own and even in dealing with our common and every-day life he can throw some new light on the theme. But the subject-matter of this novel is not an ordinary one. *Nissanga*, as the title of the book implies, denotes the solitude of a soul. A man unless he gets his soul's companion is alone in this wide world. It is almost the subject-matter of poetry, but unlike a poet a novelist must be objective in his representation of life, and Rampada Mukherji has met with success in making his characters living and full of life. Salil, the hero of this novel, is what may be called a successful man of the world. He lives in affluent circumstances, respected by all, has a handsome wife, and is the head and arbiter of a large family, yet he feels that he is not one of them, he is not happy, he is solitary. Life can be realised through love and not through success. Salil is unfortunate in his love. Nirmala, Subha and Sucharu are all living characters and have distinct characteristics of their own. In a sense Nirmala is also a solitary soul.

The author has shown considerable skill in dealing with difficult characters and a difficult theme. The story never lags and the interest of the novel is sustained to the end.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

BHARATER MUKTI-SADHAK : By Gopal Bhowmik. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-12.

The book contains biographical sketches of Surendranath Banerjee, Lokamanya Tilak, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu C. R. Das, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and some other outstanding Indian political leaders, whose activities have mainly been influenced by the ideals of the Indian National Congress. The writer has done justice to Bengal by giving a short account of Bengal's contribution to the Congress movement and a detailed description of the part played by Surendranath Banerjee in the beginning of India's struggle for freedom. The author has not only made the pen-pictures of these notable celebrities enjoyable for us but has also given a careful analysis of the Indian political situation.

NALINI K. BHADRA

RABINDRANATH GHARE BAIRE : By Sm. Renū Mitra, M.A. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

It is an interesting analysis of Rabindranath's famous novel *Ghare Baire* (the Home and the World). The author describes and comments on the philosophy of life presented by each of the main characters. She has not been satisfied with the mere enjoyment of the story, but has tried to understand and explain the central problem underlying it—the problem of conjugal relation. This relation is not complete when it is confined within the narrow limits of the home. It attains completeness in the context of the world. She has dealt with the point at length. Her clarity of thought and elegance of language are really commendable.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AKHANDA HINDUSTAN : By Vishendas Deva. Trivedi and Co., Chamberlain Road, Lahore. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 2.

Here is a powerful plea, based on a study of Indian history and of the fundamental needs of humanity as against those of any particular portion of it, for consolidating the centuries-old unity of the country. As such, it is a clarion-call to all patriotically-minded people to set their faces firmly against those movements and measures, like Pakistan and separate electorates, which aim at vivisectioning the vital oneness of the nation. The two forewords to the book contributed by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerji and Raja Narendranath respectively, are forceful as well as full of illuminating facts.

The author says that his sole purpose in writing the book, under review, has been three-fold : first, to become conscious of the blunders made in the past in our struggles and strivings for freedom; secondly, to try to remove root and branch, such tendencies in our present-day collective life which make for separateness; and thirdly, to oppose political projects like Pakistan of the Moslem League and the "Azad Punjab" of the Sikhs. He has divided the subject into five sections, namely, British policy in India; Mistakes made by the Congress; Pakistan; "Azad Punjab"; and a Solution of the problems pertaining to the political unity of the country. The twin basis of the arguments advanced in the last section is "growth of a sane rationalism and

modernisation of the material aspect of life." Here and there, however, one finds there has been an undue emphasis on the especial point-of-view of the Hindus; otherwise, the book breathes a spirit of dispassionate criticism. A translation of the book in English as well as in the principal languages of India will go a great way in arresting the growth of our anti-national policies and programmes.

G. M.

CANARESE

'BAPU' : By G. D. Birla, Translated by R. R. Divakar, M.A., LL.B., P.P. Crown 8 Vo. Pp. 184. Price Re. 1.

Mahatma Gandhi is an epochmaker and hence his influence on the contemporary life of to-day is bound to be marvellous. Many attempts have been made to sketch the life of the greatest man of the world but so far as we know, no single attempt has proved an unqualified success. Lives of great men are not easily understood and they always elude the easy grasp of ordinary mortals. The variegated colours and the diverse attitude of their mind cannot be compressed into the narrow compass of a few pages. Every time we have a look at the lives of great men new points emerge in the limelight and the freshness of their mind astounds us.

Sri Birla has tried to delve deep into the crevices of Mahatma's mind and has been largely successful in leaving the impress of his personality on this book of his. Birla Seth is no idle visionary; he is a practical businessman. So his conclusions and findings on different issues savour of this touch of practical wisdom. Birlaji is no blind follower of Mahatmaji. He has approached Gandhiji's life as a dispassionate critic and nowhere does he allow his intellect to be warped by extraneous considerations of faith, devotion, etc.

Sri Divakar, the devout disciple of Gandhiji and Gandhism, deserves all praise for having put in the hands of Kannada public this eminently readable book. Gandhiji today is not an individual but an institution and a power to reckon with. He is accepted on all hands to be one of the moulders of the modern world and a new and abiding civilization and culture. His life is bound to leave an indelible impression on the events to come and thus it is worth the while of every Kannadiga to go through this book carefully and digest the contents thereof. The Kannada rendering is admirably simple and chaste. The clarity of expression and the chiselled diction are worth emulating.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

PARABHAN PANI : By Prof. Murlī Thakur of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay 2, 1943. Thick card-board. Illustrated. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 2-8.

Many of these seventeen short stories give us a vivid picture of village society and village life, which being graphic, is real and pathetic. The language in which the incidents and descriptions are couched is very simple, and that adds to the attractiveness and popularity of the tales.

BINDU : By Ramprasad Shukla. Printed at the Kumar Printers, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 68. Price Re. 1.

This is a collection of 35 + 25 sonnets divided into two sections, ordinary and those relating to the present war and called destruction and development (Vinash and Vikas). The poems maintain a high level throughout, but are out of the reach of the ordinary readers in spite of the footnotes, explaining the subject-matter of each of them. The cultured few will surely appreciate them for the fine poetic conceits adumbrated therein.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Friend

This charming tribute to Sir William Rothenstein, whose death was announced on February 14, 1945, forms the subject-matter of an article by Rabindranath Tagore originally written for *Bharati* in 1912, and translated from the original Bengali by Kshitish Ray for *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

On reaching London I took shelter in a hotel. It was as if I found myself in the crowded gateway of moving traffic. What transpired inside remained a mystery, nor was acquaintance possible with the inmates. I just watched the people—coming and going. All I could see was that there was no end of hurry and bustle. What the business was about passed my comprehension. I knew not if anybody kept count of the impact of all this colossal bustle—for good or for bad.

The gong goes. Inside the dining room I find groups of men and women, in twos and threes, sitting round their small tables and noiselessly eating their food while the tall, solemn-faced waiter hastens from one table to another, serving with dexterous hands. Some finish their newspaper along with their meal, then dart a swift glance at their pocket watch, put on their hat and sally forth. The room grows empty. They get together only during lunch or dinner hour; then vanish, no one knows where.

Although I do not need to look at it, I too pull out the watch like everybody else, snap it open and then quietly put it back into my pocket. When it is neither meal-time nor time to retire, the hotel looks like a boat moored, and one is at a loss to explain one's presence therein during these hours. The hotel is a fit place for those who have their work to go to and no place to live in. A bazaar residential arrangement like this is not quite suitable for such superfluous persons as I. As I stand by the open window, I find streams of people running in various directions. They seem to me to be so many tools in the hands of an invisible mechanic. What is being forged remains likewise invisible, on the whole. It is like a colossal factory where history is being manufactured, where millions of hammers strike at a million different spots with swift and terrific blows. I stand outside this giant engine and see the living pistons, propelled by the steam of hunger, moving up and down with an indomitable energy.

Foreigners who come here for the first time cannot escape this first impression of the huge human machine of the god of history. What heat, what clamour! How the wheels revolve! If I shut my eyes for a while and try to form an idea of all the labour and all the movement that constitute this city of London, what terrible persistence! Nobody knows to what end is this incessant drive, what latent power is in the process of being made manifest.

But one cannot keep on seeing man only as a machine. If I cannot see the man in him, why did I come all this way? It is of course much easier to see him as a cog in the wheel than as he is by himself. Unless he takes you of his own accord into the inner compartments of his mind, you cannot gain admission to the essential man. It is not so simple as buying a ticket to a theatre. You cannot gain that admission for any price—simply because it is priceless.

Luckily for me I got that one rare chance. I came by a friend. There are some who are born friends. It does not lie with all of us to be so. In order to become a true friend one has to give oneself. As in the case of other charities, this gift presupposes a fund to draw upon. Mere wish to give is not enough.

The friend I was talking of is a famous artist; his name is William Rothenstein. In India I had met him for a brief while. As a matter of fact, at the time of setting out for Europe I had felt attracted by the prospect of coming closer to him. The moment I met him I felt as if in a trice I had crossed over the gateway of the hotel. Now there was nothing to stop me.

He lived at Hampstead Heath. The place was a green mound and looked like the heaving breast of London. In the backyard of his house nestling against the slope of the hill was a strip of a garden. Facing the garden was a long verandah attached to the drawing room, half-hidden by a rose creeper and rapturous with the fragrance of many flowers. According as my fancy took me, I sat in the verandah with a book in hand which I hardly ever read. I felt happier to watch his three children play—two boys and girl. Their childish joy was infectious.

The path from the strange to the familiar is a long and arduous one. I had hardly the time to traverse the entire course. My capacity, too, was limited. Habitually shy, I recoiled from the thought of muscling my way to the desired goal. Besides, I did not hold the key wherewith to unlock the main entrance to the English language. It was a hurdle race for me. Such a process is too much of a strain and does not help one to be true to one's nature. Unless one can express oneself without let or hindrance, one cannot get to know the real and true self of another. And so after a while, tired of trying to dodge the monstrous wheels of the mechanised traffic, I would have at last traced my way back to my Bengal, nestling in the embrace of her rivers, that flow by the green paddy fields glistening in the autumn sun. When my mind was at such a pass in came my friend. He raised the screen and I saw the light burning and a seat kept ready for me. I left the dead-weight of the foreigner's strangeness outside the door, discarded the dust-laden coat of the traveller, and passed in a moment from the bustle of the crowd into the intimacy of a home.

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The Pacific War

The New Review observes :

America had hardly any V-E Day and at once switched all her might into the Pacific war. By the middle of the month, re-deployment was in full swing. Engineer units were flown to organise the handling of millions of tons of water-borne supplies; Luzon is to play the part of a Britain-like base but note that there are 1,350 miles from Luzon to Japan against 100 miles from Britain to France. Air-crews are being re-trained, for the types of planes to be used are different. Superfort instead of Fortress and Liberator, Douglas A-26 instead of Mitchell and Marauder; many more of the type B-29 and Consolidated B-32. Then again the newest versions of Thunderbolt and Mustang will be the types mainly in use. There is also the Shooting Star, the Lockheed P-80, a jet-fighter with a ceiling of 40,000 ft. and a speed of over 600 m.p.h. which is being mass-produced. Re-deployment will take time, owing mainly to shipping shortage.

Japan has also improved her types of planes. She particularly boasts of her Kamikaze (Divine Tempest): it is a buzz-bomb piloted by a man locked in the cockpit; it is launched from the underside fuselage of a plane and carries one ton of explosive in its torpedo-like nose. It has done serious damage to American warships off Okinawa; yet the G. I.'s call it baka (foolish) in Japanese and Looney Joe in American. Japan is estimated to have 8,000 planes, half being front-line combat planes; until recently she produced 1,500 planes a month, more than was needed for replacements. But Superfortresses are credited with having cut down her production by some 35 per cent. The Imperial Fleet has been reduced to five outmoded battleships, three dozen destroyers and cruisers, 100 standard submarines and many more smaller ones. The land forces remain formidable, but the outer defences of the homeland have been breached at Iwojima and Okinawa and the repeated reshuffles in Cabinet, Army and Navy betray Japan's deep anxiety.

The Game With Human Lives

The tragedy that Bengal witnessed in 1943 is unparalleled in history both in intensity and character. What is most agonizing is that this famine did not come as an entirely unexpected avalanche. With bold and resolute action, it could have been prevented. *Science and Culture* observes :

A post-mortem examination has now been carried out on the Bengal famine of 1943. The Famine Enquiry Commission set up by the Central Government, with Sir John Woodhead (late of I.C.S.) as Chairman, has now released a report in which the situation prevailing before and during the famine has been analyzed. It is noteworthy that most of the charges of maladministration brought against the Bengal Government by the public during the famine and which were often stoutly refuted by the authorities, are very largely substantiated in this report. Broadly speaking, the findings of the Commission are :

I. That the incidence of the famine was not sudden, the signs of the catastrophe were apparent several months before its actual occurrence.

II. That although shortage of food supply and fall of Burma created conditions for its occurrence, its incidence was mainly due to (1) the sudden increase in the price of food materials, (2) the terribly low purchasing-power of the people, (3) the confusion in the policy of the Government regarding control of prices and procurement of foodgrains through Government agents, (4) the panic in the adjoining areas after the fall of Burma, (5) the weak and vacillating policy of the Government to control hoarding and increase of prices, (6) the maldistribution of available supply, (7) unfortunate Government propaganda against the incidence of famine when thousands were dying daily, (8) Government's failure to make an early declaration of famine and consequently delay in the adoption of relief measures, (9) unrestricted free trade, (10) export of rice from Bengal to other areas, (11) heavy purchases by the Army, huge stocks accumulated by industrial and Government employers, (12) destruction and loss of coastal boats, (13) lukewarm and complacent attitude of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, (14) hoarding and greed for money even at the expense of human lives, and above all due to lack of enlisting public support and loss of public confidence in the capacity of the Bengal Government to take effective measures even under the most acute conditions.

The report says :

"An attempt to control prices by the prescription of statutory maxima aggravated the situation by driving stocks underground. The subsequent decision not to enforce the Order, while alleviating the difficulties which the Order created, advertised the inability of Government to control the markets."

"The events of 1942 had shown how necessary it was for the Bengal Government to secure control of supplies. In these circumstances, we think that the wise course would have been for Government to have recognized that it was inadvisable to wait for a decision whether the control of rice should be central, provincial or regional responsibility, and that the proper course was to establish as quickly as their own procurement machinery."

"It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943, was 150 crores."

"We have been told that Government advised people that there was no shortage at a time when everybody knew that there was a shortage, and that this increased the prevailing lack of confidence."

"Conditions actually prevailing in Bengal at the time were far too serious for anyone to believe any-

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thing of the kind. We consider that this propaganda of sufficiency was quite ill-advised. We think that it would have been wiser to have told the people the truth."

"The remarkable feature of the Bengal famine was that the rise in the price of rice was one of the principal causes of the famine. This, as far as we are aware, makes it unique in the history of famine in India. The great majority of Indian famines have been caused by drought and widespread failure of crops over wide areas. Floods, hail, and cyclones have on rare occasions produced the same effect."

"But after considering all the circumstances we cannot avoid the conclusion that it lay in the power of the Government of Bengal, by bold, resolute and well-conceived measures at the right time to have largely prevented the tragedy of the famine as it actually took place."

"It has been for us a sad task to inquire into the course and causes of the Bengal famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown."

Meaning of Shakespeare in War Time

Prof. Dover Wilson writes in *The Twentieth Century*:

No man can breathe anything but the climate of opinion of his own period. And when you realise that Elizabethan England found peace and security, as it seemed to them, by a miracle, in the rule of their extraordinary Queen Elizabeth, after a generation or two of civil strife and the constant threat of foreign invasion, a threat which culminated in the defeat of the Spanish invasion fleet in 1588, a year or two before Shakespeare began writing his plays, you see at once that no other political attitude was possible for the men of that great age.

When Britain was recently threatened by invasion, she found the patriotic note of Shakespeare's history-plays stir her like a trumpet:

*This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror.
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them.*

And the famous description of the island-fortress in *Richard II*:

*This fortress built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands.*

Such passages have meant much to the people of Britain in these last years, more than they had imagined they could possibly mean in the days of peaceful preoccupation.

In another history-play, written later, though dealing with an earlier region, *King Henry V*, Shakespeare shows his country as itself invading the continent of Europe, and winning the great victory of Agincourt over the French in 1415. Here is a writing about England at war, a victorious war, surely the play of all plays to be reading or seeing in wartime?

What thrills us in *Henry V* is not the rather bombastic choruses, but the fact that the battle of Agincourt was fought and won by a handful of English against overwhelming odds, and the King's speech, in which he addresses his men as "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers."

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Indian Chronology

The habit of fact-finding is more useful than the popular art of book-writing or brilliant presentation. P. K. Gode writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Chronology is rightly looked upon as the very backbone of history, while *geography* is its eye. Accuracy in determining the time and place of a historical event or person inspires confidence but mere arguments do not prove a historical fact. All research worth the name in the historical field must connect the past with the present or, if this is not possible in a given case, it must accurately lay bare sufficient data by exploring a historical field within two definite chronological limits with a view to helping further investigation in the field by subsequent explorers. Recording data bearing on the problem under investigation and pointing out its significance is useful but writing page after page without discovering or recording any new fact does harm to the problem as it clouds the issues instead of clearing them. Mere inferences should be stated as such and even deductions from facts discovered should be cautiously made without leaving the moorings of facts.

There should be no mysticism in fact-finding or even in the presentation of facts. Evidence should be recorded without garbling and inferences therefrom should be presented in a clear-cut manner without adding too much polish or brilliance. The object of the investigator of facts should be the presentation of the facts discovered in their proper historical perspective with a view to helping brother investigators. Every research student will bear me out when I say that cautious research within reasonable limits warranted by specific data has not much to fear as it is never wide of the mark, though one may not always succeed in hitting the bull's-eye. The real test of a research article lies in its quote-worthiness in the eyes of subsequent workers in the field.

This is what may be called *realism* in historical research of which chronology is the greatest lever and one which, if stout and strong, has infinite potentialities.

A beginner in chronology should ply his axe on some knotty problems for which some reliable data can be gathered from sources still untapped. In our enthusiasm to determine the age of the Veda we neglect sources of history such as the numerous manuscripts in our libraries and the large number of inscriptions and archaeological finds pertaining to the different epochs of history, not to say the valuable documents of the modern period of Indian history, all of which need systematic investigation and exploration. A close study of this enormous material even in part, if carried out under the guidance of competent teachers, is sure to develop a realistic outlook which is badly needed at the present stage of research in Indology.

The correlation of data from literary sources with the data from epigraphic and archaeological sources is of paramount importance to the future of all research in Indology on scientific lines. Hundreds of research students can easily engage their minds in the study of this vast material that awaits exploitation in a cautious manner. Discoveries in research generally come from untapped sources. First-rate discoveries made by an investigator on the strength of new and unknown sources extend the bounds of our knowledge in a given field of history. While studying new historical sources we must in the first instance determine their chronology and then use them for historical reconstruction. Datable allusions or facts, when arranged in chronological order, make reliable history within their limitations. The investigator of historical facts must be a chronologist and not a novelist. The process of historical reconstruction worth the name is essentially an inductive process which builds up the edifice brick by brick with the cohesive cement of logic based on carefully selected facts.



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No More Windfalls in Apple Orchards.

Arnold Nicholson writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

If Dr. Frank Gardner had been three centuries sooner, a little ahead of Sir Isaac Newton, the world might still be wondering what makes things drop to earth.

For the discoverer of gravitation, being also an enthusiastic horticulturist, would naturally have sprayed his orchard with the fifteenth-century "Dr. Gardner's magic mixture," and the well-known apple would not have fallen. It is still open to argument whether or not this scientific "double-cross" would have been worthwhile, for Dr. Gardner's discovery is rated "one of the most important in the history of food production."

By adding a teaspoon of his "magic" to two hundred gallons of water for sprinkling an orchard—bigger, sweeter, more vitamin-crammed apples, pears, cherries, and other fruit are now produced.

In the coming months, the public will be receiving the biggest dividend yet from the "crazy experiments" which Dr. Gardner, as a member of the U. S. Bureau of Plant Industry's staff, began five years ago at the bureau's experimental farm at Beltsville, Maryland. What hundreds of farmers and fruit-growers have seen, wondered at, and adopted in these few short years was aptly expressed by a veteran orchardist: "That stuff just nails the fruit to the tree!"

The value of being able to "nail fruit to the tree" lies in the fact that most fruit fall when the seed is mature enough for reproduction. Unfortunately, the needs of propagation and the preference of fruit-eating mankind do not always coincide. Too often when the small layer of cells in the stem, which is the fruit's "release mechanism," dries out to the point where the fruit falls, the fruit-grower—and his cash customers—would much rather have it stay put for ten days or two

weeks. For it could continue fattening up in the sunshine, storing up sugar, losing its tannic acid, and acquiring a glowing jacket.

The teaspoon of stuff Dr. Gardner tossed into the spray-tank at Beltsville, back in 1929, was one of the most potent activating substances known to science—a hormone. Acting on an idea, he wanted to see what effect it would have. "It might," he told the spray men, "prevent fruit from dropping."

The men chuckled inwardly. They had already witnessed many unorthodox antics in the name of plant science, but to be told that a few drops of chemical, diluted in 200,000 parts of water, could have any effect, well!

The experimenter had the last laugh. Apples hung in the trees, when the autumn winds blew, as though they were taped to the branches. And some which had been sprayed twice were still hanging there, wizened and brown, when December snows whipped through the leafless orchard.

It would be convenient if, at this point, the record could be closed by stating: "And so, hormones have entered the plant world, to the glory of science and the betterment of mankind." But it cannot be. Hormones, the mysterious substance secreted by certain cells, which cause some men to age prematurely and others to remain young in their old age, which have a score of effects on the human body and temperament not yet fully understood by physiologists, are equally versatile in their vegetable guise.

For instance, while Dr. Gardner was "nailing apples to trees," Dr. G. W. Schneider, working at a New Mexico experimental station, discovered that a similar hormone spray, when applied to blossoms, had exactly the opposite effect—it caused a reduction in the number which turned into fruit. Again, fruit growers cheered. A blossom-reducing substance was something they had been seeking for years.

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Fisheries in India

It is time that we should ardently try to develop Fishery Science and apply it in practical fields for the uplift of our national resources. There is an urgent need of research. Dr. H. K. Mookerjee observes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Fish is one of the best ingredients of non-vegetarian diet. In a hot country like India and specially in Bengal fish is generally preferred to meat. The Fishing industry may be divided into three main categories, namely, 1. Fresh-water fishery, 2. Estuarine fishery, and 3. Marine fishery. The main problems of fresh water and estuarine fisheries are:

(a) Life-history, (b) Breeding, (c) Rearing, (d) Conservation:—(i) Stocking, (ii) Introduction, Protection and Fishery laws, (e) Ecology, (f) Technology:—(i) Preservation, (ii) Different methods of catch and appliances, (g) Marketing, (h) Fishermen—their life and education.

Each of the above items of the main problem of fresh water and estuarine fisheries involves many enquiries which are still hopelessly lacking. The knowledge derived in other countries is mostly of no use when we note that our fish is quite different from fish of western countries. For example, Indian major crops unlike the European carps do not breed in ordinary stagnant ponds. Ecological conditions, particularly temperature, the acidity or alkalinity of water, oxygen contents of water, are so different that at every step it involves fresh research.

Now let us take up the life-history of common fresh water fishes. Without the life-history nobody can go a step further in fishery. It is so very fundamental.

Dr. Rao in his report on the progress of science in India during the past twenty-five years in connection with Silver Jubilee of the Indian Science Congress Association in May, 1938, remarked, "Considering that the study of the developmental history of fishes is of great importance in solving fishery problems, it seems surprising that so little attention has been paid to this subject in India."

I may state here that in the Fisheries Laboratory of the University of Calcutta during the last eight years, we have investigated the complete life-histories of some of the edible fishes.

The number of fresh-water fishes of Bengal alone is more than 150 of which common ones would be 50.

So there is still enough scope to trace the life-histories and carry on basic researches on the different species of fresh-water fishes.

The condition of estuarine fishes is still worse. The full life-history of not a single species is yet known. The breeding methods of fresh-water fishes have recently been investigated by the Calcutta University and the knowledge of this was in a deplorable condition but even now it may be said that still more work is necessary.

The rearing of fry depends much on food. Although each and every Fisheries Department investigated the comparative value of artificial food, nobody cared to know the natural food of such fishes. The result is a tremendous amount of financial loss. In case of carp alone such artificial food is of no use as they are costly and pollute the water. From our fish laboratory of the Calcutta University we have been able to throw much light on the peculiarity of the natural food of carp. Carp always take semi-rotten plant body in their adolescent and adult stages, as they have no teeth in their jaws to bite plants in fresh condition, and they are unable to digest the diatoms. Much depends on the quantitative value of food as we all know that qualitatively there is practically no difference between the food of a child with that of an adult person. It is in the percentage composition of food that varies from a child to an adult person. The same truth holds good even for fish. These valuable data have also been collected very recently by the Fish Laboratory, Calcutta University. Much work is still to be done in this direction.

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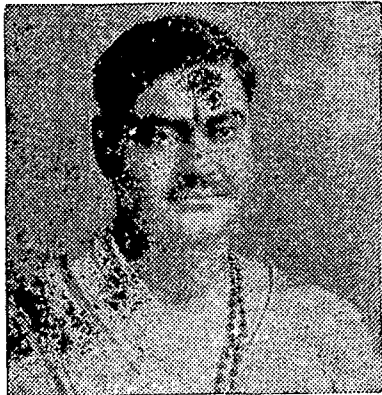
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Art Crafts of Ireland

In *The Catholic World*, Regina Madden points out how the present Irish Renaissance movement is manifesting itself in all the Irish activities of to-day :

It has often been said that the average Irishman is an individualist with a strong urge toward expressing his individuality. That is undoubtedly the reason why mass production has aroused only a limited enthusiasm in the Irish and why craft work has retained its popularity down to the present day. In the art crafts the worker has an opportunity to express his personality; and while expressing his personality, he works joyously, reminding us of William Morris's statement that art is the expression of man's joy in his work. So the art crafts have always held an important place in the occupational life of Ireland.

That the skill to be found in Ireland in the artistic crafts is not a foreign inlay is satisfactorily proved by the native artistic achievements in book illumination and metal work as early as the eighth century. To foster these and other native skills the Royal Dublin Society was organized in 1731. From 1743 on we find the Society offering awards for superior work done in the making of lace, embroidery, tapestry, carpets, enamels, and in other artistic crafts. Before the end of the eighteenth century the glass of Waterford had attained such fame that we may read in the *Dublin Chronicle* of August 21, 1788, that "a very curious service of glass has been sent over from Waterford to Milford for their Majesties' use, and by their orders forwarded to Cheltenham, where it has been much admired and does great credit to the manufacture of this country." Equally famous was the silverware of Ireland, while the making of lace from gold and silver thread had also become so important an industry by 1778 that the Irish Parliament to protect it passed an act prohibiting altogether the importation of gold and silver laces.

When projects for the improvement of the welfare of certain sections were undertaken by such agencies as the Congested Districts Board in 1893 and more recently the Gaeltacht Services Division of the Department of Lands, the native Irish taste for the crafts was utilized in establishing crochet, embroidery, lace, and other industries.

Today Ireland, cut off from outside influences and thrown upon her own resources, turns more of her energies into her native crafts and finds a wholesome happiness in self-expression through work.

That the influence of the Irish Renaissance movement is touching all Irish activity is seen in the Dun Emer Guild in Dublin, where the handwoven carpets, tapestries, and embroideries made under the direction of Miss Kathleen McCormick and Miss Evelyn Gleeson, are designed with the old Gaelic motifs.

Also affected by the Renaissance movement has been the stained glass work of Ireland, which is the best done in Europe since the early part of the present century. This work is produced in the Harry Clarke studio and Miss Purser's An Tur Gloine. Up to the beginning of this century only the mass-produced stained glass windows from Munich and Birmingham were to be seen in the churches of Ireland. To-day the soft lighting of the newer churches comes through

jeweled-colored windows of native design and native craftsmanship.

One of the most popular centers of craftsmanship is the Cluana Studio in Dawson Street, Dublin, which is noted for its beautiful handmade jewelry, its hand-carved wooden utensils, its basket work, etc. Another association of craftsmen is the Avoca Hand-Weavers, who make rugs, blankets, scarves, and tweeds. The weavers work in an old water mill, in which the carding and the spinning are done on primitive machinery. All the weaving is done by hand. The popularity of the material is in large part due to the variety of beautiful colors found in it, which is the result of constant experimenting in dyeing.

In the more remote sections of Donegal, Galway, Mayo, and Kerry are produced homespun. Through the open half-doors of the whitewashed cottages in these areas one can see the women busy at the work of spinning the yarn and coloring it. It is common to find in these homes the picture of St. Bridget, for it is she who is the patron of spinners. The yarn, richly colored in the dyes made of lichens, moss, heather, and roots, is taken to the local weaver, who uses his own individual patterns in weaving the material, which has a distinctive beauty. In these sections hand-knitting is also done from the yarn spun in the home. Sweaters, scarves, gloves, socks, and ties of beautiful and original patterns are made for sale.

Virtually all the artists engaged in these various crafts have found their inspiration in the ancient Celtic art, taking their motifs from the Irish Romanesque and earlier styles. In so developing her art crafts along the lines of native tradition, Ireland is following the policy of cultural self-reliance advocated over fifty years ago by the man now her president, who has always remained true to the belief that while her culture lives on, a nation will endure.

India To-day

In a review article under the above caption in *The International Review of Missions*, John McKenzie, D.D. passes the following remarks about five books on India :

In these days news about India is scarce, and new books about India are few and far between. This is not

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due to any shortage of ideas or to any lack of the kind of activities that stimulate men to thought and expression. It is due chiefly to the limitations which the war has put on the means of expression, the shortage of paper and of facilities for printing. But we have before us five books dealing with present-day India. The details of their subject-matter vary, as do the points of view of their writers. Each of them sheds some light on a situation which everyone who is interested in India feels to be in need of illuminating. At the end the reader may have difficulty in fitting into a single picture the varied information and the various opinions with which the different writers supply him, but he will at least have discovered how great and how important for the world are the movements which are taking place in India, and how perplexing are some of the problems which face those who from necessity or from choice have laid upon them the task of planning for India's future.

We shall look briefly at each of these books, and, firstly, at Dr. Hodge's *Salute to India*, for though small in bulk it is the most comprehensive, the best balanced and the most illuminating of them all. It is the work of a man who knows India with an intimacy which few westerners ever reach. He came to know a peasant community in Bihar with a knowledge that is possible only for one who lives for long years among the people, entering into all their interests, their work and their play, their joys and their sorrows, and who in love serves them. He made many other friends, for while still in Bihar he was collaborating in the service of the spiritual and material needs of India with people of many types, Indian and European, in all parts of the land. Then for over eleven years he had the high honour and privilege of serving as secretary of the National Christian Council. In the discharge of his

duties he travelled to almost every part of India, and there are few church or mission compounds in the length and breadth of the land in which he would not find his way about without a guide. More than that, he was, and continues to be, the trusted friend of great numbers of non-Christians, including many of the political leaders; and his intimate friendship with Mr. Gandhi is of thirty years' standing.

Dr. Hodge has given us, in his own words, 'a tribute to the Indian people, whom I know and respect.' It is a worthy tribute, which we ought all to hail with gratitude; for it cannot but have a healing influence at this time of deep misunderstanding and alienation.

Mr. Beverley Nichols' *Verdict on India* is a much more impressive looking book, with a much more impressive title. Actually when he essayed to mount the bench and deliver a judicial verdict on India Mr. Nichols took upon himself a task that was far beyond his powers. It may be questioned ever whether he was justified in appearing at the bar in support of the case which he advocates. This is the case for Pakistan, and in pleading it he goes all out in favour of Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League, and against the Congress and Mr. Gandhi and Hinduism and almost all its works. He got up his case far too hastily, and he makes some striking errors in his attempt to present the facts. The shortness of the time which he spent in India, the narrowness of the range of the contacts which he was able to establish with Indian people and his lack of any profound knowledge of or insight into the Indian mind unfitted him for dealing wisely or usefully with the Indian problem.

Mr. Nichols writes, as always, with great charm. It may be questioned, however, whether this enhances the merit of the book. He is dealing with a situation of great delicacy, difficulty and danger, a situation on which action must be taken soon. Whatever that action may be, it will have profound and far-reaching consequences for millions of people not only in India but far beyond it. There is therefore demanded of all who have anything to propose in speech or writing a high sense of responsibility and an informed judgment. Mr. Nichols' book is being read not because it exhibits him as being possessed of these qualities, but because it handles Indian matters far more picturesquely than most other writings do; for the average book on India is intolerably dull. But the pity is that in this country he will sway the judgment of many people who know even less about India than he does, and in India he is likely to make a big contribution to the intensification of the ill-feeling which is already far too prevalent.



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Mr. Hoyland's *We who are India* deals with the subject of the Indian money-lender, against whose vampirish ways he manifests a justifiable and righteous indignation. The writer has done a valuable service in drawing the attention of people in the West to an evil which continues to bring misery to many millions of people in India, robbing them of the possibility of physical or spiritual well-being, and killing in them all hope and aspiration.

Mr. Carl Heath's *Gandhi* extends to only thirty pages, but within this space he gives us an illuminating and interesting study of one of the most remarkable men of our time. Many have tried to characterize Mr. Gandhi, and many more will do so; for he is a very enigmatical character, and his interpreters will continue to differ widely from each other. Mr. Heath's will take a high place among the studies already made and those which are yet to come.

I find it extremely difficult to write on Mr. Goshal's book, *The People of India*. It is an interesting book, well planned, and written in vigorous and expressive English. It opens with a survey of India's heritage, beginning with Mohenjo Daro and carrying us rapidly on to modern times. But this is intended only to provide a background. The bulk of the book consists of a history and appraisal of the work of the British in India. It is written from the Left Wing Congress standpoint, and it is full of anti-British bitterness. There is no aspect of British relations with India which is not given the worst possible interpretation. I believe this point of view has been accepted fairly widely in America, and I do not know whether works like Mr. Goshal's are to be regarded mainly as contributory causes to the anti-British spirit or mainly as effects of it.

My difficulty in commenting on the book and its implications is partly due to the fact that I spent the early years of my service in India in the period preceding the last war, when the Swaraj movement had started, but when one heard little, if anything, of the kind of interpretation of history with which we are here presented. Political leaders, even those who were regarded as 'extremist', were on the whole appreciative of the services which Britain had rendered to India. Most of them would have agreed with the words of Mr. Subramania Aiyar, one of the early leaders of the Congress: 'By a merciful dispensation of Providence, India, which was for centuries the victim of external aggression and plunder, of civil wars and general confusion, has been brought under the dominion of the British Power.' These men were thinking in terms of the gradual transference of government to Indian hands, and they were working for this by constitutional means. They were appreciative of past progress, but eager to quicken the pace. But it would have entered the minds of very few to assert, as is asserted in the 'Declaration of Independence' passed by the Congress in 1930, that the British Government 'has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually'. I cannot believe that the men who drafted this believed the allegation in their hearts. But they have taught multitudes of young people to believe it fanatically. I have never been able to adjust my mind to this new attitude, particularly in view of the progress which in the course of thirty years has been made towards self-government, a progress which I am convinced has been not hastened but retarded by the substitution of methods of non-co-operation and obstruction for methods of peaceful negotiation. Even the facts which Mr. Goshal presents, imperfectly and tendentiously as he sets them forth, will be interpreted by the unprejudiced reader very differently from the manner in which he interprets them. For example, an unbiased study of the documented material relating to the Cripps Mission might prove instructive.

Three of the books at which we have been looking—Dr. Hodge's, Mr. Heath's and Mr. Hoyland's—are the expression of a deep religious concern. Mr. Beverley Nichols claims to stand on Christian principle, and his earlier work, *The Fool hath said*, is evidence of his sincerity; but many Christians will find him on Indian matters an embarrassing ally. Mr. Goshal leaves religion out of his discussion of present-day movements. But whatever they may say about religion, they cannot evade the political problem. In these days it is impossible. There are some good Christians who say to us missionaries, 'Why not leave politics on one side and get on with the work of the Gospel? The escape is not as easy as that. The missionary on the field is confronted with the political problem all the time. The churchman in this country who has any touch with the work of a missionary society is all the time having to handle questions which have very definite political implications. He does not exempt himself from the charge of taking part in politics by refusing to pass judgment on the political issues. If he does, he only lays himself open to the other charge of being a political die-hard, who stands for the maintenance of the *status quo*. It is not because missionaries regard politics as an interesting and exciting game that they have at times taken part in political activities or made political pronouncements. It is because they realize that until the present bitter controversy, or rather controversies (for they are many), are settled, there can be no health in India. There may be wide divergences of opinion as to how they should be settled, but all will agree as to the urgent need for the restoration of inter-racial and inter-communal peace and good-will.'

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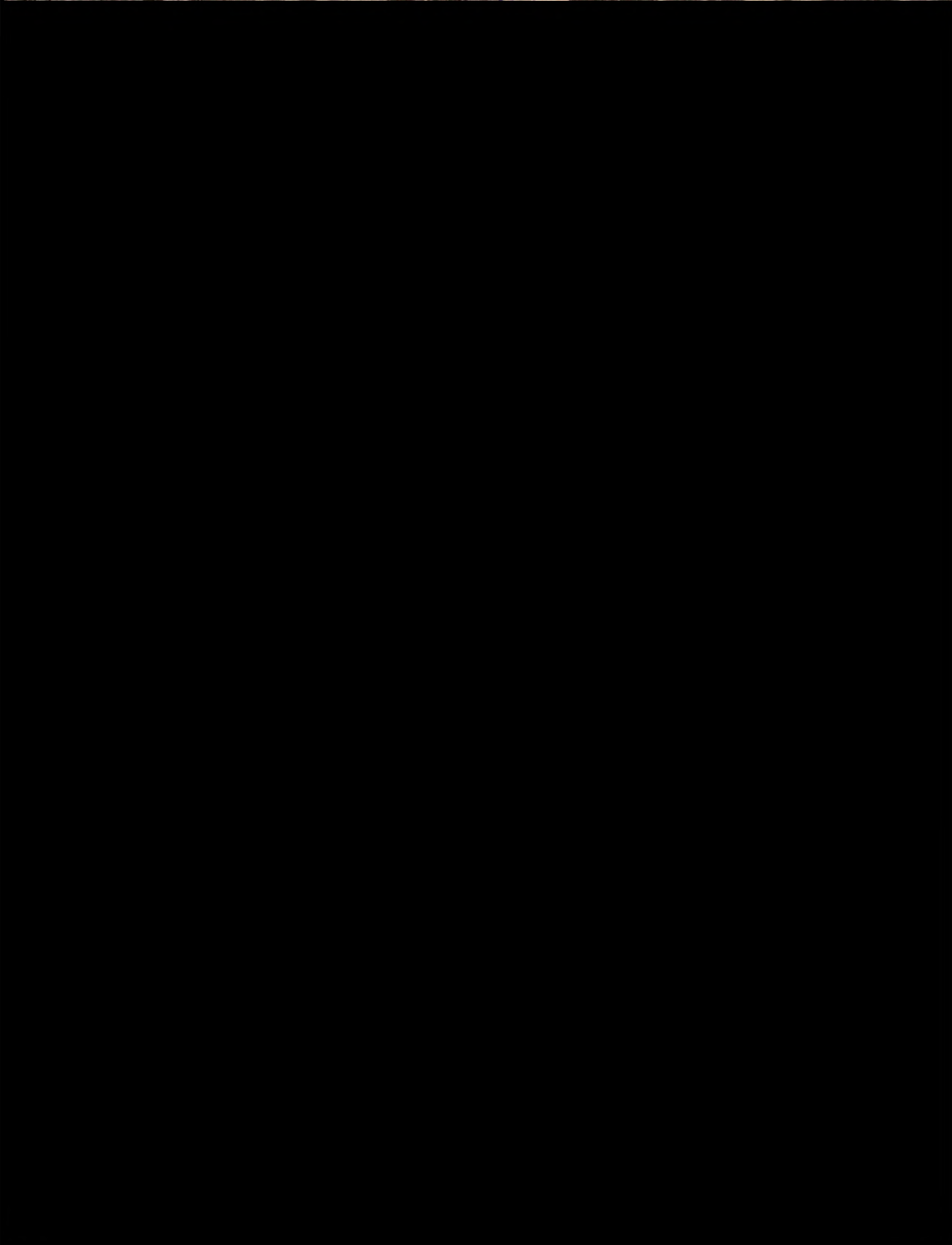
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NOTES

The British Elections

The results of the British Elections are out with the exception of 17 constituencies at the time of writing. The party in power prior to the elections played every trick known to the professional politician in order to keep their hold on the electorate. Starting with a drastic curtailment of time for campaigning, which meant a severe handicap for the opposition, it gradually developed into an all-out vilification of socialism by Churchill and an almost equally rabid press campaign against Labour by the press-lords Beaverbrook and Rothermere. There was a general mixing-up of issues in order to deprive Labour of the use of its main planks, and the setting-up of the usual bogeys so as to confuse and bewilder the Labour vote. With all the political machinery and the greater part of the press under its control, the Tories whipped up their campaign to a crescendo within the shortest period of time. Indeed, it was so much so that even just before the actual start, prominent Labourites became somewhat diffident and the Tories regained their complacency to a certain extent. But the British elector had made up his mind, and his verdict was given, with devastating clarity and weight, on the side of democracy.

Labour has cleared the main obstacle but there are many pitfalls and minor hurdles on the course before it comes into the open and the straight. Permanent officialdom, well dug in and anchored firmly by red-tape during the ten years of the previous Parliament's tenure, may try to present endless obstructionist tactics, and besides that there is the entire legacy of undemocratic engagements and agreements entered into by the Neo-Totalitarians under Churchill. The sowing of mistrust and ill-will was done—broadcast by the Tory governments between the two World Wars, and the Labour and Coalition Governments of that and the World War II periods, did little, if anything at all, to mitigate the evil. Indeed it must be said that the blundering and hesitancy of the Labour Government under Ramsay MacDonald lent strength to the cause of Toryism, through the exposure of weaknesses inherent in a policy devoid of initiative and firmness of action in almost all matters that were non-domestic. Let us hope that Labour has learnt its lesson and that it will never

again try to enter into inglorious pacts with British Fascism for the conduct of Foreign and "Imperial" affairs.

Although the Labour victory means little as yet for India we would welcome it since it has put a period to the regime of a party that has been an unalloyed curse to India of the Indians. Ever since the end of the World War I, the profiteers and bag-barons of Britain, who were mostly of the Tory persuasion, were out on a ruthless and inhuman campaign of exploitation and plunder. As they gained control over the "Mother of Parliaments", they gradually initiated a retrograde policy which meant the slow but inevitable strangulation of all subject and backward countries. Nothing was regarded as dishonourable by these gentry and their political tools, so long it meant the further accumulation of wealth, however tainted the money or however filthy the means. The result, as was inevitable, was a lowering of British prestige to a level to which it had never sunk before, despite the noble sentiments that spouted forth from the mouths of British "statesmen" and the wonderfully doctored propaganda, composed of half-truths, "white lies" and truly black lies, that was showered on to the entire civilized world.

Labour stands for democracy, we are told. Democracy as defined by Professor Charles Beard, the doyen of American historians, is composed of the following four elements. First: People, not a legalized monarch or class, are the source of all political power. Second: Through agents chosen by the voters, all laws are made. Third: At fixed periods all the chief agents of Government, at least legislative and executive agents, must either retire or, if they seek continuance in power, must submit themselves and their actions to a popular review at the polls. Fourth: In this process all voters are equal; that is, each one, without regard to moral, intellectual, or economic qualifications, has one vote and no more; and in elections, as a rule the candidate who receives the highest number of votes, whether a majority or a plurality, is placed in office.

Judged by the above criteria, democracy has been effectively eradicated from the soil of India. If Labour has any doubts, let it ask the people and not the lying mouthpieces of Imperialism.

The Simla Conference

Exactly one month after the announcement of what has popularly been known as the Wavell Plan, its breakdown has been broadcast. The full story of the breakdown has not yet been authoritatively revealed, but the veil has been lifted sufficiently high to have a good glimpse of what happened at Simla after the statements made by Lord Wavell, the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Conference proceeded on the assumption that concession of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims was a generous gesture to the Muslims and that somehow Congress and Hindu opinion in the country were persuaded to accept it. The result was that the Hindu majority of the country agreed to accept a minority position of one-third in the proposed Executive Council. The degree of sacrifice made by the Hindus in agreeing to accept the parity will be fully realised from the following statement made by the *Indian Social Reformer* :

This is one of the strangest things in English and Indian history—an act which, if contemplated by any other Government, would have been denounced by British statesmen as a measure of unbridled despotism. The Indian Census Report for 1941, says as regards the Hindu and Muslim proportions in the population : "The general position could be summed up as that of 100 Indians in All-India, 66 are Hindus, 24 Muslims and 6 of tribal origin. Allowing for that proportion of tribes who may be regarded as more than half assimilated, the Hindu element is over two-thirds. Just under one-fifth of Hindus and one-eighth of the total population belong to the Scheduled Castes." Out of 63 Hindus in 100 of the population, one-fifth, that is about 14 are members of the Scheduled Castes. Deducting this figure 52 in 100 of the population are 'Caste Hindus', and 24 are Muslims. And 52 Hindus are to have the same proportion of seats as the 24 Muslims ! If a schoolboy made out that 52 pumpkins are on a parity with 24 pumpkins, his teacher will pull him by the ears and make him write several hundred times the correct answer that they are as 13 to 6, to fix it in his memory. But His Majesty's Government have committed the same error not with pumpkins but with human beings, and Lord Wavell commends it as calculated to lead India to greatness and prosperity !

But even this great concession failed to satisfy the communalist Muslim. Congress leaders judged the Wavell Plan against the background of the Cripps offer and felt that it was better because it did not commit them to the adoption of Pakistan as a feature of the future constitutional development and because it gave a concrete shape to the idea of an interim government. This interim government, if successfully worked, had the possibility of being converted into a Provisional Government into whose hands the duty of framing India's future constitution would naturally have passed.

The Special Simla Correspondent of the *Leader* says in his despatch, dated July 13, i.e., the day before the announcement of the breakdown, that Caste Hindu and Muslim parity proposed in the Wavell Plan was repulsive to Congress ideas but the Congress Working Committee agreed to swallow the bitter pill because it was to be a temporary device for an interim government. The Congress attitude was the main hurdle in the path of success of the Wavell Plan, but the opportunity could not be seized. The following extract from the *Leader's* Simla despatch is exceedingly important :

When the Simla Conference met the Viceroy was in the happy position of having the support of the biggest political organization in the country. He made no secret of his pleasure at it and repeatedly acknowledged the fair and reasonable attitude of the Congress delegates. When the Viceroy asked for a list of panel from the various parties he knew that Mr. Jinnah had not relaxed his attitude during the talks with Pandit Pant and when a delegate enquired what would the Viceroy do if any party refused to submit the list, the Viceroy said that he reserved judgment to himself. He did not say that if either the Congress or the League failed to submit the panel the conference would fail. Indeed, during the conversations which took place between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders the question was put more than once whether the Congress would be willing to back the Wavell Plan if the League non-co-operated.

The Congress leaders made it clear they would not shirk the responsibility they owe to the people of India to assume responsibility for Government.

The Muslim standpoint was made quite clear by all the Non-League organisations. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Nationalist Muslims, the Momins, the Shias, the Krishak-Proja of Bengal had all publicly stated they did not accept Mr. Jinnah and his League as the sole representative of the Muslims of India and expressed their readiness to shoulder any responsibility they would be called upon to bear. Mr. Jinnah's position was discussed threadbare. It was clearly pointed out that the League did not control a single ministry in any of the Muslim majority provinces on their own strength. Mr. Jinnah was found wavering.

The Sudden Change Towards the Breakdown

Until July 7, this was the basis on which the negotiations proceeded. Suddenly a change occurred. This coincided with the end of the British election and the editorial comment in the *London Times* and in Anglo-Indian newspapers. They took up the brief on behalf of Mr. Jinnah. The *Leader* correspondent reports that at this time a rumour circulated in the Muslim League camp that Mr. Amery had sent a cable that Mr. Jinnah must not be antagonised. Statements made by Mr. Jinnah and his known and unknown adherents began to be prominently featured in Anglo-Indian newspapers. The correspondent then asks, "Did the Viceroy receive instructions from above or did he yield to pressure of certain civil servants and Governors in India that agreement with the Congress would embarrass them ? Or was it that pressure came both from above and below which Lord Wavell found difficult to resist ?"

The position was that the Viceroy had called 21 representative men of his choice to form the Conference. It was presumed—the conference proceedings bore out that presumption—that whatever the large body of the Conference endorsed would be given considerable weight. With the exception of the four Muslim League delegates every other member of the conference favoured the formation of the interim government. Had the Viceroy felt that Mr. Jinnah's consent was indispensable all he had to do was to send for Mr. Jinnah alone and secure his reaction. There was no need for continuing the Conference.

It is quite clear from the earlier part of the Conference proceedings that the Viceroy did not want to

place the veto in Mr. Jinnah's hands. It was only towards the end that is after the rumour of that mysterious telegram that Mr. Jinnah jumped up and stoutly demanded that he must be acknowledged as the sole representative of the Muslims, that he would not concede a single seat to a non-Leagueur and that the League representatives must have the right to veto any decision of the Council if they considered that such decision went against what they would define as Muslim interests. What led Mr. Jinnah to change his attitude so suddenly is still a mystery. No one questions the sincerity of the Viceroy, but everybody feels that his determination failed him at this psychological moment. There are many in the country who think that if the Viceroy had remained firm, Mr. Jinnah would have yielded to the inevitable.

The events before and after July 7, the last day of the British elections, bear recapitulation in order to explain the sudden change in the Simla talks since that fateful date. The suspicion that the whole thing was an election stunt and that Lord Wavell was duped has gained ground not only in India but in England and America as well. The first one is an editorial comment in the *New Statesman and Nation*, a progressive weekly of England which indicates a fear that all attempts at breaking the deadlock may be frustrated by the minorities clinging to British protection. The paper, in its issue, dated, May 26, i.e., about three weeks before the announcement of the Wavell Plan, makes the following comment after discussing the Desai-Liaquat formula of 40 : 40 : 20 :

It is much to ask of the Hindus that, with three quarters of the population, they should accept less than half the seats in the Central Government. Such bargains once adopted are apt to be permanent. Nor is it certain that Mr. Jinnah will abandon Pakistan even if he gets parity between the two communities. The effect of this unreal arrangement would be that the powers of the Central Government must be reduced to modest limits.

What is wanted from us at this moment is at once something less and something more. First, we must make our gesture of reconciliation by flinging open the doors of our prisons. Next, we must bring our bureaucratic rule to an end in the provinces. Finally we have to discover the best way of telling Indians—perhaps by a Royal Proclamation—that we mean in any event, to end our direct rule over their country at a date no later than the end of the Japanese war. *So long as they suspect that we shall procrastinate, so long will their minorities frustrate internal agreement by clinging to our protection.* (Italics ours.—Ed. M. R.)

The comment has proved prophetic.

As a soldier and a gentleman unversed in the shady methods of Tory politics and statecraft, Lord Wavell has fallen a victim to this electioneering stunt. As an example of how the case of India has been presented to the British electorate, just three weeks after the announcement of the Wavell Plan, by even independent organisations, we append below extracts from Commander King-Hall's News Letter, No. 462, dated May 18, 1945:

Assuming, then, that India becomes fully self-governing very shortly after the close of the Japanese war, what will be the probable course of events? Many people—both Indians and British—face the

future with some misgivings. They foresee a split, with the probability of friction and the possibility of more serious trouble between two factions: on the one side, the Congress politicians, together with the big industrialists who are determined to have an important part in planning and running India in the future; on the other side, the Moslem "Pakistanists", together with many of the men who have served in the armed forces. This last-mentioned element, numbering about two-and-a-half million, are a factor to be reckoned with. The majority come from the warlike, independence-loving races; they don't much care for the politicians, particularly the Congress politicians whom they hold responsible for the 1942 troubles. But all of the two-and-a-half millions have seen something of the world outside their native community; they have enjoyed better food, better living conditions and amenities generally, have come to feel they have a place in society; many will not take kindly to their former lives and conditions when the war is over.

Mr. Jinnah, the Moslem leader (there are about 95 million Moslems in India) has talked a great deal about Pakistan—a separate Moslem Indian State. The idea doesn't make sense, because Moslems and Hindus are so intermixed that it would be impossible to draw a frontier between them. But Mr. Jinnah is a very shrewd politician and bargainer. What he really wants, according to my Indian friends who know him, is to get as much power as possible put into the hands of the provincial governments at the expense of the Central Government when the new federal state is set up. His reason for this is simple: the Moslems will be in a minority in the Central Government, but they will have a majority in certain provincial legislatures. Therefore, the demand for Pakistan is put forward with tongue in cheek in order to get a better bargain in the matter of provincial versus federal powers.

Mr. Gandhi, so far as one can ever ascertain what is going on in his nimble brain, appears to want an undertaking that the British will clear out bag and baggage immediately and with no conditions attached to their going. That would mean, in effect, handing over the entire administration to the Congress Party, since it would have a clear majority over all other parties and groups. Now, the idea of their political fate being wholly in Congress hands is quite terrifying to the Moslems, the depressed classes (of whom there are 50 millions), the Sikhs (6 million) and other minorities.

The record of the Congress Party is not good. The Party includes some very able and public-spirited men, like Mr. Rajagopalachari, who see the potential greatness of India and are doing their best to control the political adventurers and guide India along the path to political autonomy on the basis of consent among the different national elements. But some of the Congress leaders are out for themselves and their Party, with the interests of all-India taking a very minor place in their policies. *Many people find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Gandhi is the world's Number One hypocrite.* He was the all-powerful leader of the Party in 1942, and what did the Congress people do then? They launched a very carefully prepared campaign to cripple our small military forces in India at the very moment that the Japanese were at India's gates. Many of the Congress leaders were convinced the Japanese would sweep into India, and they presumably counted on being members of the puppet administration the Japanese planned to set up. That this campaign was cunningly organized was shown by the fact that wherever there was trouble, it

followed a common pattern: the tearing up of railway lines, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, attacks on men wearing Allied uniforms, etc. Mr. Gandhi preached "non-violence", but the campaign of hate and incitement to sabotage could not be expected to avoid much violence. Moreover, everywhere the professional criminals—the Gundha caste—were employed to do the dirtiest jobs in the rebellion. We in Britain were never told how serious the position was in 1942; the story, when it is finally told, will startle many people. [Italics ours. Ed., M. R.]

The Breakdown

Lord Wavell has taken upon his shoulders the sole responsibility for the breakdown but that has not absolved the White Hall of its share. The comments made in India and abroad have raised widespread suspicion that the whole affair was a bluff and an election stunt. But out of evil cometh good. The Congress has played its cards so well and in so dignified a manner that the Imperialists with their henchmen have emerged against a much darker background. The usual allegation against the Congress that this is a body which always chooses to be in the wilderness whenever any political advancement is offered to India, has been completely belied. Rather the *raison d'être* of the League under Mr. Jinnah's leadership has been fully exposed. It is now crystal clear that this body has been set up, to act under the guidance of White Hall, for the sole purpose of frustrating all progressive moves in this country. Even for diehards and champions of British Government's communal policy, like Lord Hailey, it has not been possible to swallow the bitter pill Mr. Jinnah has presented this time. After the news of the breakdown reached England, Lord Hailey said, "I am one of the many in this country who have always supported the Muslim claim, but I do not feel that it has been strengthened by the attitude of the Muslim League on this occasion which seems to have been entirely lacking in the spirit of accommodation."

The *Manchester Guardian*, in an editorial comment writes, "We are in no position to be impatient with any party whose major parties cannot agree to a coalition, but the breakdown of the Viceroy's efforts would be so damaging that it must be asked whether the Moslem veto can be allowed to stand . . . With every sympathy for the anxieties of the Moslem League, one cannot fail to see that we shall sooner or later have to tackle that veto."

In India, both the Congress President and Pandit Nehru has said that the League is responsible for this breakdown. In England, J. B. Priestly regretted that Lord Wavell had shouldered the responsibility for the breakdown of the Simla talks. He said, "If that responsibility had been attributed to the Muslim League it would not have enhanced their reputation even in the eyes of their countrymen." Priestly need not worry. Mr. Jinnah's attitude has brought him further down in the eyes of the progressive members of his own communities. His claim for being the sole representative of Indian Muslims has been resisted with a vigour this time that had never been shown before.

No doubt Mr. Jinnah still hopes to cash in on the total ignorance about Indian affairs as displayed by Labour leaders. Cripps says:

The obvious cause of the breakdown, is not so much the constitution of the interim Government as the influence any temporary arrangement is likely to have upon more permanent decisions which will have to be made for the full and free self-government of India.

Behind the demand of Muslim League that they alone should represent Mussalman India is the fear of Hindu domination, and the Muslims becoming a perpetual political minority. It would not seem possible to get any agreement on a temporary measure of advance, as was suggested by Lord Wavell, since the Muslim League feels compelled to insist upon their acceptance as the sole representatives of Muslim opinion in India and in the light of the fact that no agreement has yet been arrived at upon the Pakistan issue.

Clement Attlee, leader of the Labour party, in exclusive interview with the U.P. of America deplored the lack of unity among Indian parties and Indian leaders which has proved to be the stumbling block in the attainment of Indian nationalist aspirations for independence twice in the last three years in a statement to the press to-day.

"It is about time that the Indians did something toward unity among themselves," said Attlee, who was engaged in clearing up last-minute matters prior to his departure to participate in the Big Three conference at Potsdam.

"Until unity exists among the various Indian parties and leaders there is little that can be done towards Indian settlement by any British government," he declared. "The coalition government of which the Labour Party leaders were a part, offered India the Cripps proposals for eventual dominion status. These were turned down in 1942. Now within three years of the first offer being rejected the second plan was again blocked by disunity among the Indians themselves."

India would like to ask a few pointed questions regarding the logic of such statements which emanate from persons in authority. If agreement among major political parties or communities is looked upon as a condition precedent for the grant of power or recognition of independence, how did Britain extend powerful support to De Gaulle in France knowing fully well that there were several other parties there strongly opposed to De Gaulle? How could the Lublin Government of the Poles be recognised in the teeth of opposition by the London *Emigre* government set up and fostered by the British themselves? Differential application of British foreign policy in India and abroad reminds one of De Valera's recent exposition that necessity is the mother of British foreign policy. It will, therefore, naturally differ for different spheres of Imperial interest.

Mr. Jinnah and his League has been bolstered up as the sole representative of the Indian Muslims. With the large number of Muslims of different sects, creeds or political affiliations, the League and the Indian Muslims have been made synonymous not only in diehard vocabulary, but in our newspaper and political discussions as well. We consider that special care should be taken while mentioning the League that it is one of the many Muslim organisations in this country. As soon as a Muslim is born he does not *ipso facto* become a member of the League. It is just like any other political or communal organisation, where one

has to apply for membership, sign the creed, pay the subscription and then become a member. Good and powerful members who may not agree with the League policy are, like other parties, expelled from the body. Even those making the most fantastic claims for this body could not say that ninety millions of Muslims of India are its members and owe sole allegiance to it. We had fully discussed in our last issue the position of the League in the various legislatures of India and the fallacy of its bye-election bogey. Since then, statements made by non-League Muslims have brought out another very significant fact that the Muslim League could never capture the majority seats in District Board or Local Board elections where joint electorates prevailed. In the Noakhali district of Bengal, with a Muslim majority of 85 per cent, the League could not win more than half the seats in a District Board election. In District Board elections in the Punjab, the League lost heavily in Sialkot and Sheikhupura while it could not secure even one seat in Campbellpore. A more revealing instance is the last Calcutta Corporation elections. Here there was no joint electorates. It is true that the League won 17 out of 22 seats but out of the 11,000 odd Muslim votes cast, the League secured a little over 6,000 while the votes cast against the League were well over 4,000. This was the nearest approach we have had to a general election in the recent past, and it is well-known that the League is much stronger in towns than in rural areas. In an interview to the *Orient Press* after his release Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan had also made such a statement.

The Responsibility for the Breakdown

The responsibility for the breakdown clearly lies with the Muslim League bolstered up with Tory arms to serve their own purpose. The statement made by the Congress President gives the real causes of the breakdown. Maulana Azad told a Press conference in July 14:

Simla, July 14.—"Two points arise out of the present position; the first is that the attitude of the Muslim League is responsible for the failure of the conference and the second point, which emerges from the situation is that after the refusal of the Muslim League the question naturally came before the Viceroy whether a forward step should be taken or not. The Viceroy decided not to take for the present. In this connection I would like to say what I said at the conference to-day. For the communal situation in India as it is to-day the British Government cannot shirk responsibility. So long as the third party exists in India the same position will continue."

Maulana Azad said that he had made it clear to the Viceroy that the Congress was prepared to go forward and if a certain group wished to keep out it might be left out. He remarked, "With a failing step and wavering mind we cannot cover our destination. It is good to think twice before taking a step forward. But when the step has already been taken hesitation is not virtue but weakness. If the British Government wished to give shape to things they should have realised the communal condition. They should have been prepared not to surrender the right of veto to any group and thus block the path of progress." About Viceroy's responsibility Maulana Azad said, "The existence of a third party was greatly responsible for the present position. A firm attitude on the part of the

Viceroy which was logical and based on the principle of justice and fairplay alone, could bring about a settlement of the communal problem. The Viceroy's present wavering and vacillating attitude was neither correct nor helpful. Hesitation and weakness could not bring about a solution."

The exposition of the communal problem in India by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been superb. He pointed out that the so-called communal problem in India has no deep root. It happens in the circumstances of to-day that certain questions have been made to cover up and obscure all the really important political and economic issues in the country. The sooner the third party vacates India, the nearer the solution will be. He said, "The Moslem League or any other communal organisation inevitably not only represents the particular claims of a group but represents them in a medieval context."

"Politics considered in terms of religious communities is wholly inconsistent with both democracy and any modern conception of politics or economics. There lies the real rub. To give in to this medieval conception is to throw back the whole course of development in India, political and economic, and try to build a structure which does not fit in with the realities of to-day in any department of life. You can never ignore realities for long and if you try to do so, you do so at your peril."

"That is the essence of the communal problem, so far as I am concerned, and not a question of services or jobs or anything else, and India will have to decide not to-day, but to-morrow or the day-after, whether it is going to be a democratic modern country or an undemocratic medieval country. The latter choice is really ruled out because it just cannot be done by any country to-day."

"The normal choice for countries today is not between medievalism and democracy but what might be called just political democracy or something more, that is, economic democracy also, which means socialism in some form or other."

We fully agree with Panditji when he says that the average member of the League is not necessarily medieval. There are many progressive people in the Muslim League, as we have seen particularly in the U. P. and Bengal, who, once the lid of medievalism is removed, would become political radicals.

Mr. Jinnah's explanation has failed to convince anybody in the world except those whose politics makes it imperative that they must be convinced. The outstanding fact of the situation in Simla, as reported by the *Leader's* special correspondent is that a breach has occurred between the Viceroy and the Muslim League and not between the Viceroy and the Congress or between the various parties. It was the Viceroy who was trying to bring about a compromise and it was he who told Mr. Jinnah that he could not accept the League leader's claim amounting to dictatorship of the Muslim League. The Viceroy has himself acknowledged it in his talks with the Congress leaders that the Congress has played its part honestly and generously.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

Addressing the members and associates of the Servants of India Society, Poona, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru gave some interesting facts about the anti-

Indian propaganda carried on in America by the British propaganda agents. There were many ways in which British authorities placed their version of the Indian political situation before those who could focus public opinion on the question of Indian freedom. British propaganda agents were regularly sent to the U. S. A. to explain British policy in regard to Indian problems. The British War Information Agencies, the Consular Services and British officials in the U. S. A. in general played an important part in influencing the minds of Americans of the class referred to above.

The following statement made by Pandit Kunzru deserves attention :

A summary of Mr. Beverley Nichols' *Verdict on India* which had an unfavourable reception in the Indian press had recently been published by an influential American magazine and Mr. Kunzru understood that a cheap edition of the book would soon be placed on the market. A well-known Indian journalist interviewed the editor of the magazine to persuade him to publish a reply to Mr. Nichols' prejudiced observations but the editor was not prepared to accede to his request. A cheap edition of Mr. Raman's *Report on India* which had been adversely commented on in the Indian press had been brought out by the management of the *Infantry Journal*, for sale to American troops outside America. Well-informed Indians in America had hardly any doubt that this was part of the anti-Indian propaganda carried on by Britain in that country. In regard to the sale of Mr. Raman's book to American troops, the American Government too has something to answer for. The *Infantry Journal* might be a private concern but if it has been approved by the American military authorities as an agency for supplying books to American troops, it was the duty of the Government to prevent it from poisoning the minds of American soldiers against India. It would surely intervene to prevent the sale of a similar book about England to American troops.

Referring to the Indian Agency-General, Mr. Kunzru said that it occupied the same subordinate position which India did. The Indian Agency-General perhaps enjoyed a lower status than the diplomatic agency of even the smallest Central or South American republic and was powerless to counter or check the anti-Indian propaganda referred to above. Constitutionally it had probably to fall in the line with British policy or at least to maintain an attitude of neutrality. It is noteworthy that the author of the *Report on India* was appointed to a post in its publicity department after the publication of his book.

The Congress leaders are out. We hope they will now realise the need of overseas propaganda on Indian affairs and will seriously consider the revival of this branch of Congress activity.

Bernard Shaw on Democracy

Writing in the *Time and Tide*, George Bernard Shaw has explained his views on democracy which demand closest attention by persons who profess to-day to be the champions of democracy. Shaw says :

By Democracy in the air—hypothesis that has no relation to facts—I am too old to be taken in. I have been engaged in politics for seventy years ; I know what is so far knowable of the lessons of history. I am a student of that branch of biology called human nature : and a world in which the voice of the people is the voice of God, and the political capacity and sagacity of everybody over

the age of 21 infinite and infallible, is to me a fair-land which has never existed and is not postulated in any oracle of mine.

By Democracy I mean a social order aiming at the greatest available welfare for the whole population and not for a class. I most emphatically do not mean government by an assembly, at Westminster or elsewhere, which took fifty years to make factory legislation effective in the face of the horrors described by its inspectors and collected by Karl Marx, thirty years to pass (and revoke) a Home Rule Act for Ireland, and was even consulted when the country was involved in two world wars and its sovereign forced to abdicate.

In this I am what is called a Totalitarian as distinguished from say, the Trinitarian Gladstone, who aimed at preserving the hierarchy of private landlord, farmer, and agricultural labourer, with its necessary retinue of Cobdenist trader or from the party politicians whose aim is to keep their leaders in power at Westminster and are not really politicians at all, their business being simply electioneering.

Yes-men and No-men in Parliaments

Describing the working of a modern Parliament which is stamped democratic, Shaw writes :

In Parliament these Yesmen and Nomen sit in the smoking-room or library, and when the division bell rings vote in the lobby to which they are directed by an official called a Whip because his function is that of a whipper-in at a fox hunt. They are mostly unknown to their constituents for the bulk of whom they are unmarried and untouchable. They all now call themselves democrats and applaud the Atlantic Charter (which is Totalitarian) and they all mistrust me because I am not a partisan but a Totalitarian Democrat who will take an instalment of democracy from any party which, can be persuaded or frightened or humbugged into achieving it. In short an Old Fabian.

When they talk of the Allies as "the Western Democracies," I laugh. There are no Democracies in the West ; there are only rank plutocracies, all of them now Fascist to the finger tips, having thrown over Cobden and Bright, and grasped the enormous economy and lucrativity demonstrated by the Socialists, of State-financed Capitalism, which is English for Fascism. England is in fact at present the leading Fascist power in Europe : and the Fascists who are denouncing Fascism in their speeches on war do not know what they are talking about. They never do.

Men and Supermen in Democracy

Shaw next gives his outstanding opinion on the pet democratic doctrine—government of the people, for the people and by the people in the following words :

I believe in government of the people for the people ; but I do not believe in Lincoln's Gettysburg edition of government by the people. Division of labour is the law of Nature (*alias Province*) in this matter. The belief that "the human race is divided into two categories—men and supermen"—is not anti-democratic ; the fact stares us in the face all through history past and present. I am myself a super playwright and a super artist-philosopher. But that is only in my own department. I cannot play the oboe as well as Leon Goossens nor the fiddle as well as Menuhin or Heifetz. In fact I cannot play them at all. The Adult Suffragist notion that everyone on the political register can play them and play them as well as these three super-artists, is blazing lunacy.

But it is not madder than the notion that everyone on the registers is a super-politician, a potential Prime Minister, qualified to sit in judgment for five years on the super-rules of the nation. Give them real choice and they will fall at the feet of some self-selected Messiah like John of Leyden or Adolf Hitler, Titus Oates, or Horatio Bottomley, or of some popular talker or successful general or star actor or even pianist, or—but modern names would take up too much space. Paderewski was the most reasonable choice; for it was proved that he could at least play the Emperor Concerto, whereas none of the others had been proved able to read, write, or count.

Spotting Born Legislators

Summing up Shaw says :

Obviously the choice needs guidance. Nature, *alias* the Life Force, produces not only the necessary percentage of superlegislators, but, as its extravagant habit is, an excess sufficient to give the electors a choice; and this choice gives the electors all the control of the government that is good for them. The business of the democrat is to find some test which will detect the born super-legislator and place him, or her, on a panel from which our legislators must be chosen. Without such guidance the electorate does just what it does at present, with the results that are before us.

It must not be forgotten that the human race does not consist of democrats and anti-democrats. Both of these are in favour of government as such, and differ only as to its form. But the average citizen has the most intense objection to be governed. They have never been taught civilisation which should be their first intelligent lesson in school, and be in fact their religion. Every step in it either abolishes a liberty or prescribes a duty. But it increases leisure, which is the reality of freedom.

I am all for Adult Suffrage in the ventilation of grievances, the criticism of legislators, and the suggestions of remedies and innovations. We need dozens of Cabinets, including Cabinets of thinkers. And at this proposal that Governments should include Ministers for thought and the habit of it, I pause to enable English readers to recover from the shock.—*Time and Tide*.

Democracy in the modern world has definitely tended towards plutocracy. The insatiable greed for the accumulation of wealth, both personal and national, have brought about two devastating world wars within a quarter of a century. In a modern democracy, the people suffer and die, while the rich become richer by trading on human life and happiness. No democratic legislature in the world has been able to stop it.

In India, the taste of democracy has been much more bitter. Here we have parliaments and cabinets but no power; the civil servants have power but no responsibility. Black market goes on thriving, merchants, industrialists and servants of the State continue flourishing under the benign and protecting wings of a "democratic" government and the people suffer and die. The Governor-General and the Governors in this country are dictators surrounded by the paraphernalia of a shadow democracy manufactured in Britain. We wish Shaw studied Indian "democracy" and gave his views on it.

Road Transport Taxation in India

The *Indian Finance* writes that the tax on a motor vehicle was on an average Rs. 509 in India annually or nearly twice as much as in the United Kingdom and ten times as much as in the United States. This heavy taxation certainly inflates the cost of carriage and has a restrictive effect on commerce, agriculture and industry. In the opinion of the Post-War Technical Sub-Committee a reasonable tax on road transport, *i.e.*, to pay for its share of the cost of road construction and maintenance would be 1.65 pies per net ton-mile of load, as against a minimum of 6 pies now collected. After meeting the share of road costs, motor transport pays 18 per cent of its operating cost to the general revenues. The equivalent pre-war contribution to general revenues by railways was 5.8 per cent of its working expenses. The average rate of motor transport contribution is, therefore, more than three times that of the railways. The result of this unjust load on the motor traffic has been to keep down motor transport in favour of the Indian railways which are still the prize spots for British industrialists, merchants and stores sellers.

The following account of motor transport taxation is quoted from the *Indian Finance* :

Motor transport taxation consists of taxes levied by both the Central Government and Provincial Governments. Import duty on petrol, motor vehicles, parts and accessories and import duty on tyres are levied by the Central Government. Prior to the war, import duty on petrol was levied at the rate of 10 annas per gallon of which 2 annas were reserved for expenditure on road development. But during the war the rate of duty has been progressively increased to 15 annas per gallon but the expenditure reserved for roads is 2 annas still. Prior to 1931 import duties on motor vehicles and parts were 20 per cent *ad valorem* on motor cars and 15 per cent *ad valorem* on trucks and buses. Progressively they were increased to 45 per cent and 30 per cent respectively with preferential rates for U.K. at 36 per cent and 21 per cent. This heavy taxation imposes an unfair burden on motor transport and delays its proper development.

This however is not all. An excise duty on Indian made tyres has been imposed as a war measure. The Provincial Governments levy a provincial tax on motor vehicles, wheel taxes in certain municipal areas and tolls and petrol sales taxes. Taxes on motor vehicles in provinces and Indian States are not uniform. The Technical Sub-Committee has recommended the creation of a Central Transport Budget. If this is done, an equalisation of the provincial taxes will be easy.

The revenue from provincial taxes on motor vehicles is credited in many provinces to Provincial Roads Fund. But, so far as public knowledge goes, this fund has not yet been fully utilised for the development of the existing roads and construction of new ones. The portion of the tax credited to this fund is also extremely meagre.

The Central Government have not yet shown any sympathy towards the motor vehicle, rather the Railway authorities have expressed on several occasions their eagerness to stifle this form of public transport. The essential necessity of maintaining an alternative means of transport to the railways as a formidable competitor, on the U.S. or the U.K. model, hardly requires any emphasis.

Appointments in the Archaeological Survey

The Archaeological Survey of India is going to fill three permanent posts of Assistant Superintendents in Central Service, Class I. The duties of the officers will be the conservation of ancient buildings, archaeological excavation and museum administration. Pay for direct recruits has been fixed at Rs. 350 rising to Rs. 680 on confirmation after a probationary period of two years, during which they will draw Rs. 300 per month for the first year and Rs. 325 for the second. There are three more temporary posts carrying a salary scale of Rs. 350 to Rs. 1,000. The persons, if permanently retained, will be eligible for promotion to the posts of Superintendent, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology and Director-General of Archaeology in India.

The qualifications and the reservations clauses in the circular containing instructions to the intending candidates are rather intriguing. The first one states: *Qualifications*: (a) *Essential*: Academic degree, preferably with honours in ancient or medieval history, archaeology or geology, or very exceptional alternative qualification, *Desirable*: (i) Training in field archaeology, (ii) candidates should produce evidence of being able to read and write clearly. Qualification (a) may be relaxed in favour of very exceptional cases of Government servants where they have had long and approved practical experience of this special work.

The three permanent posts are reserved as follows:

- One post for Muslims.
- One post for other minorities.
- One post for Scheduled Castes.

Out of the three temporary posts, one is reserved for Muslims.

We believe the public will take very serious objection to this attempt of introducing narrow communalism in a department exclusively dealing with specialised knowledge whose activities are bound to influence the historical material of this country. The introduction of the communal ratio of services in this department, whose primary duty is to discover and decipher basic historical data, is bound to have serious repercussions. A graduate's degree is the maximum that has been desired and relaxations even at that may be made. This might have been done with a view to make it possible for the backward minorities to send some candidates, but this will certainly reduce the efficiency of a department dealing in specialised knowledge. Communalism coupled with such meagre qualifications will deal a death-blow to the Archaeological Department which has assumed much importance since the Mahenjo-Daro Excavations.

Dr. Mortimer Wheeler was imported into this country as the Director-General of Archaeology with the object of "strengthening" Archaeology Department. The Bengal Governor's brother Mr. Casey was subsequently brought in to help him. A lot of public money has already been spent in training Indian youths in archaeology some months ago at Taxila. We should like to know how many of these boys were "Muslims, Scheduled Castes or other Minorities" and how many of them have been given a chance to be admitted into the Department after a successful termination of their training period. We may have to discuss Government of India's archaeological policy on a future occasion.

U. N. R. R. A. Mission in India

Mr. Francis Sayre, diplomatic adviser to the U.N.R.R.A., is now leading a mission to India. He told the *Associated Press of India* that jute and peanut oil will occupy an important part in his discussions with the Government of India in procuring supplies against India's contribution of Rs. 8 crores. This colossal sum had been sanctioned for the relief of the European destitutes while people in this country are dying like flies of hunger and disease. This world organisation created in the name of the United Nations, of which India is a member, is concerned solely with the relief of stricken Europe and expressed its inability to help Bengal during the last famine. It has now come to India to take the money appropriated in the last budget which was thrown out by the Legislative Assembly and certified by the Viceroy.

The arrival of this mission has aroused a natural suspicion that it may not remain contented with purchase of jute and peanut oil alone, but may demand food and cloth as well. These two commodities are its "important" and not sole objectives. Already a news has been circulated that it is trying to get hold of cloth. Mr. Sayre's statement to the *A. P. I.* is in fact disquieting specially when one remembers that most of the White Missions that came to or went out of India since the beginning of this war, have resulted in an exploitation of this country's resources.

Mr. Sayre said:

We hope to buy jute in India and use those bags for carrying foodstuffs to other liberated countries like Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia and Poland and also look forward to China, as a relief port is opened there, many of the countries are badly in need of peanut oil.

We are in search out from country to country, for surplus commodities which one country can give to the other. The general principle is 90 per cent of the contributions to the UNRRA should be in surplus commodities of the country avoiding those in which the country has only too little.

We hope that besides this 90 per cent demand by the U.N.R.R.A., 10 per cent of the commodities in a country of which it has only too little may not be taken away. A modest 10 per cent of a European demand may mean enforcement of hunger and nudity on the people of this country.

Anti-Bengali Move of the Utkal University

Soon after its inauguration a recent move in the newly-founded Utkal University calculated to stifle Bengali culture in the province seems to have brought forth angry protests from the All-Orissa Domiciled Bengali Association. The *New Orissa* reports that in an emergent meeting of this association strong protests have been made against the move made by some members made in the Senate of the Utkal University to abolish the medium of minority languages like Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Telugu, etc., in the Matriculation examination. This move to abolish the long-existing medium of Bengali as one of the mediums of examination is absolutely uncalled for because it will dislocate the system of secondary education for the last one century wherein the Bengali students had always been given an opportunity of reading in the medium of their own.

language in some particular institutions and localities. There is no reason to make a departure from this age-old practice which has done no harm to the province but has strengthened the cultural link between the two sister provinces. There is no denying the fact that modern culture in Orissa owes a great deal to Bengal and Orissa herself will stand to lose if she chooses to pursue an anti-Bengali policy following the narrow-minded and short-sighted moves taken by some of our provinces.

Fixation of Agricultural Prices

In the course of a communication to the Government of India in regard to fixation of agricultural prices, the Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry state that they subscribe to the policy of assuring a minimum economic return to agriculturists along with an all-round improvement in economic conditions of India. We fully agree with the committee when they argue that the most fundamental pre-requisite of such a policy is to maintain an expansionist economy in India for which all the aspects of economic policy—fiscal, monetary, industrial, agricultural, transport and employment—should be properly co-related. We believe that agricultural development of the country must be made on a thoroughly co-ordinated basis with a centralised plan, the provinces being left with the responsibility of working them. The famines in several parts of India in 1943, which still persist in some places, have conclusively proved, if any such were at all needed, that no province can become a water-tight self-sufficient unit in respect of her agricultural produce. What we want to indicate clearly is that the provinces will have initiative, will have full powers to develop their own agriculture, but this must be on a co-ordinated all-India plan, preferably under a Central Agricultural Board with the representatives of the provinces and the Centre on it. We are glad to note that the Committee also argue along the same lines.

In the opinion of the Committee stabilisation of agricultural prices can only be viewed, when the war-time controls are removed. The Committee point out that the scheme of price fixation can, in no way, be considered a substitute for a programme for the improvement of farming through the use of fertilizers, better seed, irrigation and stopping the processes of fragmentation, sub-division, soil erosion, deforestation, etc. The Committee observe that price stabilisation should be on an all-India basis in which every Indian State and Province should accept the policy and undertake to implement the same uniformly.

Agricultural Prices and Problem of Stocks

Stating their views on the important problems of agricultural prices and the unloading of stocks held by the Government, the Committee writes: Agricultural prices should be maintained at a level which must be fair to the producer, i.e., which covers the cost of production and leaves a margin of income to ensure a healthy standard of living to the agriculturist. The Committee advocates that, while the average cost of production should be the basis of determination of agricultural prices, producers having a higher cost of production be given a subsidy, which should be so enforced as to achieve efficient and economic production. At the same time, with a view that industries

are not adversely affected thereby, the Committee suggests effective methods of safeguarding India's industrial progress and competitive capacity.

Analysing the implications of buffer stocks, they observe that, if agricultural prices are not to be allowed to fall below a minimum desired level, Government might have to enter the market to sustain agricultural prices. The Committee, however, advocates caution and, as far as possible, the avoidance of this instrumental policy.

Unloading stocks purchased by Government in order to check advance in prices of those commodities, which are mostly exported, might be injurious to the country. On the other hand, in regard to commodities, which are used by Indian industries as raw materials, disposal of Government-purchased stocks at a proper time may, with some discretion, be made in order to maintain the competitive capacity of Indian industry.

While realizing that regulation of imports and exports might become necessary, the Committee opposes the principle of State monopoly of the internal procurement and distribution or of the import and export of agricultural produce. In this connection, they point out the damaging effects of such direct participation by Government during war-time.

The uselessness and wastefulness of purchasing agricultural produce through agents or by the Government itself have both been fully exposed during the past two or three years. The best course seems to be to allow free trade with a planned production so that neither under-production nor over-production may take place. Agricultural cycles are known. Statistical methods when properly organised can give a fair estimate of the coming crop so that in case there is deficiency due to any unforeseen event, stocks from abroad may be procured. A good and modern system of irrigation can overcome natural calamities like flood or drought. We must not lose sight of the fact that famines do not occur in countries like the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. where they have good systems of planned agriculture nor in England where the State maintains a fleet to carry foodstuffs not produced at home. Famines are a regular feature in India and China where the people have neither a planned agriculture with a good irrigation system nor shipping. Catchwords like mechanisation and fertilisation of agriculture should not hamper our search for an all-round and all-embracing planned system of famine-proof agriculture.

Freedom From Want in India

Freedom from want in India can never be achieved unless the rural economy of the country is satisfactorily solved. Writing in the *Free World*, John F. Timmons says: "If nations are really to achieve freedom from want, effort must be made to facilitate an equitable exchange of commodities among nations and between individuals within nations. Human nature, as well as nature must be brought under rational control. Eighteenth century individualism, nineteenth century nationalism and twentieth century imperialism are equally out-dated. A people's war should be concluded by a people's peace. The 'have-nots'—either nations or individuals—will not for long stand idly by. In the words of Mark von Doren, 'What was once for the few must now be for the many'."

Comparing agricultural India with agricultural Holland, Timmons writes:

Unequal distribution of resources does not mean

that large segments of the world's population are doomed to poverty or extinction. But means must be provided so that all peoples have equal access. This is now being accomplished in some nations. Holland's continental resources would not support more than 130 or 140 people per square mile, yet this little country provides 540 people per square mile with a living. This is brought about partly by utilizing wealth from colonies but largely through specialization in those industrial and agricultural products in which Holland excels.

Before the commercial, industrial, and agricultural revolutions of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries population size and growth were controlled by the supply of food produced. But, with the growth of commerce and industry, populations in a given community—and in nations—were able to exchange products and thus support more people under better conditions.

Unfortunately, such benefits of scientific advance are not yet widespread. More than two-thirds of the world's people still derive their livelihood directly from the land. Many of them constantly face the threat of local famine.

In rural India during the past decade, one-half of the children died before reaching the age of ten years. The average life span in all India is only thirty years—roughly half of that in industrial nations.

Overpopulation cannot be determined by the number of people per square mile or by any other unit of statistics in a particular country. There are enough natural resources in the world to support all the people now alive at a fair standard. The important thing is to see that all people of whatever nation attain a decent standard of life and that wealth does not flow into the pockets of the few fortunates causing want and misery for the many. It must be remembered that it is the race for an unequal accumulation of wealth by the few, leaving the many in abject want, that threatens world peace. No system of rural economy in India will be successfully worked unless agriculture is adopted as the main occupation as it is now and the deficiency in agricultural income is made up by cottage industries supplemented by the big manufacturing industries. Big industries should supplement and not supplant the rural ones. The dividing line should mainly follow the principle—the finished product of the manufacturing industries is the raw material of the cottage products. All our economic schemes so far propagated have become one-sided inasmuch as all of them have laid undue emphasis on one or other of these three. Our rural problems will continue to baffle all solution until all these three are planned from the standpoint of a provision of full employment for all people in the country.

Growing Population and Food Problem

Writing on India's growing population and food problem in the *Leader*, Prof. R. V. Rao gives a comparative account of how our self-appointed trustees have managed their own problem at home, and how the unfortunate victims of their trust in this country have been left to perish of hunger, Prof. Rao writes about England :

The question of ensuring national safety by provision of the principal nutritive elements has been appreciated in England. The very first war effort of the British Government was to accumulate the stocks of food necessary for the people both by internal induction and imports. With less food

reserves, she is able to maintain her population even in war at a satisfactory level as a result of following a well-thought-out agricultural policy—in contrast to India which was at first without a definite plan or policy. The League of Nations publication 'Food Control in Great Britain' gives details of the system that has been evolved there to secure to the entire population in the face of all the difficulties created by the war, the elements necessary for a sound diet. Grass lands were brought under cultivation, existing land was put to intensive cultivation, the problem of livestock was approached in a scientific way, and mechanization of agriculture was carried further. Moreover, minimum prices were guaranteed, thereby eliminating market price fluctuations. The State has given subsidies, credit facilities, etc., in order to augment the 'grow more food' campaign. Consequently by November, 1941, the area under food crops was 45 per cent above the peace-time figure and there was a 50 per cent increase in agricultural production. The Ministry of Food is trying to maintain imports of food and to secure equitable distribution by price control, rationing, subsidies, etc. This reflects highest credit on the Ministries of Food and Agriculture. This policy continues even today. As Mr. Churchill said the other day, 'Nothing is more clear than that when the war is over the world will fall on acute shortage of food for several years.'

Then Prof. Rao says about India :

Food should not only give energy but renew worn out tissues and maintain the equilibrium which is called health. The food we take must contain sufficient proteins for body building, mineral salts for improving the condition of the blood and providing immunity against diseases and vitamins for ensuring growth, resistance to infection, etc. Food, in short, should be sufficient and well balanced.

Even so far as cereals are concerned, the yield is low. After all, cereals are mostly carbohydrates and the predominant weight of cereals in our dietary reveals the poverty of the masses. We can easily see that our food position has greatly deteriorated. In addition, there was the substitution of non-food for food crops and inferior areas were brought under cultivation due to the pressure of population. Even during the last decade, India had a shortage of food irrespective of war. Nearly 7 years back Sir John Megaw conducted an enquiry and his conclusions were that 30 per cent of the people were adequately nourished, 41 per cent poorly nourished and 20 per cent very badly nourished. Bengal was, of course, the worst sufferer. Dr. Aykroyd shows a common ill-balanced and well-balanced diet per consumption unit in oz. per day.

	A common ill-balanced diet	A well-balanced diet
Cereals	20	15
Pulses	1	3
Vegetables :		
Green-leafy	2	4
Non-leafy	2	6
Fats & Oils	0.5	2
Milk	2	8
Fruits	0	2

The indirect indices of over-population are poor physique, high death-rate, heavy infant mortality, the wide prevalence of poverty, diseases and the heavy toll of lives by famine and epidemics.

The inevitable result is that the average span of life is short. Infantile mortality, poor physique, epidemics, etc., prove that we have not only too little food but our food is of low nutritive value. The use of

less nutritive cereals and the low intake of animal foods, milk and milk-products make our diet ill-balanced. It is no wonder therefore, that out of four babies born one is doomed while in Holland 29 out of 30 can be saved, and that death, disease and starvation have become a regular feature in this country under the regime of Imperial "trustees"!

The Un-Indian Indian Army

A recent Government communique announced that 450 vacancies were being allotted to Indian Emergency Commissioned Officers for permanent commissions in the Indian Army. This, it was stated, was purely a war-time measure as the future strength and shape of the Indian army could not be ascertained at this juncture. Considering that there were only 750 permanent Indian Officers in the Army on the eve of the present war, one is constrained to feel that the Imperial Government is once again trying to put off the question of Indianisation of the Army.

Admission of Indians to the rank of officers in the Indian Army has a chequered history. In spite of the fact that this Army has always numbered more than twice as much as the British troops in India, it was not till 1918 that an Indian could receive the King's Commission. As a reward for the sacrifices made by Indian troops it was grudgingly announced that 10 vacancies were to be reserved for Indians at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Under this scheme, Indian officers were only to be employed in infantry or cavalry. The doors of technical army, e.g., artillery, signals, etc., were completely shut. The selections again were not based on any qualifying examination. People who could claim family records of loyalty and devotion to Crown service were preferred. The result was that most of the cadets who entered Sandhurst failed to obtain commissions. Thus the face-saving admission of Indians into Sandhurst continued with little risk of commissions being distributed. It was only in 1928 that the selection system was replaced by that of competitive examination and the number of unsuccessful cadets was considerably reduced.

The history of the Indianisation of our Army has recently been recapitulated in an article published in the *National Call* (July 10) from which we give the following extract :

This policy of Indianisation was further handicapped by the policy of separating all those units to which Indian Commissioned Officers were sent. In 1923 Lord Rawlinson, the then C-in-C, outlined the Eight Unit Scheme by which it was proposed to Indianise five infantry battalions (out of 105 battalions), two Cavalry regiments (out of 21 regiments), and one pioneer unit (out of seven units). All Indian officers receiving commissions were to be posted to these units and it was anticipated that by 1946 Indians will rise to be Commanding Officers of these units if all went well. Whatever may be said by the protagonists of this scheme one cannot help feeling that this was a deliberate attempt to see that no British Officer ever served under the command of an Indian superior officer. It is queer logic to huddle a few Indian officers together to test their efficiency. This Eight Unit Scheme further reduced the scope for increasing the pace of Indianisation as only a limited number of officers could be absorbed in the Eight Units. It put a serious brake on the process of Indianisation.

In 1925 the Skeen Committee protested against this scheme but to no avail. The number of vacancies however was increased and in 1928 the doors of Woolwich and Cranwell were thrown open but the segregation of Indian officers continued. Even with this increase it was anticipated that half the total number of officers required for the Indian Army would be Indians by 1952. At that rate it would have taken another forty to fifty years for the Indian Army to be totally Indianised and thus fulfil the condition of a completely Indianised army required for India being granted self-government. In 1932, however, better counsels prevailed and on 7th May the Government of India announced that in addition to the Eight Unit Scheme they had decided to Indianise a division of all arms and a cavalry brigade. In the same year the Indian Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun and the number of vacancies was increased to 30 a year. The pace of Indianisation, however, did not accelerate as the number of commissioned officers was still negligible as compared to the total strength of the Army. The Council of State in 1936 raised the question of increasing the number of vacancies at the I.M.A., Dehra Dun, but nothing came out of the proposal. At the outbreak of war the number of Indian officers stood at 750.

Since the outbreak of the present war, the strength of the Indian officers has risen to 12,000. Even with this number the proportion of Indian officers to non-Indians remains one to six. Of this number, only two have succeeded in rising to the rank of Brigadiers. The quality of the Indian soldier, commonly known in Europe as the 'Rice Soldier', has been amply proved in the two world wars. We do not know the proportion of Victoria Crosses earned by Indian and British soldiers, but judging from the records of the recipients of this Cross, awarded for the highest gallantry, one may certainly say that given a fair chance, many of them must have made very good officers rising to the highest rung of the ladder. But that is not to be. The admission was first stopped. At long last when the gate had to be opened, although not in full, the door leading to the staircase is being zealously guarded.

Profiteering in Education

The shop-keeper mentality of the Government has come into operation in the field of education as well. The *Independent* of Nagpur reports how the Government is charging an exorbitant price for education because far too many are asking for it. The report, in short, is given below :

When the Government Colleges reopened this session, the students were administered a shock. They were informed that Government had decided to put up the prices of education. The following are the increments in the tuition fees announced :

In Govt. Arts Colleges other than College of Science

Inter Arts and B.A. (Pass)—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 117 per session.

B.A. (Hons.) and M.A.—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 126 per session.

Inter Science, B.Sc. (Pass), B.Sc. (Hons.) and M.Sc.—From Rs. 102 to Rs. 135 per session.

In the College of Science

Inter Science and B.Sc. (Pass)—From Rs. 138 to Rs. 144 per session.

The fee that was already being charged was

high enough for the quality of education catered. There can be no justification for raising it further. Perhaps it would have been possible to reconcile one-self to the enhanced fees, if the education had been of sterling quality, but the education we have in India would not be sold in free countries even if offered with a premium.

The story does not end here. The general impression is that Government educational institutions are the most efficient in their line. But that is a mere illusion. Very few of the highly-paid lecturers in Government colleges deserve to be where they are. They would be complete failures in any but the Education Department.

Of scholarship and competence they have little. If they exchange places with their students, perhaps it would make no difference to the examination results. Many of the lecturers are said merely to read out the course from the text-books in the class room, which could be done as well by a clerk who can read English correctly.

I have yet to come across a college professor in this province, who is primarily interested in learning and teaching, and only secondarily in pay, promotions and departmental scandals. It must, however, be said in their defence that they too are the product of the education available in this country.

Prites naturally go up when there is an increased demand for an available commodity. Justinian reveals in the report that the demand for Government College education is far in excess of supply because products of Government colleges are given preference everywhere over those of private institutions. He, therefore, uses the term "black marketing" advisedly, because, apart from the present enhancement, the fees are disproportionate to the quality of the commodity supplied.

A Mis-Statement on Bengal Peasants' Income

Swami Sambuddhananda, President of the Ramakrishna Ashram, Bombay, has made a statement of the food and cloth famine of Bengal after making an extensive tour in the province. His statement has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, in which three points are worthy of note. He says:

(1) The account of mortality as reported by the Woodhead Commission is amazingly poor. I visited more than a dozen towns last year and met the most responsible government officers whom I enquired of the total deaths in their districts but none could give me a correct figure. 'How could it be possible', they said, 'when the village watchmen who generally make birth and death reports had themselves died without number?' There were, as such, none for a long time to attend to this work in hundreds of villages. After inspection of dozens of towns and hundreds of villages I can unhesitatingly say that the number of deaths in Bengal can never be less than 60 lakhs if a correct census be taken of the existing population.

(2) More than food distress is the distress of cloth. Cloth distress has come to its climax in Bengal at this hour. Thousands of men and women, I have seen, cannot go out to attend their usual work outside for want of a piece of cloth to wrap round their loins. Cases of suicide among women for want of cloth are not few.

(3) The able wings of the people of Bengal possess the buying capacity of which the middle class is awfully denied. They have to get on with half-meals, sometimes with one meal a day. The lower class is much better off as it gets high wages. A labourer who used to earn only Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 a month, now earns about Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 per mensem.

The first observation accords with the estimates made by other responsible men and bodies and the second one closely resembles actual state of affairs in this province. But the third statement is grossly exaggerated and has no relation whatsoever with facts. Even the *Bombay Chronicle*, situated at so distant a place from Bengal, found it necessary to express disagreement, in a leading article, with the Swamiji's statement on the increase in wages. It is a fact that wages have risen in some particular localities where labour shortage has been felt, specially after the famine, but still we do not know of any instance where wages have gone up ten times the pre-war level. The maximum rise that is widely known is four times and not beyond that. In organised industries, it is even less. This increase is, however, only apparent, the poorer people earn much smaller real wages as measured by the purchasing power of their present money wages. On several occasions, representatives from the districts at the Bengal Legislative Assembly have pointed out that the general price-level of necessities in the villages have gone up by something like ten to sixteen times the normal level. Food prices still rule more than four times than is usual. A ploughshare which cost one anna now costs one rupee. Cloth, sugar, salt, kerosene oil and similar other indispensable commodities are procurable only at fantastic prices. Prices of cattle have gone up more than ten times. Had the Swamiji's last statement contained even a modicum of truth, all talk of distress and poverty of the Bengal peasant would have fallen flat.

Some caution should be exercised while making this sort of sweeping statements. It is just this kind of unguarded utterances coming from well-placed innocent men which are seized upon by the Imperialist publicists for their dirty propaganda against India.

Corruption in Bengal

Some months after his assumption of office, the present Governor of Bengal, in a radio broadcast, admitted the existence of corruption in the administrative machinery and appealed to the public to come forward and help in its eradication. Since then, corruption has not abated but increased manifold. Pandit Jawaharlal only voiced public knowledge and widespread experience when he said: "No country in the world has a government so corrupt and inefficient as we have in India. Nepotism and bribery are rampant everywhere. From top to bottom, they seem to have no qualms of conscience about it. Indians and British are all mixed up in it." This statement applied with redoubled force in Bengal under Sir John Herbert's administration.

Although nothing has so far been done to check corruption, this canker seems to have been disturbing Mr. Casey's mind. In his last broadcast speech, on July 4, he again mentioned corruption and said:

Even before the Rowlands Committee reported, the Bengal Government issued detailed instructions

to their officers as to how to cope with the various forms of corruption. These instructions have had some result although nothing like as much as I had hoped. The Bengal Government will prosecute this campaign vigorously. I am confident that all public-spirited individuals will give their approval and assistance. Unless the public conscience is aroused and without the active and disinterested assistance of the public any official action is severely handicapped.

We have recently come across a letter, published in the *Nationalist*, (July 18), which gives a very good idea of how Mr. Casey's administration reacts when actually some people come forward to render aid in this onerous and Herculean task. The letter, given below will speak for itself :

Sj. Sri Kumar Mitra, Secretary, Burdwan District Hindu Mahasabha, has addressed the undernoted open letter on July 6 to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, in connection with his recent Radio broadcast :

"In his desire to purge out corruption from among the Government Officers His Excellency the Governor of Bengal having repeatedly urged the people to co-operate in the matter, I placed before His Excellency and Mr. P. D. Martyn, I.C.S., Additional Secretary, Home (Defence) Department, on the 27th March last, some glaring instances of fraud and cheating perpetrated by a high officer of the local A.R.P. Service. Subsequently, in enquiry held by Mr. U. L. Goswamy, I.C.S., Additional District Magistrate of Burdwan, the allegations made by me were proved from the records of Burdwan A.R.P. and of the Government Ration Store, and also from the evidence of Mr. P. K. Chatterji (now Lawyer-Magistrate of Nilphamari), Mr. B. K. Choudhury, B.L., Staff Officer of Fire Party, Sj. Satya Charan Sarkar, Head Clerk of Burdwan A.R.P. Office, Sj. Dinesh Chandra Roy, A.R.P. Depot Superintendent, the clerk in charge of Government Ration Store and of the Head Clerk of E. I. Railway Booking Office at Burdwan.

Though the said enquiry was finished by the 18th April last, and as no action has been taken up to this date against the officer concerned, I, in a letter dated the 17th May, 1945, wanted to learn from Mr. Martyn the result of the enquiry, but, far from receiving any reply, as the said letter was not acknowledged even, I had to send him another letter under registered post with acknowledgment due, on the 25th June last. But, still I am quite in the dark as to whether the Government is prepared to take any action against the officer concerned.

We shall wait and see what action the Government takes in this case where at least one gentleman has come forward with charges of corruption which he is prepared to substantiate.

Men with Authority

Under the above caption, the *Statesman* writes editorially, (July 21) :

In a letter recently published by us, a correspondent from Delhi complained that passengers in a crowded bus were inconvenienced, because an Inspector Sahib, having chosen to travel by it, diverted it from its route, and moreover then had the occupants of the front seat removed, so that he and two companions could enjoy the best accommodation. Our correspondent, though aware that similar occurrences in India are common, sturdily refuses to acquiesce, observing: "this sort of abuse

of power should not be tolerated in any civilized State."

We concur. Officialdom all the world over is apt to acquire inflated sense of its importance. But in India this mentality has for generations been established in an extreme form. Though less flagrant in the bureaucracy's topmost ranks, it is the more dangerous there, and at times takes remarkable forms, as in the case of the present Director of Agriculture to the Government of Bengal. Reprimanded once before by the Calcutta High Court for "pettyfogging highhandedness," he has recently again been castigated there—for wrongful detention and malicious prosecution of an unobsequious circus manager. Unfortunately this affair, though unusual and far from typical of the I.C.S., is also not unique.

Very cleverly it then mentions that the service has been Indianised and says :

Hence authority gets less co-operation than it wants from the man in the street; and Indian members of the Services, who might improve matters, not seldom (as in the Bengal case referred to) worsen them by becoming more insular than the British, more royalist than the King. In his own land at least, the Briton of the upper middle classes whence the upper rungs of the Services get their recruits, is an approachable being. Among some of Indian counterparts, of various degrees of importance, an overbearing manner when dealing with inferiors is only matched by obsequiousness to the powers that be.

The *Statesman* however admits that such incidents are not confined exclusively among the Indian members of the services and mentions the case which not long ago resulted in a British Superintendent of Police being ordered by a District Court to pay damages to a pleader whom he assaulted for daring to present a bail application. We know that this peculiar swollen-headed irresponsibility of officialdom in India is widespread. In India, as in Britain, the recruits for these services are drawn from the upper middle class very often with family traditions of good manners, forbearance and piety. But why is it that as soon as they are fixed up in the steel frame, they forget their heritage, their traditions and give a go-by to the minimum standards of good manners? From experience and observation we are constrained to say that the atmosphere created for these new recruits is one in which they are led to believe that they are the nuts and bolts of a steel frame whose prime object is to maintain law and order in this land for the benefit of their British masters. Those who succeed in satisfying this expectation, rise on the Executive ladder, and those who fail are shunted off on the judicial side. The present Director of Agriculture's case is a palpable one which clearly proves that not only these servants are beyond all prospects of remedy, but they expect and do get promotions after cases which would have merited dismissal from public office in any country which claims to be civilised.

Want of Protective Food in Bengal

The danger of an acute deficiency of protective food in Bengal has been keenly felt and expressed for years past. The need for protective food for the children and the young is too well-known to bear repetition. The recent results of the University Examinations,—Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A.—have all recorded a very large drop from the previous

years. The results of the Matriculation Examination in the districts have been the most serious. There have no doubt been causes like non-availability of paper for doing exercises and taking down notes, want of textbooks, shortage of kerosene oil for study after dusk and undue loss of time for procuring "controlled" articles of daily necessity. But we consider shortage of protective foods as the most important reason for this decay in intellectual attainments and we believe that the result will be disastrous for Bengal. A whole generation is growing up as one of mental and physical cripples. Milk, fish and meat have all become delicate luxuries in this province beyond the reach of the poor and the average middle class.

Britain has provided sufficient milk for her children, students and expectant and nursing mothers under her rationing scheme. Bombay has done it although on a limited scale. But the Bengal Government has not applied their mind in any seriousness for the solution of this very urgent and very acute problem. Exclusion of children under twelve from the cloth rationing scheme leads one to believe that the branch of the Imperial Government on this side of the country does not think that children do need food or clothing.

Bengal's new Governor, however, continues to express his concern for the lack of protective food in his usual way. In the last broadcast speech he said about milk:

Milk is a difficult problem. The supply is both short and expensive and the quality poor. Many children and nursing mothers get far less than they need and what they do get is more often than not adulterated. I regard this as one of our most important problems. An adequate milk supply for the poor has a close bearing on the general health standard of the people. Improvement is a slow business but an essential one.

Various measures are being taken to deal with the situation. Our milk supply position is poor principally because our cattle yield very little milk. No permanent solution of the milk problem is therefore possible without an improvement in the quality of our cattle. To achieve this, provision of well-bred bulls is necessary to improve the local stock. Bengal has no farm for the production of good bulls. In consequence we are starting a large-scale Central Livestock Research and Breeding Station at Haringhata, about 35 miles north-east of Calcutta. Briefly, the scheme means that Government acquires about 5,000 acres of land near Haringhata, which is now unproductive and ridden with malaria. We propose to clear it of malaria, irrigate it and to establish on it a cattle-breeding and livestock research station, principally to produce pedigree bulls for supply throughout the Province to improve our cattle. The scheme also includes a model dairy farm and creamery where the practical business of commercial production of milk and milk products will be studied. This Haringhata scheme is an essential first step to any effective plan for permanent improvement in the milk supply of the Province. Incidentally the scheme in itself will improve Calcutta's milk supply.

We have had a thorough inquiry into the Calcutta milk supply, the report of which will be made available to the public shortly. It is not very pleasant reading.

This milk report has since been published. It reveals that the total daily requirement of milk in Calcutta alone is 22,057 maunds against a daily supply of only 3,693 maunds. The quality is extremely unsatis-

factory. Adulteration is nearly universal sometimes rising to 80 per cent of water. Of the 224 samples collected and analysed, 178 were found to be adulterated. About cleanliness, the reports says, the less said the better.

Following Lord Linlithgow, Mr. Casey seems to believe that milk supply can be increased by the provision of good stud bulls and the maintenance of a Research and Breeding Station. The report, however, has not faith in such a simple solution. It states that in normal times Calcutta imported annually about 40,000 cows and buffaloes from up-country; but due to railway booking restrictions and bans imposed by exporting provinces, imports have diminished seriously. The Report then says: "Unless imports can be increased or the present waste through slaughter of animals still in their prime prevented, the supply of milk is bound to further diminish in course of time, which must increase its price still further."

Mr. Casey does not mention this problem of import and slaughter either in his broadcast speech or the follow up in his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University where he has again mentioned milk. Under instructions from the Government of India, the provincial governments of Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P., Bihar, Orissa and Sind have declared the slaughter of calves under three years of age, of bullocks between three and ten, and of cows which yield milk or are pregnant or are likely to be pregnant, as unlawful. The people of Bengal will want to know if Mr. Casey considers it necessary to introduce the same laws in this Province.

Fish, the Second Protective Food of Bengal

In the same broadcast speech, Mr. Casey said about fish, the second important protective food of Bengal: "I am well aware of the importance of fish as the principal protein food of Bengal. Every attempt is being made to rehabilitate the fishermen, who suffered so badly during the last famine, to enable them to catch fish of which there should be no dearth in the Bengal rivers and estuaries. As a first step in the development of tank fisheries in the Province, nursery and demonstration units have been sanctioned in eight districts and provision has also been made for cheap distribution of fish fry."

The supply of fish in the urban areas cannot improve without an adequate supply of ice. Thanks to the efforts of the Ice Controller there has already been a substantial addition to the total ice supply in Calcutta. Probably 50 per cent more ice is available for the civil population this summer than last. The fish trade has not made adequate use of the increased ice supply. I am trying to find out why."

It came as a striking surprise that the fishermen did not make adequate use of ice made available to them. Public knowledge indicates that they never got it. However, the people will eagerly await gubernatorial investigation in this matter.

In his Convocation Address, the Governor again mentioned fish and said: "It astonishes me that the people of Bengal have not given more attention to the fishing industry. The Province abounds in almost unrivalled opportunities for enterprise in this regard. You have the sea, the estuaries, the rivers, the tanks—and a ready market in your Province alone of over sixty

million people—but yet singularly little has been done to take advantage of these great opportunities.”

The fishermen of Bengal have been the hardest hit since the introduction of the denial policy under which all their boats had been snatched away. During the past years and the present, Government of Bengal have sanctioned an astounding sum of seven crores of rupees for the construction of boats, possibly for making up this deficiency. We do not know if seventy boats have yet been launched up till now, and we believe that this huge sum, if spent judiciously and by honest people, would have given an immense fleet for the use of fishermen and boatmen. The Governor ceremoniously launched the first boat, and we wonder if he has cared to know how many more boats have followed it. The people have a suspicion that boats of gold and silver are being manufactured there to find their way into the pockets of the lucky enterprisers.

In our July number, we had drawn attention to Dr. Hora's plan for the development of fisheries in Bengal. We expected a reference to that concrete plan in the Governor's address two weeks later but have been disappointed. The outstanding peculiarity of the present system of administration in this country is that they will not do anything themselves and will not let others do it.

Bengal Cloth Famine Viewed From Delhi

We give below *Roy's Weekly's* comment on the cloth famine of Bengal which will give some idea of how people outside this miserable province view the problem while the administration here goes on with the same callous disregard of the realities of the situation as had been evidenced in the Bengal famine of 1943. Mr. Casey has virtually declared that he did not believe that women had been committing suicide for want of cloth. Sir John Herbert did not likewise believe that the famine was on even when deaths began to be reported. The Government of Bengal maintains probably the largest special police force in India, and is therefore very well able to find out the truth of the suicide reports. These have been published with full details giving the places of occurrences and in many cases mentioning the names and families of the victims.

Under the caption “Casey's Dope”, the *Roy's Weekly*, New Delhi writes (July 8) in its Marginal Comments by Tatler :

Suicide reports from Bengal have replaced those of starvation that poured forth from that province till recently. The reason is—*Fear of Nudity*. Women have been preferring death to nudity; others keep indoors, still others go about half-naked using napkins and kerchiefs !. Dhobies are relieved of their donkey-loads. The dead are wrapped in plaintain-leaves to be interred. Riots have broken out just for pieces of cloth and police firing also restored to. This is the plight of Bengal. What then are the rulers doing? The Tin-Gods of Delhi continue asserting that they have despatched sufficient cloth to relieve Bengal, but the Imperial Satrap, Mr. Casey in his broadcast speech offered little hope of an early relief. He stated that the cloth shortage was world-wide and would continue as long as the war lasted. The sufferers would like to know the number of the naked and semi-naked in Mr. Casey's homeland Australia—as the war has affected all countries alike. According to him, plans for rationing and equitable distribution

of cloth are being evolved which, when completed, would assure at least “one piece of cloth per person” before October. But this is not tackling the gruesome famine. Statisticians give the figure that at least 13 yards *per capita* should be available, at the present rate of production of cloth in our country. Where does India's production of 4600 million yards go? The Government as well as private distribution agencies have earned a notorious record for their acts during 1943 famine. Rowlands' report must still be on Mr. Casey's table. But we have not heard of any purge in his administrative staff in the interests of honest service. There must be an immediate end to this complacent and callous rule, if Bengal which has suffered enormously during the Famine, is to survive at all.

Hindu-Muslim Fusion

Ranade chose as the subject-matter for perhaps his greatest address to the National Social Conference delivered in December 1899 at Lucknow, Guru Nanak's saying: “I am neither a Hindu nor a Mahomedan.” This he said in order to encourage the desire to draw closer the bonds between Hindus and Muslims, with a view to the enlightened political system under which both must live. Living side by side for a thousand years has fostered these bonds, social and spiritual. In an issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* (June 12), the impressions of a visitor to the famous Hindu temple on the Palni Hills were published. The visitor found Hindus and Muslims worshipping together in the temple. There are numerous other shrines of the kind in India, writes the *Reformer*, where Hindus are trustees of Muslim mosques and Muslims of Hindu temples. An investigation in Bengal will show that Hindu religious and social rites and customs are still persistently prevalent among very large sections of the Muslims of this province, most of whom are converts from the Hindu fold. This process of fusion went on continually in progress, before it suffered an eclipse about 1906, when the British Government adopted the policy of Muslim enticement. The fact however is still there, and we firmly believe that this breach in Hindu-Muslim relations is a mere temporary phase. The cordiality will be restored as soon as sanity dawns on the communally minded self-seekers.

Bengal and Punjab and Mr. Rajagopalachari

At the close of the Simla Conference there was a mixed gathering at the Kalibari Pratima Mitter Hall. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is reported to have made the following remarks at that gathering :

Mr. Rajagopalachari addressing the Bengalees said, “The Punjab and Bengal were two stumbling blocks on the way to India's freedom. Standing at two ends of the country these two provinces have been responsible for India's servitude. If Bengal and Punjab could shed communalism, India could become free next day.”

He added, “Time may come when all communal troubles may end and a united Bengal may emerge. If Bengal becomes united to-day, India becomes one and free the next day.” He emphasised that India's freedom lay in the hands of the Punjabis and the Bengalees. He made a sincere appeal to them to compose the differences between the Hindus and

Muslims. "What a sad caricature in the country was this communal trouble," he exclaimed. He hoped that the dispute would soon end and he would see a free India within his life-time. *He warned Bengal and the Punjab that unless their differences were settled and the Hindus and Muslims of these provinces united the other parts of the country would leave them behind and go forward.*—(Italics ours. Ed. M. R.)

We are in substantial agreement with Rajaji's statement that Bengal and Punjab were the two stumbling blocks on the way to India's freedom. But we completely fail to see the force in Rajaji's homily to the Bengalis and the Punjabis. Indeed, the concluding portions read like an extract from the speech of one of Mr. Amery's propaganda assistants. Does Rajaji sincerely believe that this communal business in Bengal or the Punjab was the creation of any Bengali or Punjabi? Or, does he not know that the communal

flames would have died out long ago but for constant addition in fuel and continuous fanning by interested third parties? It is not fair to come to any conclusion on the basis of a bald press agency report, but we must say that the report as it stands depicts Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a most lamentable mental condition.

Bengal's fight against the *Divide et Impera* principle is now of forty years duration, starting from the regime of Lord Curzon. It was Curzon's worthy lieutenant Fraser that enunciated the "favourite wife" theory about the Moslems. And in the Roll of Honour, there are Moslem names as well as those of Hindus. It is now becoming increasingly fashionable amongst a section of the Congress to belittle Bengal's struggle and sacrifice for the cause, *but the truth remains there nevertheless*. And as regards the last sentence of Rajaji's remarks, all that we can say, that he would be a very unworthy son of Bengal indeed who would not rejoice, if any province of India achieved freedom, whatever be the lot of Bengal.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE war has not undergone any significant change during the course of the month that is coming to a close. The aerial assault on Japan has been stepped up both as regards intensity and area, but there are no indications as yet regarding the final moves to engage the main forces of Nippon. In China the forces under the Generalissimo have recaptured Kweilin and have thereby strengthened their position to a very great extent in that area. If this position can be consolidated, then the U. S. A. will again be in a position to strike at Japanese trans-continental supply services through its air forces and render a far greater amount of tactical aid to the armies of Free China deploying in those areas. The Japanese in continental China seem to be strangely on the defensive everywhere. Whether that indicates a change in strategy or that the supply and refitting services have been effectively crippled through the air-assaults on the home-land of Nippon, remains to be seen.

In general, there is a black-out on all news regarding movements in the neighbourhood of the China coast. There are some occasional releases of semi-authenticated news as in the case of the Japanese preparations for street-fighting in Shanghai. But in the main we have an idea of a Japan left guessing as to where the main blow will fall, whether there would be a front-door assault on the home islands, or would there be a landing in force on the coast of China. There is no doubt that Japan is straining every nerve now to prepare for the main offensive of the Allies, and in that process she has been obliged to yield the initiative in toto to her opponents. The speculations about Russia coming in must have had some considerable effect too, as far as it can be judged from the American quotations of Japanese press comments.

As in the case of Germany, the Allies are now attempting to disrupt the Japanese war-machine through intensive aerial bombardment of munitions centres, naval yards and great army depots. And just as the German organisation disintegrated slowly under those sledge-hammer blows because of the *Luftwaffe* failing to find an answer to the mass air-assaults of the Allies so the Nipponese war-machine now is facing being thrown out of gear through the same cause. Technically Japan was much behind America or Germany before the war. It is not known as to how much progress Japan has made during the course of the last four years. There have been some indications of considerable technical progress in the matter of aircraft, but as yet there is no indication that any material progress has been made in the matter of mass-production.

Therefore, there is every reason to believe that the Allied ultimatum to Japan was no idle threat. Before long Japan will have to face the full might of the three Allied powers one of whom, the U. S. A., has already begun the preliminaries to the final campaign. The Japanese reply to the ultimatum was in the negative, as expected, and it indicates that the spirit of suicide defence has not been broken as yet.

The Burmese campaign is still hanging fire due to the monsoons which are now in full force in Lower and Eastern Burma. The desperate attempt at breaking through by the Japanese forces trapped west of the Pegu Yomas has met with a certain amount of success though at an enormous cost. There is very little news about the Allied campaign in Borneo, but in all probability the weather conditions there too are inclement.

GOALS OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

By SHRIMATI KAMALADEVI

THE most powerful impulse in man is to live. But man is not content to merely live. He desires to live well. Practically all human activity is determined by this, that is the healthy functioning of those capacities of the organism, both physical and mental that are necessary for the most complete expression of the physical and spiritual potentialities of the organism. Human needs are, therefore, determined by those commodities and experiences that are necessary for this functioning.

Man is unique in the animal kingdom in having needs which are more than purely animal. That is where values come in, for man aims at attaining a certain standard that cannot be altogether measured by animal needs, such as hunger and sex. Man has gone beyond these cravings and developed new ones. This yearning or idealism determines the sense of values. Types of family, character of society, form of government, all these are evolved with a view to securing the most complete satisfaction and fullness of life. Man has never succeeded in this. He is forever trying out new modes on this eternal quest. That is why life is never static, and where social modes grow rigid and outmoded, they usually crack up under the hammer blows of the discontented elements of society and emerge in new moulds. Life can never reach a stage where the need for a change does not seem necessary.

Man fulfils his needs not by himself but through the group, which is the most important factor to bear in mind. So for this fulfilment, mankind needs to maintain a group living that reduces conflict to the minimum and augments harmony to the highest and largest measure. What we refer categorically to as human nature and human habits, are aspects we have developed over a long period by a process of deliberation to enable individuals to function in a group and as a group. No child comes into the world with all these just tucked in as goods in a packing case. Just as a child arrives without clothing or money, so does it come without what are known as human attitudes. These are inculcated by its environment. This "attitude" is the most dynamic element in the human living, for it determines the behaviour of each individual, and therefore is the directing force behind a society. It reflects the pattern of the social group in which it took birth and form. Thus what the group instils into the individual, the individual gives back to the group. For the attitudes are tendencies which reflect the experiences and social patterns of behaviour that condition the individual. In short it is the motive for activity. Thus a society is what it makes of its each individual member. This has an important bearing on all social values, for what each regards as the value of any object or form of activity is entirely relative to the attitude of that individual. Researches in psychology are revealing more and more a startling state of affairs in the relationship between an individual and the emphasis or value attached by the individual to an object or activity. Human activity cannot therefore be measured by simple standards in societies that have grown very complex.

But in trying to understand human behaviour, we must take account of the existence of certain requirements inherent in human nature, the most obvious being the physiological needs. But psychical needs have

also become almost inherent now as they form an indivisible part of the human environment, such as family life, social recognition and status, cultivation of the mental faculties, opportunities for creative work, sense of security and the like. As these characteristics appear common to all peoples of all climes, far-flung from each other, the human race in its essential mental and emotional processes appears similar, its need for the general type of activities same, only the methods of working them out in detail vary. These differences are the outcome of the varying environment, for culture is the product of an accommodation to environment. The attempt naturally involves or leads to invention, the road along which humanity has travelled over many ages.

We must, however, realise that although wants are the source of values, they are not an adequate guide. The principle humanity has been and is still working towards is that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the proper goal of all human action, the measure for evaluating human behaviour, for it recognises that man attains his most complete happiness only in promoting happiness for the whole group of which he is a part. This is no academic truism but a very real experience. Happiness rises out of a sense of fulfilment, while fulfilment in turn comes from the proper and normal functioning of the essential organism.

The basis for judging the worth of a society is its efficiency for the satisfying of those human needs that make this possible. Our positive as well as our negative wants are the starting point for measuring values. For often our wants are determined not by actually what our organism needs but rather by what the environment in which we grow up, taught us to want. Sometimes these not only do not bring happiness but on the contrary draw disaster. It is, therefore, necessary to carefully discriminate between wants and needs, to arrive at what may be called the basic ones. This can be achieved by weighing and sifting human experiences since the dawn of history. Nor can this assertion be categorically the last word. We have yet to know much more of human nature in relation to its daily experience.

Roughly these may be characterised as those which promote survival and longevity and those which are more abiding and lasting; those which involve the participation of all members of society and can be enjoyed by as many as possible and serve to knit human beings into closer and friendlier ties. These may be classified as the fundamental human needs on which the happiness of human beings rests and a society's progress is measured according to the satisfaction of these conditions.

First come the physical needs, for without them no human being can function or survive. This does not mean the mere gratification of his physical hungers, but also the equally imperative needs for the vital functioning of all his physical powers. The amount and variety of food, rest and sleep, proper housing, protection against poison and infection, in fact all that is needed for hygienic living, together with facilities for medical treatment, recreation and physical relaxation, and wholesome expression of sex life.

Next comes creative activity which is closely allied

with physical activity and daily living. One of man's essential needs is that his daily task be the happy expression of his creative urge, not a heavy penalty paid to earn a morsel. For just as man is not content to merely live, he is not satisfied to merely toil. He seeks to realise himself through his work. In the more highly industrialised societies, this is quite impossible due to the very nature of the work with its minutest divisions of labour, where jobs are done "by the clock" instead of for the joy of working. This problem is closely related to several others, such as general conditions of work, working hours, standardisation, etc., which need to be discussed under the entire economic head.

In equal importance comes security. This may be defined as physical, social and economic. Man is never master of his own life or destiny. He eternally finds himself the victim of exigencies. While knowledge of protection against disease and accident has grown, so have fatalities with the rise of the modern complexities of life. In fact the achievement on the credit side as the result of increased knowledge and experience is discouragingly poor, for the advent of machinery has served to add to our physical insecurity on a scale unknown before. Thus far the measures taken by society to eliminate these menaces of the machine have been rather meagre, as compared with the tremendous toll of life and suffering that is still exacted.

But great as this is, man does not half so fear this as economic insecurity. For just as modern machinery has introduced new menaces to his physical well-being, so have new sources of insecurity been introduced by the present economy. Man has become isolated from his family and community security, as in the old social pattern. Moreover, incomes depend not upon a man's iron efforts but upon conditions beyond his control. This fear of insecurity not only serves to destroy the peace of mind of millions but does actually bring poverty, physical and mental suffering, loss of efficiency and self-respect to large sections of the population. Any future society would have to be judged by the extent to which it is freed from this menace. An unequal distribution of both wealth and opportunity as well as other benefits society has to offer, has meant an unbalanced group living together with a conflict of interests between the two groups; for ownership, distinction, wealth, power—all these go together and are today the privilege of a few, not the recognised right of all. Our entire economy is ruled by competition and wealth, and economic power instead of being only the means to an end becomes the end itself. The fact is completely ignored that individual success and power is being achieved by utilising resources and instruments that in reality belong to all. Material success and the power that goes with it do not usually come as the result of some outstanding contribution to common welfare but rather by exercising ability in the accumulation of wealth, often not even in the creating of it as in the case of inherited wealth. The only genuine contributions to society are scientific research and invention, and cultural creations which are rarely recognised or compensated in terms of money and power under the present system. In its technique of functioning the success of the few is purchased at the expense of many. This is chiefly because the sources and the means of production are controlled by few while the many merely labour to produce. If this is to be corrected the competitive motive needs to be replaced by the promotion of the common welfare as the end to aim at.

Man being essentially a social being, even his individual fulfilment comes mainly through group life. Through the community association, he has developed certain social values; he likes to have a special social status, win social distinction, be loved and respected by his fellow beings, enjoy their confidence and appreciation and participate in the group activity as an equal. But due to economic and social inequalities today, a very large section of society is basically denied even the most elementary opportunities for the satisfaction of these cravings. Children are reared in an atmosphere charged with inferiority; their normal ambitions thwarted and all roads to self-development rigidly closed. Vast majority of people today are simply strangled even before they have a chance of a fair test.

Knowledge and the systematic development and cultivation of natural faculties or tendencies is another fundamental need of man. It has a two-fold meaning. Knowledge is the tool with which to get the means for the satisfaction of other wants as well as for the enrichment of those experiences which it brings. Society should provide channels to children and adults alike for the pursuit of such activities. Where it does not, as our present-day society for instance, the result is universal paucity, for where society endows a child with knowledge, it as an adult adds to the wealth of society, materially and intellectually. Where society fails to, the loss is as much to the individual as to the group.

One of the most important and significant moving forces in man is the creative urge and the need for beautiful surroundings. In a way the two may be taken as inter-dependent. In an acquisitive system where values are measured by material accumulation, creative work is at a disadvantage. Moreover, as the production machinery gets more and more mechanised and standardised, work gets so monotonously routine, that no creative impulse has any play, in fact it is completely thwarted in course of time.

Such a setting necessarily determines the rest of our daily environment. With the commercialisation of production, things are prepared with an eye on profit not use. Hence the element of beauty is very indifferently treated, not as an integral part of the whole but as an isolated factor that must be separately paid for in exceptional prices which are far beyond the scope of all, barring the few very wealthy ones. Beauty is not a luxury, it is one of the basic essentials of life. But in a civilisation that has made fresh air even so expensive, this is not to be wondered at.

In the days when man created with his own hands, he put his very soul into it. Everything he made, the tiniest, the most insignificant had to be beautiful. This was as indispensable as the material he used. Today this has been made the function of only the artist, who has thus become isolated from the people, and who produces only under special patronage, for a rare price. With the result, the cities we inhabit, the houses we live in, the transport that carries us, the articles for our daily use, have all become monuments of absolute ugliness. When the basis of our economy alters and we start producing for use, then beauty will be restored back to our life and we shall remember that man lives as much by beauty as by bread.

Our very mode of living will have to be drastically altered. Unequal distribution of population will have to be replaced by scientific distribution according to the needs of production, so as to serve the community best. The present congested cities with their unnatural con-

centration of population, hotbeds of crimes and disease, will have to completely disappear. More compact cities should be planned to enable the people to live as human beings in close contact with nature, open ground with trees and flowers as a part of every dwelling, with proper facilities for community life. Under the new economy and in the new surroundings, man would have not only more leisure but the inspiration as well, to use his leisure profitably for creative hobbies and play, two of man's most essential needs that are completely suppressed in the present society. Work is never a complete or adequate expression of man's need for activity. Moreover, all routine does get monotonous and tedious. Many of our muscles, nerve centres, emotions that are not brought into play in our daily lives—activities that can give expression to these suppressed parts, add a fresh zest to life, introduce the element of adventure which is pursued for its own sake, because of the exhilaration and joy that such explorations bring.

It is clear that no fixed goals can be determined if we mean by these a particular form of society or economic organisation. For change, we note, is an inevitable feature of life and it has no final goal at which to terminate. The goals aimed at therefore can only mean certain qualities that inhere in social living, the inner and most lasting element which gives meaning to the outward forms that constantly shift and transform. In formulating social objectives our emphasis has therefore to be more on the underlying principles than the forms of social functioning. The goal is not a perfect type of society but rather one which will fit the needs of the particular period in which we happen to be functioning, for our needs do not continue the same for decades or generations on end. This is an essential point to bear in mind. For a type of social organisation that is accepted as best for one set of circumstances will certainly not continue to be the best for another set of circumstances. Social planning must therefore seek for the functioning of social processes that will for the time best serve human needs, and our directive must be to guide these constantly flowing streams of human affairs into those channels that promise the most fruitful satisfaction of human needs for as long a space of period as is possible.

While, as we have noted, changes cannot and should not be averted, society can helpfully benefit by them by intelligent application and effort at guiding, and thus replace aimless drift or haphazard changes or chance incidents by deliberate and purposeful planning to control these moving forces and directing them into fruitful channels.

To begin with, a clear realisation of the amity of the various social factors from a thoroughly rationalistic angle is necessary. For instance, in dealing with problems like crime and prostitution, a scientific approach has to replace the old sentimental one; for social evils spring mainly from physical and emotional maladjustments, due to the frustration of normal human needs and not some innate wickedness as some suppose. The plan, therefore, has to be a single comprehensive one to include the various details in their relationship with one another. No social problem can be effectively dealt with isolatedly. It must be treated as a detail in the whole.

Man we have noted mainly fulfils himself through the group. Through the ages the co-operative society has grown in size and strength, and the tendency is still in that direction, with a growing skill in co-operative

living. From small groups and tribal units we have expanded into nations of hundreds of millions who are able to maintain a high degree of unity and solidarity. The need and urge for a world society is pressing us towards building for it. This does not mean that man's intensely individualistic and egoistic impulses have become completely attuned to the group demands. But man is coming to increasingly realise that he has better chances of survival and of gaining a constantly expanding, richer and more varied life, only in proportion to the perfection and strengthening of his qualities of co-operative living. So to secure a sound basis for a society, it is necessary to achieve a balance and adjustment between the individual impulses and the group needs. Our living and working are so intertwined with the living and working of others, that in the very nature of things, no one can avoid depending for his well-being on the well-being, effort and discipline of others. For there can be no welfare for a society without its being the welfare of the large masses. Nor can an individual effort be of value to society except in so far as it is conditioned by the circumstances under which it is able to function—the circumstances being of course created by the group efforts. A high standard of collective action is therefore essential for individual welfare and fulfilment and satisfaction. This has become all the more necessary in view of the prevalence of a ruthless type of individualism and competition, the domination of the interests of the larger section by the interests of a few individuals, all of which have brought humanity to the brink of such complete disaster through wars, economic waste, growth of bitter hatred, distraction of creative life, etc.

The superiority of co-operative effort has already been established wherever it has been attempted: in production, distribution, cultivation, housing, recreation, transport and a host of other activities. They only need to be expanded from the small group functioning to the nation and from each national area to the entire world, to settle disputes and deal with all aspects of economy, social problems such as health, immoral traffic, drug trade and the like; also stimulate and organise scientific and cultural amenities for the benefits of all.

The next objective is freedom. According to uncritical and superficial understanding of life, freedom is inconsistent with a socially controlled life. While on closer thought we realise that freedom is possible only in a well-ordered, disciplined society. Freedom in its proper sense, is the fullest opportunity for development and the realisation of the gifts, talents, potentialities inherent in man, and which are the instruments through which he gathers satisfaction, or in other words, happiness. It is because man realised that he can get better satisfaction through an organised life than through anarchist struggle, that he evolved this social organism, society. But there are controls and controls. Where they strangle self-realisation by exercise of arbitrary force, they must be removed. Thus reconstruction has two aspects, clearing away the useless junk and building up the new type of social organism which will provide the channel through which each may be able to seek fulfilment, furnish equal opportunities and facilities for the growth of a full personality. A free society has also to be a democratic one, for the two are different aspects of the same. This principle has so far been emphasised only in the political field, while its application to the economic and social sections of group

life has been opposed. Thus parties and individuals who support one, hotly fight the other although real democracy in life is only possible when the principle is observed in every phase of our life.

But this cannot be brought about by mere agitation or advocating it to the people. Those who believe in the principle must also work for it, for a free and democratic society of today demands much higher mental sharpness and capacity as well as higher standard of public spirit and service than was called for by the simpler life of yesterday. The qualities called for from the man in the street are not for the management of the details of administration, but the sharp discernment to take right decisions on broad principles and issues and select the right type of leader to further the selected policies. Nor can the public stop with mere decisions and selections. It has to serve the cause from day to day to further and maintain the fundamentals on which the society has been constructed. Then alone

can democracy be made a real working proposition and give society its fullest benefits.

In conclusion, we may say that because of certain universal traits in human nature, certain needs become fundamental for the realisation of man's happiness. A society is efficient and satisfactory in proportion to the degree to which it secures satisfaction of these needs: Physical health for all members of the society; conditions of work that provide creative expression for the worker; physical and economic security; a social setting that promotes self-expression and personal dignity by providing equal opportunity and equal social status; education to equip for adequate living and enable intellectual pursuits; aesthetic satisfaction from congenial surroundings; contact with nature; leisure for play and creative hobbies; social relationship and social control so adjusted as to enable each individual free play for his personality in a well-organised disciplined society.

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THE WAVELL OFFER

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

I

I propose to make a few observations in this article on the offer which His Excellency Lord Wavell has recently made on behalf of His Majesty's Government and which was "designed to ease the present political situation (in this country) and to advance India towards her goal of full Self-Government." These observations will be primarily based on the speech broadcast by His Excellency on 14th June, 1945, the statement made by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons on the same day, and also the statement made by the latter at the Press Conference, held on the next day at the India Office.

II

Before, however, I deal with the political aspects of the offer to which I shall, for the sake of brevity, refer hereinafter as the Wavell offer, I should like to say a few words in regard to its constitutional aspects, as I find that there is some confusion in the minds of some people regarding them. In the course of his broadcast Lord Wavell said that the proposed new Executive Council "would work, if formed, under the existing Constitution."

"The Council", His Excellency added, "will work within the frame-work of the present Constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably."

Mr. Amery also laid stress on this point in his statement before the House of Commons, to which we

have already referred. Now the expressions "the existing Constitution" and "the present Constitution" in the Viceregal broadcast have been misunderstood by some persons. They really mean, in the context in which they have been used, the Constitution of the Central Government of India as provided for in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, taken along with other transitional provisions in Part XIII of the said Act, and not the Constitution thereof as provided for in Part II (i.e., the Federal Part) of the Act. As is well-known, Part II of the Act has not yet been introduced. All the transitional provisions of the Act, including those in the Ninth Schedule, are to "apply", under Section 312 of the Act, "with respect to the period elapsing between the commencement of Part III" of the Act which relate to the Governors' Provinces, and the establishment of the Federation of India as contemplated by Part II of the Act. Under Section 317 of this Act, the Ninth Schedule continues in force some of the provisions of the now repealed Government of India Act, with amendments consequential on the provisions contained in the Act of 1935. Now under the transitional provisions referred to above, the executive authority at the Centre is to be "exercised on behalf of His Majesty by the Governor-General in Council", "except as respects matters with respect to which the Governor-General is required . . . to act in his discretion." And here comes the relation between the Governor-General and his Executive Council in the executive sphere. Under Sub-section (1) of Section 41 in the Ninth Schedule, if any difference of opinion arises on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General's Executive Council, the Governor-General in Council is bound by the opinion and decision of the majority of those present, and, "if they are equally divided, the Governor-General or other person presiding" has a second or casting vote.

1 There is only to be a very minor amendment of Sub-section (3) of Section 36 in the Ninth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935. This amendment will dispense with the present requirement that "three at least" of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council "must be persons who have been for at least ten years in the service of the Crown in India". But the change proposed to be made is indeed very small in these days,!

2 See Section 313 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as a whole, particularly Sub-section (3) thereof.

Ordinarily, this is the procedure in case of difference of opinion at a meeting of the Governor-General's Executive Council. Sub-section (2) of the same Section 41 lays down, however, that whenever any measure is proposed before the Governor-General in Council whereby the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India, or of any part thereof, are or may be, in the judgment of the Governor-General, essentially affected, and he is of opinion either that the measure proposed ought to be adopted and carried into execution, or that it ought to be suspended, or rejected, and the majority present at a meeting of the Council dissent from that opinion, the Governor-General may, on his own authority and responsibility, adopt, suspend or reject the measure, in whole or in part. In simple English all this means that the Governor-General of India can, under the present Constitution, overrule his Executive Council and act on his own authority and responsibility in certain circumstances. Although the expression "the power of veto" is ordinarily used in connexion with the business of legislation, in recent discussions, however, in this country this overruling power of the Governor-General in relation to the Executive Council has been frequently referred to as his "veto" power. For the sake of convenience, I shall also refer hereinafter to this power of the Governor-General as the "veto" power. If and when this "veto" power is exercised by the Governor-General, the members of his Executive Council who may have differed from him, must either abide by the decision taken by him and shape their own policy and action accordingly, or resign their office. The principle of "united and indivisible responsibility" which is a feature of the British Cabinet also applies to the Indian Executive Council, in spite of the different nature of the tie which binds the members of the latter together. As Sir Henry Fowler laid it down long ago as Secretary of State for India :

"It should be understood that this principle (i.e., the principle of united and indivisible responsibility), which guides the Imperial Cabinet, applies equally to administrative and to legislative action; if in either case a difference has arisen, members of the Government of India are bound, after recording their opinions, if they think fit to do so, for the information of the Secretary of State in the manner³ prescribed by the Act either to act with the Government or to place their resignations in the hands of the Viceroy . . . the policy adopted is the policy of the Government as a whole, and as such, must be accepted and promoted by all who decide to remain members of that Government."

It is evident from this that even if, in respect of a particular matter, the decision of the Government of India is in reality the decision of a single person, namely, the Governor-General, rather than that of the whole Council, that decision must be supported and acted upon by the members of the Executive Council, or they must resign. The only checks,⁴ if they can be regarded as checks at all, on the overruling power of the Governor-General are, first, that in every case of the exercise of this overruling power "any two members of the dissentient majority may require that the adoption, suspension or rejection of the measure, and the

fact of their dissent, be reported to the Secretary of State" for India, and that "the report shall be accompanied by copies of any minutes which the members of the Council have recorded on the subject"; and, secondly, that in the exercise of this power, the Governor-General shall not "do anything which he could not lawfully have done with the concurrence of his (Executive) Council."

It may, perhaps be interesting briefly to note here the circumstances in which the overruling power of the Governor-General first originated. Under what is known as the Regulating Act of 1773, if there arose any difference of opinion on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, they were to be bound "by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present" at the meeting. Only in case of an equality of votes, the Governor-General, or in his absence, "the eldest counsellor" present at the meeting, was to have a casting vote, and his opinion was to "be decisive and conclusive". As a consequence of this provision in the Act of 1773, Warren Hastings who had been appointed to be the first Governor-General (of Bengal, at that time) by the Act, was often powerless, and even helpless, before his Council, as three of his four councillors, namely, Francis, Clavering, and Monson generally acted together in opposition to him. Although his difficulties disappeared with the rather "timely" death⁵ of Monson in September 1776, as he could now have his own way by means of his casting vote, yet the lesson taught by them was there. And when Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the office of Governor-General of Bengal in 1786, he made it a condition of his acceptance of the office that he "should be given the constitutional power to overrule his Council," if necessary. Accordingly an Act⁶ was passed in 1786, which remedied what was considered to have been a defect of the Act of 1773, by empowering the Governor-General to overrule, in matters of grave importance, the majority of his Council and to act on his own authority and responsibility. Ever since 1786 this overruling power has been retained in the Indian Constitution in one shape or another. It is true that this overruling power has rarely been exercised by the Governor-General. The reason, however, is obvious: The very existence of the power is quite enough to ensure the virtual supremacy of the Governor-General over his Council and also the compliance of the latter with his views. General Sir George Chesney⁷ hardly exaggerated, therefore, when he observed with reference to the Act of 1786 that "the practical result of the measure was to render the power of the Governor-General supreme." This is obviously the reason why a frequent recourse to the exercise of the overruling power by the Governor-General may not have been necessary in the past.

As shown before, His Excellency Lord Wavell has said:

"There can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably."

The implication of this statement is that it is contemplated by the Wavell offer that the Governor-

³ As shown below in this article.

⁴ See Sub-sections (3) and (4) of Section 41 in the Ninth Schedule to the Act of 1935.

⁵ Clavering also died in August, 1777.

⁶ 26 George III. c.XVI.

⁷ See his *Indian Policy*, 1894, Longmans, p. 45.

General will not exercise his constitutional power of control in relation to his Executive Council "unreasonably." This may be so. But with all due deference to His Excellency I feel constrained to remark that what is reasonable, or what is not so, is purely a matter of opinion, in the formation of which personal discretion plays a determining part. Conscience may come in here, but conscience itself is very largely a personal factor and, therefore, variable. When, for instance, in 1879 Lord Lytton, Governor-General of India, in opposition to the views of the majority of his Executive Council, exempted from (import) duty the coarser kinds of English cotton goods, "so that imports of all those qualities which could at that time be manufactured in India" might be left free—a measure which has ever since 1879 been condemned by every honest and impartial student of Indo-British Economic History as most unfair and inequitable to India and as adopted "solely in the interest of Manchester"—, he must have convinced himself before he took "the unusual course of overruling the majority of his Council", that he was going to act *reasonably*, at least *not unreasonably*. It is evident from this example that what may appear as reasonable—or rather not unreasonable—to a Governor-General may not be really so, and may not always conduce to the true welfare of the people of India. Moreover, it must be borne in mind in this connexion that the Governor-General of India is, under the existing Constitution, constitutionally subordinate to the Secretary of State for India, and is responsible to him, and, through him, to His Majesty's Government, for the discharge of his duties and responsibilities. And this means much, both in law and in practice.

III

(a)

I shall now consider the political aspects of the Wavell offer. In the first place, I must observe that I do not know what the so-called Desai-Liaquat-Ali formula actually is as it has not so far been published authoritatively. It is, therefore, not possible to say how far the Wavell offer is based upon, or a departure from, or an improvement upon, the said formula. But on a very careful analysis of the Wavell offer it appears to me that, so far as the proposed interim constitutional arrangements are concerned—and the Wavell offer is concerned with *these* only—, there is hardly any difference, except in respect of one matter referred to below, between the former and what is now popularly known as the Cripps offer of 1942. We have it on the authority of Professor R. Coupland⁸ who had, at the request of Sir Stafford Cripps, joined his staff in India in 1942, and "was thus enabled to observe the work of his Mission at close quarters":

"It was generally believed that the Viceroy was willing to consider an all-Indian Council; with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief, provided, of course, a settlement were reached under which all parties agreed to co-operate. It was obvious, indeed, that no settlement was possible on other terms; and Sir Stafford made it plain that the National Govern-

ment he personally contemplated and expected was to be, always excepting the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, an entirely non-official Government. The dispute, then, was not on the personnel of the National Government, but on the method of its operations."

Further,—"

"There would be a substantial difference *de facto* between the new (Executive) Council and the old: In the first place the new Council would consist, apart from the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, entirely of Indians. Secondly, all those Indians would be party leaders, and chosen, therefore, by their parties and not by the Viceroy."

Thus, so far as the question of the Indianisation of the Executive Council is concerned, there is really no difference, subject to what presently follows, between the Wavell offer and the Cripps offer. In respect of the portfolio of External Affairs, however, which has hitherto been held by the Governor-General himself, the former is certainly a distinct improvement upon the latter. In 1942 the Cripps offer did not contemplate the transfer of the control of India's foreign relations to Indian hands till after the war was over. But the Wavell offer definitely proposes⁹ that "external affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defence of India) should be placed in the charge of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive (Council) so far as British India is concerned, and that fully accredited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad". But it must be pointed out here that, contrasted with the interim constitutional arrangements under the Cripps offer of 1942 or the position obtaining at the Centre now, the change proposed by the Wavell offer is really one of degree and not of kind. Nor can it justly be described, whatever claims may have been made by some people in the enthusiasm of the moment, as embodying any really new policy. The constitutional position and powers of the Governor-General in relation to his Executive Council will, under the Wavell offer, continue to remain, as shown before, as it is today. At the same time, it must be admitted that, although the quantum of power of the proposed new Executive Council will not materially alter under the Wavell plan, the influence of the Council over the work of administration will certainly increase to some extent, specially when the Council will be composed largely of the representatives of organized political parties in this country. This, however, is subject to one proviso, namely, that the Council works as a team. But if, unfortunately, it works otherwise and its members begin to fight amongst themselves over administrative matters, the position will be even worse than what it is now. It may lead to the frequent exercise by the Governor-General of his overruling power. And this means that he will have to hold the balance of power between the contending factions.

Another point to be noticed in this connexion is that, under the Wavell offer, the Executive Council will not be responsible to the Indian Legislature in the British parliamentary sense. No vote of censure on the Council by the Legislative Assembly, not to speak of

⁸ See *Report of the Indian Fiscal Commission, 1921-22*, Chap. X; also P. N. Banerjee, *Fiscal Policy in India*, Macmillan, 1922, pp. 79-88.

⁹ See Section, 314 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

¹⁰ See Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Oxford, p. 54.

¹¹ See Coupland, *Indian Politics, 1936-1942*, Oxford, p. 285.

¹² See Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on 14th June, 1945.

the Council of State, will be able to drive it out of power. The Governor-General in Council will remain responsible to his Majesty's Government in England for the performance of his duties and responsibilities, as he is now.

Sir Stafford Cripps has been reported to have observed at Edinburgh on 14th June, 1945, in the course of his speech on "the new plan for India":

"With the present temporary constitutional change, if it is agreed to by Indian leaders, it is quite obvious that there will be a great shift of power from the British Parliament and Government to the new Executive Council of the Viceroy, which for the first time will be representative of the Indian peoples."

In view of what I have shown above, the use of the word "great" by Sir Stafford in reference to the possible shift of power, appears to me to have been a gross exaggeration.

(b)

I shall now pass on to the question of the composition of the proposed new Executive Council. In the course of his broadcast His Excellency Lord Wavell said :

"The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems."

In a little more diplomatic language Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons on the same point:

"It is proposed that the Executive Council should be reconstituted and that the Viceroy should in future make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive (Council) from amongst leaders of Indian political life at the Centre and in the Provinces, in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and Caste Hindus."

It follows from these statements that the number of the Muslim members on the new Executive Council is to be equal to that of the "Caste Hindu" members on it. This is being referred to in recent discussions as the principle of parity of representation on the Executive Council as between the "Caste Hindus" and the Muslims. Now let us analyse the statements in terms of figures. I should confine myself to the figures of British India alone as the Wavell plan is meant for British India only. According to the census of 1941, the total population of British India is about 296 millions. Out of this total population, the numbers of the "Caste Hindus", Scheduled Castes, Muslims, Christians, and the Sikhs are, roughly speaking, 151 millions, 40 millions, 79.4 millions, 3.5 millions, and 4.2 millions respectively. Under the plan proposed, therefore, 151 millions of the so-called Caste Hindus will be made politically equivalent to 79.4 millions of Muslims. Is not this weightage in favour of one community and against another a concession, out of all proportion, to communal fanaticism and intransigence? Will it not put a premium upon such fanaticism and intransigence in future? There is no doubt that it will, as it has invariably been the case since 1906. Once this principle of parity is accepted in connexion with the constitution of the Central Executive, the demand will inevitably be made for its introduction into the central legislature,

into the central services, both civil and military, and into the central judiciary, irrespective of the questions of numbers of population and the qualifications of candidates. As a consequence, the so-called Caste Hindus who constitute today the majority of the total population of British India will be reduced, politically, to a hopeless and helpless minority, and, ultimately, to utter impotence and nullity. This is the danger inherent in the principle of parity introduced on communal grounds. We have no objection to the principle of parity or, for the matter of that, to even a greater representation of Muslims than of the "Caste Hindus" in any service or on any body, if appointments are made purely on grounds of merits and fitness, and if the present vicious system of communal representation through separate electorates is replaced by the system of joint electorates on a territorial, or even on the functional, basis. Otherwise, the principle of parity of representation, under present conditions, is, to say the least, against logic, reason, equity, and the principles of democracy.

It has been argued by a British paper in support of the principle of parity that on the Senate of the United States the constituent units of the Federation are equally represented irrespective of the question of the numbers of their population. This is true, but the paper should have added that on the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the units are represented according to population. And the Senate and the House of Representatives together constitute the Federal Legislature of the United States. Moreover, there is no such thing as communal representation through separate electorates in the United States. The principle of representation on the Senate, as on the House of Representatives, in the United States is territorial and not communal or religious. Therefore, the American analogy does not, and cannot, apply to India. The difference between the two countries is of a fundamental character.

It has also been argued that the Conciliation Committee of which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was the Chairman accepted the principle of parity of representation. But it should not be forgotten that the Conciliation Committee also insisted on the indispensable condition thereof of the "substitution throughout of joint electorates with reservation of seats for separate communal electorates." Moreover, this Committee emphatically declared against "any division of India into two or more separate independent sovereign States," and in favour of the maintenance of the political unity of India. There are no such saving features in the Wavell offer. On the other hand, we find that Mr. Amery even now says that the offer of 1942 (*i.e.*, the Cripps offer with its "non-accession" provisions) "stands in its entirety *without change or qualification*", and that "none of the changes suggested (by the Wavell offer) will in any way prejudice or prejudge the essential form of the future permanent *constitution or constitutions* of India."¹³ It may be said that this is the language of diplomacy. It may be so. But it is difficult to deny that such language used by a person in Mr. Amery's position will further encourage the

¹³ See Mr. Amery's statement in the House of Commons on 14th June, 1945. (The italics are mine).

For Mr. Amery's inconsistencies, see my article in *The Modern Review* of April and May, 1945, entitled *Britain's Responsibility and Duty*.

istransigence of those communalists who have been making the suicidal demand for the partition of India into two or more sovereign, independent States.

(c)

In the third place, I shall say a few words in regard to the principle followed by His Excellency Lord Wavell in issuing invitations to the Simla Conference. I do not know who is or are responsible for adopting this principle. But I must at once say that the decision to exclude the Hindu Mahasabha from the Simla Conference was a most unfortunate and regrettable blunder, both from the point of view of His Majesty's Government and from the point of view of the interests of the Hindu community as a whole. His Majesty's Government wanted the Hindu community to swallow, at the same time, two such bitter pills as the principle of parity of representation as between the so-called Caste Hindus and the Muslims in spite of the great disparity in their respective numbers, and the division of the Hindu community into two political sections, namely, the "Caste Hindus" and the "Scheduled Castes." If it really wanted to achieve this twofold object for the ending of the present political deadlock, it should have invited some leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha which alone today can speak in the name of the Hindu community, and then appealed to their traditional generosity, spirit of tolerance, political sagacity, and statesmanship. I dare say that it could then have succeeded in achieving its object. By ignoring the Hindu Mahasabha altogether, His Majesty's Government betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight into the working of human nature in politics. The consequence is already wellknown to everyone who has eyes to see. The Hindu Mahasabha is a force to be reckoned with in Indian politics today, particularly in the provinces in which the communal problem is very acute. And if His Majesty's Government thought otherwise, it was certainly ill advised. Perhaps, in deference to the views and wishes of the Jinnahites, His Majesty's Government wanted to make the Congress appear before the world as a purely Caste Hindu Organisation. If this be a fact, it was also a mistake for obvious reasons. However, it must be said to the credit of the sense of realism and statesmanship of the Viceroy that he rectified this mistake, at the instance of Gandhiji, by issuing an invitation to the President of the Congress to the Simla Conference. It would have been equally wise if His Excellency had rectified the other mistake by extending an invitation to the President of the Hindu Mahasabha to attend the Simla Conference. I am making this statement not because I am a Hindu, but because I am also genuinely anxious to see the end of the existing political deadlock. If it be argued that the Hindu Mahasabha has been excluded because it is a communal organization, then our retort will be, what about the Muslim League? Who will deny, having the least regard for truth, that the Muslim League is, and has been ever since its establishment, a purely communal organization? His Majesty's Government should have considered, when preparing the list of invitees, who could deliver the goods on behalf of the Hindu community as such, and particularly that section of it which it called the Caste Hindus? Certainly not the Congress which is not a sectional organization and which repudiates—and very rightly—the insinuation by interested parties that it represents the Hindus alone. As is well-known, the membership of the Congress is

open to all and it even now contains among its members persons belonging to different religious communities in India, although, as a result of the policy pursued by Britain ever since 1906, it is for the time being largely Hindu in composition. In the past the Hindu Mahasabha had received official recognition as an important political organization in this country on a number of occasions.

Moreover, there is another very weighty consideration to be taken into account in this connexion. According to the Viceregal broadcast, one of the principal tasks of the proposed new Executive Council will be to consider the means by which an agreement is to be "achieved" upon "a new permanent constitution" for India. This "task", His Excellency rightly said, "is most important." "I want to make it quite clear," he continued, "that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier." Exactly for this very reason, some representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha should have been invited by His Excellency to attend the Simla Conference; because one of the main functions of this Conference is to help His Excellency in the formation of the new Executive Council, and because on him and on all those invited to the Conference, lies, to quote His Excellency's own words, "a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future." Unfortunately, the policy pursued by the Congress in regard to communal matters ever since the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government, dated 4th August, 1932, has not found favour with a large section of nationalist public opinion in this country, particularly among the Hindus. Further, the attitude adopted by some of our foremost leaders who directly or indirectly control and shape the policy of the Congress, towards the Muslim-League demand for the partition of India has made the Congress itself naturally suspect, rightly or wrongly, with a large section of Indian public opinion. This is the reason why the presence at the Simla Conference of some representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha which has been consistently fighting for the maintenance of the political unity and integrity of India, was considered very necessary by nationalist public opinion in this country, specially among the Hindus. Again, according to the Viceregal broadcast, the proposed new Executive "Council would represent the main communities." Yet, the only organization, namely, the Hindu Mahasabha, which alone can speak authoritatively in the name of one of these main communities, namely, the Hindu community, has been excluded from the Simla Conference! In view of all this, the exclusion of the Hindu Mahasabha from the Simla Conference has been, we repeat, a most unfortunate blunder on the part of His Majesty's Government.

(d)

Fourthly, Mr. Amery has been reported to have observed at the Press Conference, held at the India Office on June 15th, 1945, in connexion with the Wavell offer:

"There is nothing in the proposals," if accepted, that will debar members of the (Executive) Council

14 i.e., the proposals as laid by him before Parliament on 14th June, 1945. They meant the Wavell offer.

from dealing with the whole problem of reconstruction entirely as they please. It will be for them to decide industrial, agricultural and health policies and so on."

This statement seems to be an obvious exaggeration, if not somewhat misleading, specially so far as the post-war development of Indian industries is concerned, in view of the provisions in the Government of India Act, 1935, for the prevention of (i) administrative and legislative discrimination against British commercial interests and British trade in India, and (ii) discrimination against British imports into India.

IV

It is not the object of this article to deal with the Simla Conference now going on. Nor do I propose to discuss here the part which the different political parties invited to the Conference are playing there. I cannot help, however, remarking that there are two statements in the Viceroyal broadcast which appear to be rather incompatible with each other. His Excellency has said in connexion with the proposed new Executive Council :

"Moreover, members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders."

But he has also said :

"If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together."

If the members of the new Executive Council are to be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders, we fail to see how the question of the success or failure of "the meeting" comes in at all. Nor is it very clear to us as to what was exactly meant by the expression "the meeting" here : the meeting *between*, or *with*, whom?

In conclusion, I should like to observe, after a very careful examination of the whole question, that if the Wavell offer has some serious defects, it has also some merits: if it has potentialities for evil, it has also promise for good. This is the reason why opinions in the country are so sharply divided on it.

—:O:—

As the scheme is intended for a purely *interim* period and for ending the present deadlock in the country, it may be given a trial, subject, however, to one condition, namely, the principle of parity as embodied in it, must not be allowed to be used as a precedent for the future.

At the end of his broadcast, while appealing for co-operation and goodwill from all, His Excellency Lord Wavell stated :

"I believe in the future of India, and as far as in me lies will further her greatness."

We are prepared to believe in the obvious sincerity of these words. We in our turn, however, appeal to His Excellency to see that, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question, the Federal Part of the Government of India Act, 1935, is introduced without any further delay, after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered necessary for making the establishment of the Federation of India easy and practicable.¹⁵ After all, it should not be forgotten that the introduction of this Part of the 1935 Act was *only suspended* in 1939, and that the Act itself was not a hasty piece of legislation on the part of Parliament, but was the result of years of deliberation by and among all the parties concerned. It is now time, therefore, that this suspension should be lifted. Counsels of un wisdom, unreason, impolicy, and selfishness as well as communal fanaticism and intransigence have long been allowed to hold up the progress of India towards her destined goal. They must now be totally ignored, if they do not yield to reason, and India should be definitely placed on the right road to the realization of her great destiny. Once this bold but proper step is taken, everything will be all right, and all obstacles will gradually vanish away like darkness before dawn. If His Excellency Lord Wavell can achieve this during his regime, he will not only achieve a great object, but will also win himself a great name in the pages of Indo-British History.

July 12, 1945.

¹⁵ See in this connexion the concluding part of my article entitled "Britain's Responsibility and Duty" in *The Modern Review* for April and May, 1945.

BREEDING OF FRESH WATER FISH OF BENGAL

By H. K. MOOKERJEE, D.Sc. (Lond.), D.I.C., F.N.I.,
Sir Nilratan Sircar Professor of Zoology, Calcutta University

INTRODUCTION

THE burning problem of the day is food. Fish is the second staple food of this province. Unless we can get enough fry to rear, it is not possible to cope with our requirements. In order to get sufficient number of fry one ought to know the different methods of breeding.

Now breeding is of 3 kinds :—(i) Natural, (ii) Semi-natural and (iii) Artificial.

Natural breeding may take place in (i) Stagnant water, (ii) Current water. Stagnant water may be an ordinary pond or *jhil* or *beel* and current waters may be either rivers or streams.

CONDITIONS OF SPAWNING

Spawning requires first of all maturation or ripening of ova of the female. Ovulation requires stimulation of the anterior lobe of the pituitary body. Stimulation of the anterior lobe of the pituitary body requires a higher percentage of oxygen contents of water in which the female lives. This enhancement of oxygen contents is only possible in nature by addition or better with the replacement of rain-water. After ovulation the females seek for suitable partners and on having them sexual sport begins which ultimately results in spawning by exudation of the mature ova by the females and sprinkling of milt on them by the males.

BREEDING OF FISH IN STAGNANT PONDS

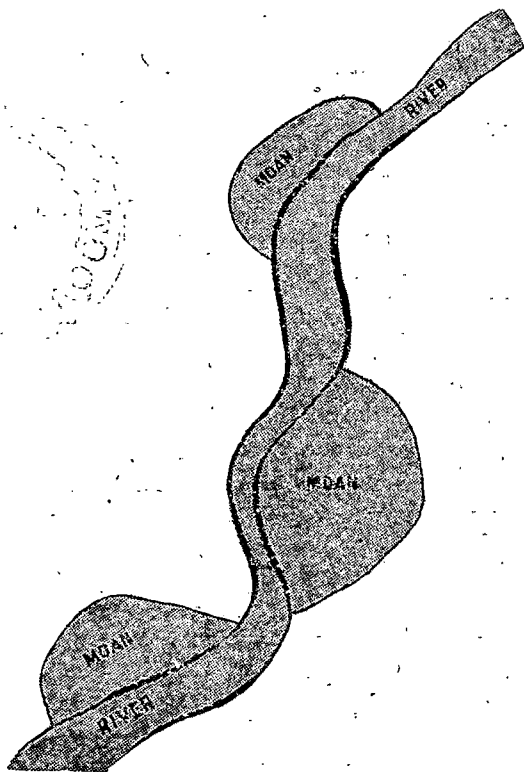
No fresh-water fish spawns without some amount of rain water mixed with the old water of a pond, that is without higher oxygen contents of water. Thus we find spawning of such fish as *Shal* (*Ophicephalus marulius*), *Shol* (*Ophicephalus striatus*), *Lata* (*Ophicephalus punctatus*), *Punti* (*Barbus punctatus*) and *Manwala* (*Amblypharyngodon mola*), etc., in almost all the common ponds of Bengal during the rainy season.

BREEDING OF MAJOR CARPS

Indian major carps as a rule do not breed in ordinary stagnant pond. They require pure rain water for breeding purposes. Pure rain water can be had in connection with river or low lying adjacent vast areas of *beels* or *khals*.

NATURAL BREEDING IN RIVERS

Really speaking, breeding does not occur in the river proper but in the fallow land or in the rice field adjoining a river which becomes submerged during heavy monsoon. The rain water collected in this submerged area joins with the water of the river to



Breeding in River

become a continuous vast sheet of water. The submerged areas become so-called pockets of the river proper which can be called the breeding ground or *moan**. After the formation of such ground during the monsoon sexually matured fish of either sex migrate to these breeding grounds from the river proper

* The term *moan* is not used everywhere as the substitute of breeding ground. In certain cases the outlet of the breeding ground is also termed as such.

in search of purer rain water as they have already been stimulated by the addition of the rain water, and there the females and the males get more oxygenated water due to the accumulation of rain. The conditions of breeding enumerated above having been fulfilled ultimate spawning is effected and the fertilised eggs sink down at the bottom. The embryos generally come out of the egg-cases within 15 to 18 hours and float in the water of the breeding ground. Eventually, therefrom most of the embryos come to the river proper and the moment they are in the river, these embryos migrate downwards with the current. So most laymen and quite a large proportion of fishermen seldom get any opportunity of perceiving any fertilised eggs of carps. Most of the fishermen collect the very early stages of fry which are ordinarily known as *Dimpona*.

COLLECTION OF FRY FROM RIVER

Fishermen generally catch these early fry or *dimpona* with nets of fine mesh or as in Chittagong with special mosquito nets. In Damodar river near Amta fishermen generally catch the early fry by a series of fixed purse nets along the shallow bank of the river.

NURSERY PONDS OR KUA IN CONNECTION WITH HALDA RIVER OF CHITTAGONG

A series of sets of shallow small nursery ponds are excavated all along the river. These nursery ponds are known as *Kua* (Well). The fertilised eggs are generally kept on a net submerged in water in order to get rid of the egg-cases, when the embryos are liberated from them.

There may be an improved method where instead of a piece of net, one puts a piece of ordinary cloth underneath the net, so that on liberation of the embryos from the egg-cases these fry will be on ordinary cloth piece which can be lifted up in order to show the fry to the intending purchaser without any injury to them.

BREEDING IN BEELS, KHALS OR LAKES

In all these water-ways breeding of carps takes place almost like that of the river. The only difference being that the river water has a flow or current downwards whereas beels, khals and lakes are almost like stagnant ponds.

COLLECTION OF FRY IN CONNECTION WITH BEELS, KHALS OR LAKES

As the collection of fry is rather difficult due to the absence of current it is advisable to collect the fertilised eggs before hatching in the adjoining *moans* with a piece of mosquito curtain net, the borders of which are re-inforced with tapes.

SEMI-NATURAL

Though Indian carps as a rule do not breed in confined water it is known that in certain districts of Bengal like Midnapore, Bankura and Chittagong. Indian carps spawn freely in certain types of tanks known as *bundh*.

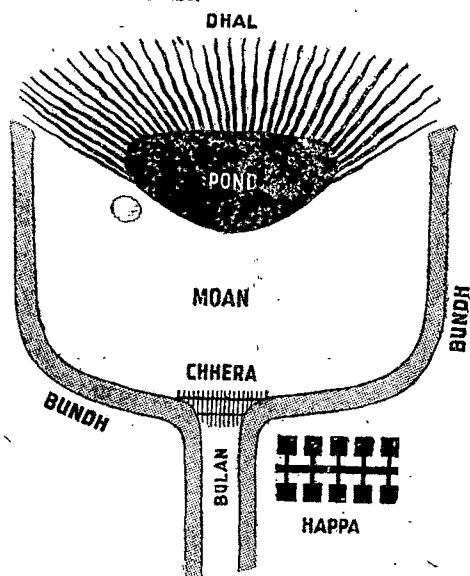
BUNDH

A typical *bundh* may be described as a kind of pond in the midst of a vast low-lying paddy land bounded on three sides by high embankments, the remaining or fourth side being left open since it gradually merges into slopping ground like a spout.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH

(1ST AND 2ND TYPES)

In summer a great part of the *bundh* described by me dries up and is cultivated while the actual pond always contains some water and harbours mature fish. In the rainy season water from the upland area rushes in the form of streamlets which is locally known as *dhal*. On getting a heavy shower the whole area comprising a *bundh* becomes submerged and during heavy floods it may even overflow. To prevent over-flowing of the *bundh*, as well as to get rid of the old water of the pond, an outlet known as *bulan* is made on the opposite side of the upland area in the form of a channel which connects the *bundh* to a neighbouring river or a water-course.



Midnapore type of bundh (type No. 1)

With the accumulation of rain water in the pond, the brood fish are stimulated to activity and come out into the shallow parts of the *bundh*, known as *moan*, for breeding purposes. There may be a little variation of the *bundh* from the description given above. The *moan* may be situated far away from the *bulan* and close to the *dhal*. This sort of *bundh* may be called the second type of Midnapore bundh.

There is a bamboo fencing, known as *chhera*, at the mouth of the *bulan* (channel for outlet). The flow of the water through the *bulan* can be controlled by plugging it with straw and mud.

From the description of the *bundh* it is evident that major Indian carps spawn in a shallow vast sheet of recently stagnant rain water for its excessive percentage of oxygen and therefore the idea of spawning of carps in running water is baseless.

I have observed altogether 11 *bundhs* of the above type of which 9 are having *moan* and *bulan* side by side. These are (1) Bathantorha, (2) Bindu, (3) Birpathari, (4) Casia, (5) Dekinenjya, (6) Inthkuri, (7) Sarabot, (8) Tangasole, (9) Ariamara. In the last two the *moan* is far away from *bulan*, those are Sitarampore and Talbhandi.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH (3RD TYPE)

This type of *bundh* is similar in all respects to the 1st and 2nd types, the difference being that there is no

specified shallow area or breeding ground like the others. The fish spawn in the very long, broad and shallow channel of the outlet itself, the extreme end of which is temporarily closed by *chhera*. The typical *bundh* of this type is Hamarchala.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH (4TH TYPE)

This type of *bundh* possesses two outlets instead of one. The reason for such arrangement is that one of them can be closed at will towards which the fish migrate. In order to convert this portion into a calm sheet of stagnant water the outlet is thus closed; the other portion is left open as the passage for the flow of excess of water. Such arrangement is probably a modification of the riverine condition.

In some *bundhs* of this type the specific ground for breeding purposes is almost absent and the fish breed either in the shallow edge of the pond itself or in the broad and shallow channel of the closed outlet.

So far as my information goes there are 5 *bundhs* of the above type. Those are—(1) Pathuria, (2) Rangamati, (3) Orgunja, (4) Metedor, and (5) Jamboni.

MIDNAPORE TYPE OF BUNDH (5TH TYPE)

This type is known as *sukhna* (dry) *bundh* because it has no permanent pond. Consequently the collection of water is seasonal in a vast shallow cavity which is bounded by embankment and having sometimes a slope on one side. After a heavy rain, mature males and females from neighbouring ponds are transferred to this *bundh* for mating, resulting in ultimate spawning.

After collection of eggs the *bundh* is left undisturbed for sometime for drying.

Such a pond is really an ideal for spawning of major carps at all places. This idea is not the product of imagination but in reality we find them in places like Midnapore.

There are 3 *bundhs* of the above type in Midnapore (1) Kurkuti,* (2) Malibundi, (3) Vatmoudi.

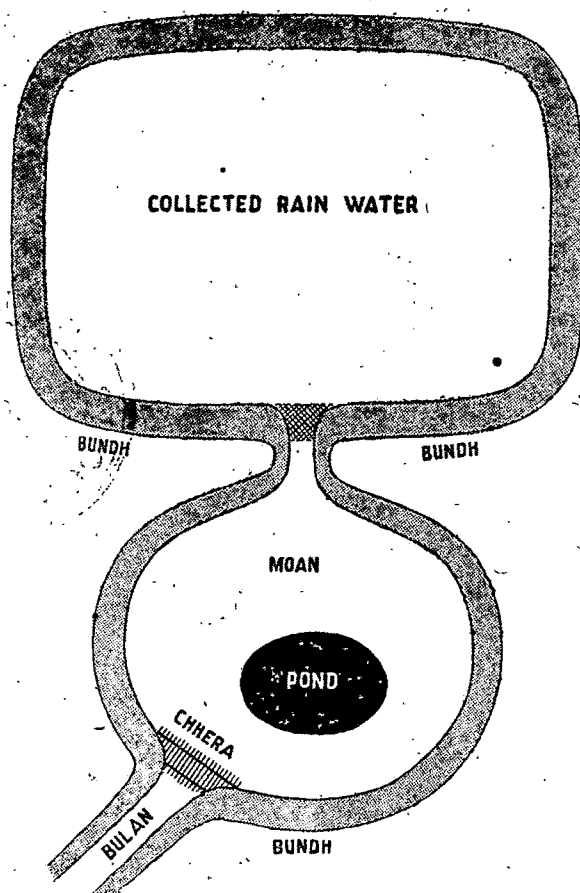
CHITTAGONG SEMI-NATURAL BUNDH

The difference between Midnapore bundh and Chittagong bundh is that in the latter instead of depending wholly on a heavy shower for the accumulation of rain water in the *bundh* area they have got a control contrivance for the accumulation of rain water at their free will. This type has a collection of rain water on the upland area of considerable size with proper embankments so that during a shower they can cut open a space in the embankment towards the *bundh* side at will and the water may flow down into the *bundh* and replace the old water of the pond through *chhera*, whereas in Midnapore bundhs they get the heavy shower of rain to drop down as *dhal*s on the upland area into the *bundhs*.

TEMPERATURE OF THE WATER OF THE POND AND BUNDH

The temperature of the water of the pond and bundh before shower was in one occasion 90° F and subsequently fell to 89° F. In the Punjab, Khan has recorded that the temperature of the breeding ground varies for 75° F to 87° F. The pH of water in one occasion was found to be 7.4 before and 7.9 after.

* Kurkuti bundh has recently been converted into an ordinary 1st type of bundh.



Chittagong type of bundh

EXCAVATION OF HATCHING PITS IN MIDNAPORE

Before collecting eggs small pits or *hapas* are excavated in the adjoining land of the *bundh*, so as to put into them fertilised eggs, for hatching. The dimensions of the pits are $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ deep. The pits are 6 inches apart and are arranged in parallel rows, each row containing about 30 pits. Adjoining rows of pits are separated by a shallow channel for circulation of water which was taken from the *bundh* by bailing. The bailing of water is generally done by the aid of a narrow boat fitted up with a pulley. Small feeding channels connect the main channel with the hatching pits and in this way a constant supply of fresh water is ensured.

COLLECTION OF EGGS

The general appearance of the eggs are like so many pearl beads with mucous coating on the outside. While collecting, quite a large number of eggs is destroyed under foot. The size of each egg is that of a pea-seed. The actual collection is made in *moans* by a mosquito-curtain net $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. in length and 1 yd. in width; this is stretched at the four corners by two men and then dipped to the bottom of the breeding ground or *moan*. Each piece of net has tapes stitched at the borders to strengthen it. After collection, the eggs are transferred into four-gallon tin-containers for measurement of the quantity.

The collection of eggs is started from the furthest end of the *bulan*, as a large number of eggs generally escape through the *chhera* during the time of breeding or *paus*.

Fertilised eggs (about 12,000 eggs in number) are put into each pit with plenty of water from the *bundh* which are periodically replenished to keep the level constant. Day and night water is kept over these *hapas*.

As no measures have been adopted for aerating the *hapas*, bacterial infection sets in almost immediately after hatching and at the end of the first week there is consequently a heavy mortality.

The inner tube of an used motor tyre or bicycle tyre serves pretty well. On inflating the inner tube with a hand pump and putting a thin rubber tubing to the cock, one would get air on immersing the free end of the rubber tubing in the water of the *hapas*.

Moreover, the feeding of the fry artificially is ignored. The only good thing that the Midnapore fishermen generally do with regard to *hapas* is to put a small quantity of laterite soil in the form of paste in the water of these *hapas*. It has been ascertained that such a mixture has definite alkaline reaction. The respiratory process of the fish fry together with their excretory product have definite acid reaction.

If the water has alkali right from the beginning, then there is every possibility of neutralisation without the ill effect of acid.

Now the question is that laterite soil is not available everywhere in Bengal. Lime is a good substitute for an alkaline substance like laterite soil and is available at all places. If we put 4 oz. of lime to a gallon of water, then the fry can live in it with ease. But the lime should be given after thoroughly pulverising it so that there may not be any difficulty regarding the choking up of the respiratory tract of the fry.*

For breeding of Indian fresh water fish the following factors are essential :—

(1) Increase of oxygen content of water is essential. In nature this increase of oxygen content of water is possible only after heavy shower during the rainy season. The temperature of the water of the perennial pond together with the inundated area of water increases with the addition of rain water. pH of water also rises with the addition of rain water.

(2) For carps the old water of the pond should be replaced by recent rain water or transference of brood fish to be done from old water to rain water. The real trick is the increase of oxygen contents.

(3) We performed two sets of experiments, (i) by passing air in the water in which small fish of either sex live such as *Colisa latius* and in course of a few days spawning was effected, (ii) by constantly changing or rather pouring and thereby splashing air in the water (the principle is the same as hand paddling) and such fish as *Barbus conchoniis* (Kanchan punti) or *Amblypharyngodon mola* (Mourala) and even *Anabas testudineus* (Koi) spawn in course of several days.

(4) In nature the minor elements that are required for ready spawning of fresh water fish besides higher oxygen contents are :—(a) vast sheet of shallow rain water as breeding ground.

(b) Brood fish of carps of at least 3 years old should be kept undisturbed in the perennial ponds.

*All the Midnapore types of *bundhs* mentioned here are situated in the localities of Chandrakona Road and Garbeta Railway Stations.

ARTIFICIAL

Artificial fecundation or artificial impregnation :— We know that in nature, after maturation of the ova the female fish that come out during the time of sexual sport are impregnated by the male sperm within a reasonable time such as 2 or 3 minutes utmost. Consequently there is a tremendous loss of both ova and spermatozoa.

On the other hand after maturation if the ova are pressed out of the female fish and are kept in a glass or china receptacle on which the milt of a male is also pressed out and added on to them, the fertilisation can be effected on addition of water to this mixture of ova and sperms.

The originator of this artificial fecundation is Lt. Jacobi of Germany who discovered this system in 1763. The French Government have been carrying on this process ever since 1850 in their fishery situated at Hunningen in Alsace Lorraine.

In India such artificial fecundation has also become fruitful both in the Panjab and also in the Fish Laboratory, Calcutta University.

Advantages of such artificial fecundation are :—1. Immense source for supply of extra fry. 2. Supply of the fry for individual species separately and thus eliminating the danger of mixing up with the predaceous fry. 3. Higher percentage of fruitful fry. 4. The minute details of the life-history of the individual species can be studied.

Before I conclude I like to repeat what I told about 3 years back from All-India Radio, Calcutta Station.

"I have now described in some detail the breeding of fresh water fish of India based mostly on my experience both in the laboratory and field for last 5 years working on the Fishery Scheme financed by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India. Fish breeding is not merely profitable but also interesting. Today with the war at our doors it is our imperative duty to get the most out of this industry and that too as quickly as possible. We must find easy and inexpensive methods for adoption on a large scale by the people. Traditional and empirical knowledge is good but science can help much, and it is ever willing to help. There is no trade secret in science, no patent rights. Scientific knowledge painstakingly gleaned by devoted men is the property of all."

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AN INDIAN SIBERIA

By UMA CHARAN PATNAIK, M.A., B.L.

I

THE siege of Stalingrad and the turning of the tide of World War No. II has amply demonstrated the potentialities of the vast unexplored tracts of Czarist Russia; and it has rightly been said that the sleeping giant, Siberia, roused from his age-old slumbers by the wise Five-Year Plans, came to the rescue of the U.S.S.R. at the most critical period of her history.

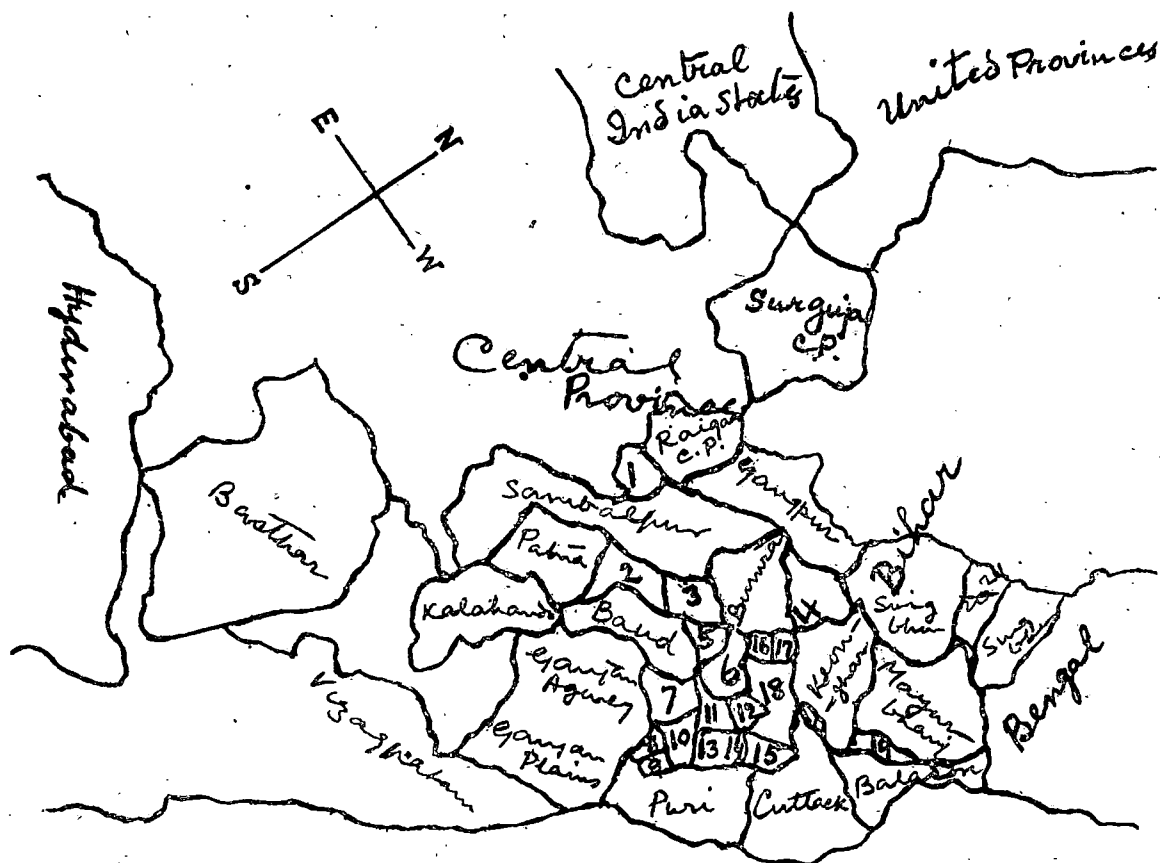
No apology is needed for introducing the reader to one of the Indian Siberias, the picturesque mountain country to the west of the plains of Orissa with Singbhum and the Orissan States of Seraikala and Kharswan in the north, Sambalpur, Surguja, Sarangarh and Raigarh in the west and Basthar in the south. With its mineral and forest resources, its potential water-power, its virgin soil, and, above all, its comparatively thin population of one crore five and a half lakhs (including hill-tribes numbering nearly forty-seven lakhs), this 74,480 square miles of uplands ranging from 1,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea-level, is bound to play a unique part in the future history of India, if not of the world.

This area is administered either by the Provincial Governor through his Agents or Deputy Commissioners or by Indian Princes under the supervision of the Political Department. The policy of so-called protection to aborigines areas, was slightly relaxed by the constitutional reforms of 1935 which gave the initial responsibility of administration, to some extent, to the popular ministers. The Congress Ministry of Orissa appointed the Partially Excluded Areas Committee under the chairmanship of Sri A. V. Thakkar (President, Aboriginal Welfare Works and General Secretary, Harijan Sevak Sangh) to enquire into the condition of the hill-tribes. The report of this committee has opened

the eyes of the thinking public to the miserable condition of 20,836 sq. miles called the Partially Excluded Areas and under the special administration of the Provincial Sattap. Apart from the actual outcome of this committee's labours, its main importance lies in the fact that it has aroused the interest and enlisted the sympathy of Indian leaders, for the uplands and hill-tribes in this unexplored part of the country.

The Servants of India Society started, in November, 1939, aborigines-service work in Koraput district under the able lead of one of its most energetic members Sri L. N. Sahu, M.A. About 40 schools were started, medicine freely supplied and other uplift measures undertaken. The recent book of Sj. Sahu in which he has collected his experiences of Koraput and compiled his studies about the aborigines of that district. (proof copy of which he kindly lent me for perusal) is a valuable addition to the few interesting and instructive books on Indian Hill Tribes. In the Congress constructive programme the service of Harijans and Aborigines has been emphasised upon as one of the important items of constructive work for the training in non-violence to achieve Indian Independence. The recently-formed Kasturba Memorial Committee, has, as its avowed object, the uplift of women "especially among Harijans and Aborigines." What has actually been done till now in this direction, is, however, a drop in the ocean when compared with what has not yet been done.

The entire extent under review is practically hill and forest tract with unexplored resources; almost entirely untapped, reserved, as it were, for a Free India to explore and develop the possibilities. Only in the extreme north, the Tatas have utilized some of the available raw materials to build up one of the largest



1. Sarangarh, C.P., 2. Sonepur, 3. Rairakhol, 4. Bonai, 5. Athmallik, 6. Angul, 7. Daspalla, 8. Naya-garh, 9. Ranpur, 10. Khandpara, 11. Narasingpur, 12. Hindol, 13. Baramba, 14. Tigiria, 15. Athgad, 16. Talcher, 17. Pallahra, 18. Dhenkanal, 19. Nilgiri, 20. Seraikala, 21. Kharswan

steel manufacturing centres of the world. The ore floats of the Gorumohisani are worked even by unskilled labour. Sri Ram Das in his foreword speaks of the smelting of iron from raw ore by the aboriginal Kammars and the author writes of the minerals of the district—iron, manganese, graphite, limestone; steatite (pot-stone), sappharine, etc. These are common features of the entire uplands. Coal is rare in Ganjam and Koraput but has been found in large quantities in the northern portion. Sometime back a huge block of white mica from Neddiguda was exhibited at G. Udayagiri; combined with the flourishing lac industry of these uplands, this would provide for electric insulators and other industrial works. Recently it was published in the *Samaj* that a lead mine has been discovered in Dhondapotha area of Angul. It is said that well-water in some part of the Khondmals smells of kerosine.

"The forests abound with big *Sal* trees (*Shorea robusta*). Besides there are *Palasa* (*Butia Frondosa*), *Mohua* (*Basia latifolia*), *Jamu* (*Emblia jambolana*), *Kusum* (*Schleichera trijuga*), *Sirisa* (*Albizia lebbek*), *Amla* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *Kochila* (*Strychnus nuxvomica*), *Catechu* (*Acacia eburnio*), *Nim* (*Melia Indica*), *Champak* (*Michelia Champaka*), *Palm* (*Boeassus flabellifer*), *Salpa* (*Caryota urens*), *Cane* (*Calamamus tennis*), *Kadamba* (*Anthocephalus Kadamba*), *Sisu* (*Dalbergia Sisoo*), etc."

The scarcity of metal in the post-war period will greatly accelerate woodworks as a cottage industry. Sabai grass and bariboos are available in large quantities; the paper mills at Titagur are utilizing the raw materials from a very small area and there is ample scope for hand-made paper at various other places. Even at present agency mats and cheap bamboo cots and baskets are popular local industries. The minor forest produce—myrobalan (*cascara sagrada*), lac, tamarind, turmeric, sonnari bark, ginger, paloo (a local variety of arrowroot) are being exported in large quantities. Even the cheap broomsticks from these parts are having a profitable market in Bombay and other cities. The natural honey available in the agency is of a very superior quality; bee-growing may be taken up with great advantage to the people.

There are many varieties of tropical herbs and plants. The forests abound with wild animals whose hides and skins are sold in distant markets; with the cheaply available forest-produce required for the purpose, tanning and leather works in this locality would constitute important cottage industries. Animal bones, horns and tusks are also available here.

The virgin soil is very fertile and the climatic conditions and early monsoons are conducive to the growth of plant-life. Experiments have shown that the same seeds sown here yield larger fruit and better crop than in the adjacent plains. Cotton thrives here better

than in the coastal areas. Weaving is one of the important avocations of the local *Pans*; if cotton is grown on a large scale, two important cottage industries could be accelerated. Government has just realized the necessity of growing sugarcane in the uplands.

Above everything else there is very great scope for hydro-electric power at various places. Sir Henry Howard, the Electrical Expert to the Government of Madras, has evolved a scheme for generating 105,000 k.w. of electricity from the Duduma (one of the four waterfalls situated in the river Machkund in Koraput district) and supplying cheap power to the Province of Madras; this has been the bone of contention between the Provinces of Madras and Orissa for some time. The Bagra in R. Kolat in Koraput has been estimated to generate 75,000 k.w. of electricity. Nrisinhanath and Harisankar in Sambalpur and other waterfalls in this area could also very profitably be harnessed not only for running heavy (State) industries but also developing agriculture and cottage industries. There have also been proposals for harnessing the water current of the larger rivers for development of resources as well as for control of floods.

The tapping of the natural resources of these uplands will remove the grinding poverty of the masses, and, at the same time restore India to her proper place among the Free Nations of the world.

II

THE HILL TRIBES

The population of these uplands has been classified as follows :—

Hindus	..	..	57,05,641
Hill Tribes	..	..	47,29,545
Muslims	..	..	81,533
Christians	..	..	36,463
Others	..	..	14,822
Total			1,05,68,004

Thus the hill tribes form a very large percentage of the total population. In particular Basthar, Koraput and Ganjam Agency form a belt of predominantly hill tribe habitat :

Area	Extent (sq. miles)	Total population	Hill Tribes
Basthar	13,701	6,33,888	4,78,964
Koraput	9,875	11,27,862	9,40,632
Ganjam Agency	4,373	4,63,076	3,74,039
	27,949	22,24,826	17,93,625

The hill tribes of these uplands together with their brethren in the adjacent coastal districts of Orissa number 48,90,487. They belong to different races and various communities or tribes. They have, however, certain qualities and disadvantages in common. They are strong, sturdy and brave (and cruel, too, if roused to anger). They are a queer admixture of industry and idleness, courage and docility. There is a peculiar blending of the strength and ferocity of the royal tiger of their forests with the simplicity of innocent little children. Enjoying, as they do, the sun, the rain and the extreme coldness of their hills they feel at home in dense forests and steep mountains, hunting wild animals, singing and dancing in their 'Dangadi-Dens'; with their natural faithfulness, hospitality and goodness

to counterbalance anger and other natural vices, they may indeed be called the Children of Nature. A few facts about their origin and present condition will suffice to give the reader an idea of the uplift work that is necessary among them.

Though they are usually called "aborigines", it is more accurate to classify them as "Hill Tribes". The various tribes inhabiting this area may tentatively (subject to differences among learned philologists and anthropologists) be said to belong to two broad divisions :—

The Munda Branch of the Austric family.—Strictly speaking this should have been called the *Sabar* or *Savara* branch because it has been referred to as such not only by Pliny, Ptolemy and others, but in the ancient Indian Puranas as well. Their history and culture are still being investigated into by research scholars who are of opinion that India was one of the best strongholds of the Austriacs. Some of the important sub-branches who live in these uplands are the Savaras, Santhals, Gadabas, Kharias and Mundas.

The Intermediate Group of the Mediterraneans (Dravids).—It is supposed that when the Aryans invaded India in about the 2nd millennium B.C., the pre-existing civilization was "comparable to, and in communication with the ancient kingdom of Mesopotamia, far older and in most ways more highly developed than that of the Indo-European invaders who established themselves in India, precisely as they did in Babylon, as barbaric rulers of more cultured peoples." Of this pre-Aryan civilization, the Brahui of Baluchistan survived as the north-western language, and the Intermediate group—the Khonds, Gonds, Oraons, Koyas, Kondadoras, Kollamis preserved themselves in the mountain-fastnesses of the regions extending from Bombay to Bengal and from U.P. and Bihar to Hyderabad. It is a strange irony of fate that these two branches associated with the glorious civilization of Mohenjodaro and Harappa should now be living in a primitive state of society.

Their Colossal Ignorance.—Sj. Sahu quotes the presidential address of Prof. Ram Narain Mahanti at the 1941 Annual Conference of Teachers at Cuttack :

"History gives the proof that from 800 B.C. to 200 B.C. the percentage of literacy in India was 75. . . . At the beginning of the 19th century when British rule began, it was 15. After two hundred years of British rule it has gone down again to 10."

But literacy figures for these hill tribes furnished by the Census Report of 1941 are still more shocking. Pages 52 to 55 of Part X is a summary of the tables prepared on the "random-sample" basis arrived at by taking every fiftieth slip in the Partially Excluded Areas of Orissa :—

Total number of slips so examined	29,345
Among them, literates	453

And, of these, literates in English only 2. In the 1931 Census Report, Part I, page 507, it is stated :

"In Bihar and Orissa a memorandum of the Government itself submitted to the Statutory Commission states that in the matter of education, the aboriginals of that province . . . are in a worse position than they were in 1921."

If the Government neglects its elementary duty of making the people literate, are the public completely exonerated from all blame ?

The demon of drink plays a great havoc among these hill tribes. Liquor is part of their festival menu, offering to gods, hospitality to friends and recreation after work. As the author of the Government Report of the Partially Excluded Areas of Bombay, Mr. Smyngton says :

"Births, marriages, deaths, Panchayat meetings, the presence of guests, festivals, etc., are all taken advantage of as excuses for drunkenness."

The P. E. A. Committee of Orissa also reports :

"Their indebtedness is mainly due to this reason; drink causes the average aborigine to waste money which might be spent on other necessities of life. Drink makes him indolent and neglectful of his field work."

Drink not only places him in the clutches of the local exploiters but also accelerates his natural anger and is responsible for most of the offences committed by him.

Mr. Hutton in the 1931 Census Report suggests that

The Hill tribes "cannot grow sugar and are too poor to buy it. Hence *pachwai* and *tari* are part of their diet. Particularly during the months of summer (hot weather) many take large quantities of light liquor."

There is no doubt that there should be an improvement in his economic condition, which has, to some extent adapted his system during centuries to seek glucose from mild drinks. But merely laying the blame at the door of his economic condition, is not the way of combating the large-scale drink evil among hill tribes. They have got to be cured of it.

They are not so incorrigible drunkards as they are supposed to be. Mr. Smyngton who has toured the aborigine areas of Bombay says that the aboriginal of Bombay has begun to be conscious of the evils of drink. The same is true of many people in these uplands also. The Khonds during the last decade completely gave up drink at the instance of the Kumudaballi Penu (=god) for a few months. Though an inveterate drinker, the aboriginal can, if his reason or imagination is touched, give up drink.

Most insanitary and unhygienic life led by the hill-man.—The dirty huts, failure to clean one's teeth or even to wash oneself after answering the calls of nature, and filthy surroundings make him susceptible to diseases in spite of his natural powers of resistance. Malaria, small-pox, leprosy, yaws take a heavy toll of

lives. During the last few decades contact with modern civilization (which has been referred to as "syphilization") has spread venereal diseases among them. We will deal with all aspects of this subject when we deal with their dangadi-houses.

Economically the hill tribes lead the most miserable existence imaginable. The figures collected by the Servants of India Society in some villages show that the average annual income per capita is slightly above Rs. 20 ! With no food except what he gets from his forests and his uncertain "podu" cultivation, with no clothing except a small strip of cloth to cover his loins (in the extreme interior on the top of high hills, some are said to go even stark naked), with no other protection from the inclemencies of weather than small miserable hovels, and, at the same time with exploiters and money-lenders sucking the very life blood out of him, the aboriginal stands as an object of pity, a pathetic figure with accusing fingers pointed towards the Government and the rest of the nation.

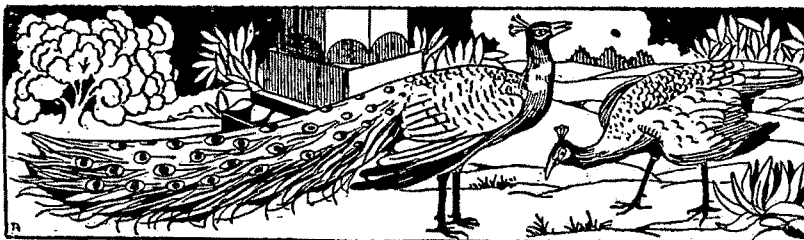
One cannot sum up this subject better than in the language of the P. E. A. Committee of the Government of Orissa, who observe :

"If adequate protection is not given to them, and beneficial schemes to help them are not put in action early, the aborigines will sink still lower and become a drag on the society. It is the sacred duty of the present generation to protect them and help them to protect themselves in every direction and to become efficient and useful citizens in the economic and social structure of the country."

As I sit here penning these few lines near a Khond village at the foot of a hill and near a dense forest to the music of the non-stop spinning-wheels of my fellow Ashramites celebrating the anniversary of the Jallianwalla Bagh, I see before me the vision of a Free India, but one in which the resources of the whole country are harnessed for the common good, and where all communities and tribes march shoulder to shoulder, keeping steps and singing to the tune of the same divine music—*Vande Mataram*.*

* These two articles are translations of portions of Kul (i.e., Khond) readers written during two and a half years of detention as a security prisoner and specially adapted to fit in as an appreciation of Sjt. L. N. Sahu's book on the *Aborigines of Koraput* which is in the press.

It is hoped that not only the concerned Governments but the entire Indian public (including social service organizations) should give some thought to the possibilities for development and opportunities for service in each contiguous block of uplands.

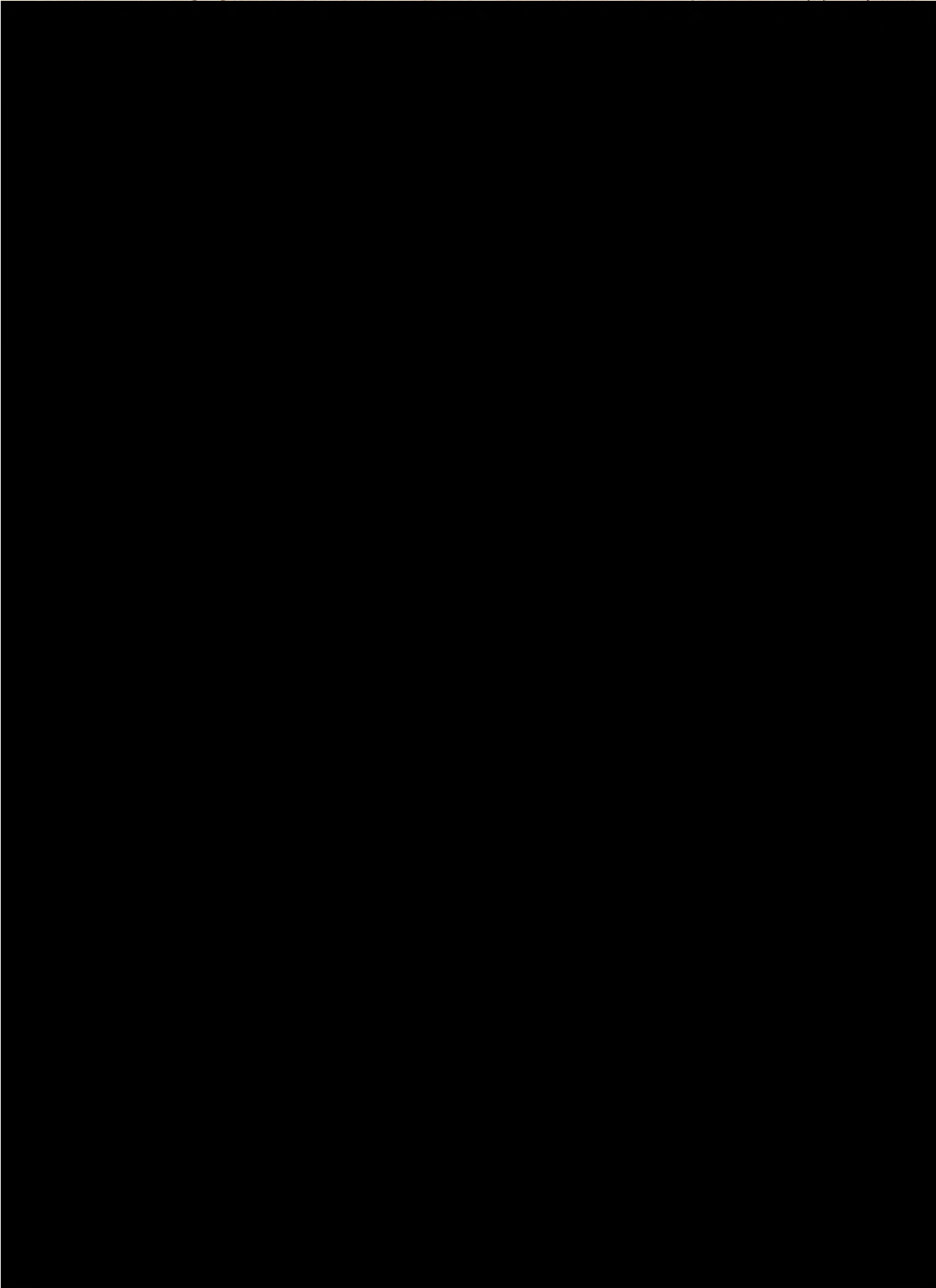


THE INDO-SARACENIC ARCHITECTURE OF AHMEDABAD

By S. I. CLERK

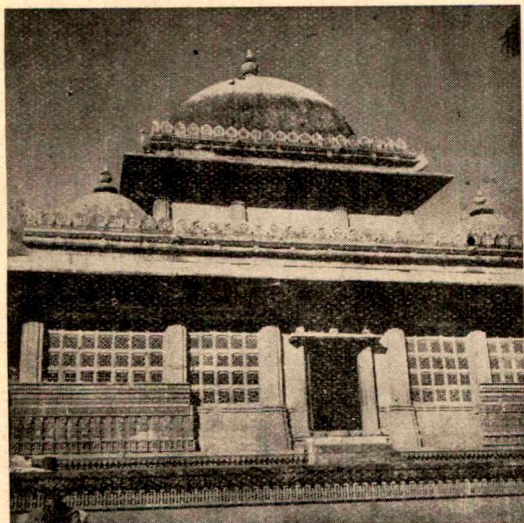
AHMEDABAD: THE FOR MANY CENTURIES OF THE INDIA ARCHITECTURE OF AHMEDABAD. THE INDIA ARCHITECTURE OF AHMEDABAD.

containing a central hall with four square rooms at the corners and four deep pillared verandahs between them with the bank by a viaduct which was once supported on forty-eight arches. On this island is a garden



minarets. The beautiful Islamic style is which is adopted in the design of the

of tracery. Great skill is indeed shown in the even manner in which the pattern of three ordinary trees and four palms is spread over the whole surface in one of these windows.



The Rauza of Rani Sipari. It is trabeate in construction and is surrounded by trellised walls

During its evolution, the Indo-Saracenic architecture of Ahmedabad assumed two distinct forms: a combination of Jaina and Saracenic elements; almost wholly Jaina, made up of constructive forms designed specially for the arch-hating Hindus. "By the time, the Jami Masjid was built (1424), there was a beautiful combination of the foreign and the local elements, the minarets and the arched windows being well combined with the flat Hindu aisles." From about 1446 to 1460, only Hindu style is concentrated upon and it is during this period that the buildings at Surkhej were built. Later, till the end of Mahmud Begada's rule, we have a number of mosques in the mixed style commingling Hindu and Muslim details. In these later mosques and other buildings, the architects of Ahmedabad attained greater dimensions, but only at the expense of that which made their earlier style so exquisite and interesting. It was after the building of Rani Sipari Mosque—the gem of Ahmedabad—in 1514, that the creative era of Ahmedabad architecture came almost to a close.

CHRONOLOGY

Ahmad I .. 1411-42	Daud.....1458
Muhammad II. 1442-1451	Mahmud Begada 1458-1511
Qutb-d-din Ahmad II .. 1451-8	Muzaffar II .. 1526

Acknowledgment and reference to (1) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Fergusson; (2) *History of Gujarat* by M. S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S. (All quotations in this article are from this book).

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A HOLIDAY IN AMERICA

BY SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

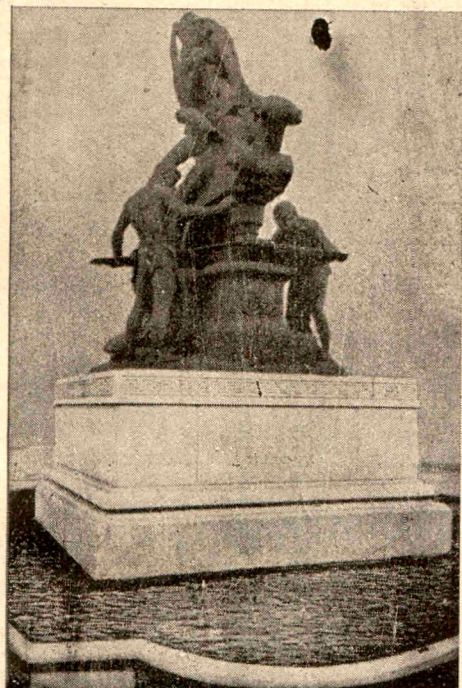
HOLIDAYS are not always pleasant (unless they are accompanied by good sports and friends) and I am not sure that the news that I am writing under the title "A Holiday in America" will make it better for the reader than anything more serious or less practical. At the risk of merely telling a story, certainly without a plot, and probably without any point, I shall relate my experience, an experience of an unexpected journey.

I was in California occupying a small room in the Hindusthan Nalanda Club. On every side were the rolling lawns and green trees in a glory of summer greenery. A soft breeze stirred through the wide-spreading elms on one side and ruffled the leaves of sturdy oaks and sugar-maples on another. No such trees adorn a city anywhere in other parts of the world. Each avenue was planted with one variety only. The oaks that lined one street were superb. The great horse-chestnuts that bloomed on another, offered an evergrowing enjoyment of a vista of leaves and flowers. The beauty of shrubs, the ever-greens, the great magnolias of the North, the symmetrical lawn trees that were profusely used to adorn the circles and the small squares, filled me with a sense of peaceful satisfaction. I had seen also on my way to New York the impressive buildings, eleven-storied high, surrounded by gardens with broad stretches of greensward and trees. The lofty arches down the banks of the rivers Missouri and Mississippi rose above, exquisitely decorated with marble rosettes, palm leaves and foliated designs of wonderful

delicacy. In Washington a colossal group of marble figures stood on either side, one representing Persico's Columbus and an Indian girl, and the other a pioneer in desperate conflict with a savage. Before me there were the beautiful bronze doors of Randolph Rogers, representing a series of scenes in the life of Christopher Columbus, from his first voyage in search of the New World to his sad death at Valladolid in 1506. American avenues are so broad that there was no feeling of their being crowded. Up the side-streets I saw trees, trees, and trees, and where trees and avenues crossed there were so many beautiful little spots of green. Deer, bears, panthers, squirrels, and wild turkeys were found on hunting trips. No intelligent traveller could visit America and look upon its beautiful streets and its handsome public buildings, without a better realization of the value of its citizenship. I had made myself acquainted with one or two towns and places where fierce battles were fought during the days of the American Revolution—fierce because the grounds over which they were fought are so tumbled. But all that is by the way. My point so far as holidays are concerned is that at the end of the process I found myself unexpectedly possessed of a balance of several days. I was free,—and that is a very pleasant thing to be even if one's freedom were to last for less than a fortnight. I was somewhat at a loss to make up my mind as to how to use this freedom because I lacked experience in such things as leisure, but I remembered how some years

ago in German East Africa I had tried a certain experiment and had brought it off to my complete satisfaction. We all know how dangerous it is to attempt at a repetition of any pleasure, especially a chance pleasure, but I did attempt a repetition this time. Indeed, I almost exactly copied after an interval a smaller British Trans-Pacific which on the day after the morrow would aim at Florida in the Gulf of Mexico. There was a boat just in from the Mexican coast. She was taking in cargo and would go round the corner of Lower California and would get into Vantime. He reviewed all

paddled along at seven to eight knots through the mist, hooting cheerfully and receiving counter hoots from time to time from other ships; and once or twice we stopped dead when those hoots were too near. I slept a little in the warm night in spite of the dampness of the mist, taking my ease on deck; for you see America is America, and the spirit of America inhabits not only its land but also its seas and the ships that sail upon those seas.



Donahue Monument, San Francisco

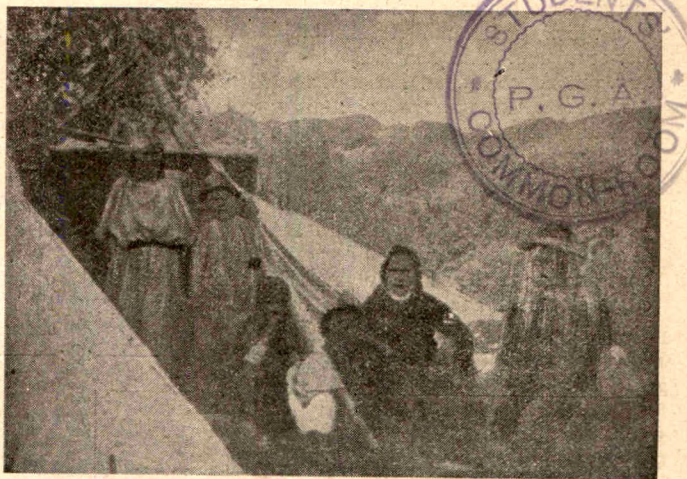
A little before dark a wind had blown the mist away, the stars came out, it grew light above the waters before us (the ocean was dead calm and clear) and with the full broadening of the day, I saw what magnificent scenery my adventure was presenting to me, for there upon the left and to the south were high and lonely mountains rising right up out of the sea and against the sky. And it was also with the breaking of the day that a man came and spoke to me as though he had known me all my life, and asked me whether I would have some tea which is to the American what is coffee to the French and chocolate to the English. I said I would like to have it and also asked him what I should have to pay for my voyage, for I was getting a little anxious about this. But he was exceedingly courteous and said, "We need not speak of that now", and that is a better way of going to work than taking tickets and having them punched, checked, controlled, lost, found again and finally taken away from one, all to no purpose.

All day long those great mountains stood up out of the ocean and we paddled along (by which I do not mean that we had paddles, for we only had a lazy screw) some few miles from the shore, and I still watched the hills and read my history-book, and then watched the hills and read my book again, and the hills and the story of American Independence got

mixed together so that when I think of the one I remember the other now.

The battle between mountains and the sea has been well described by Tennyson. As for the mountains, the highest of them were still white with snow against the intense blue of the south, but their foot-hills, coming down rounded upon the ocean were green and a little clouded. There was a contrast between the jagged rocks, the sharp white, of the summits and the softer approach to the shore. And as I looked at them from day to day, I remembered the 'hilsa' streams which I know (not that I have fished or can or would fish them) and the warm sandy shores of Goaland, where one can doff his hat and play merry tunes as the breeze combs your hair and blows the cobwebs out of your eyes.

Deep down the river was Evans Pass and across the valley was Mount Harvard forded, and on one of

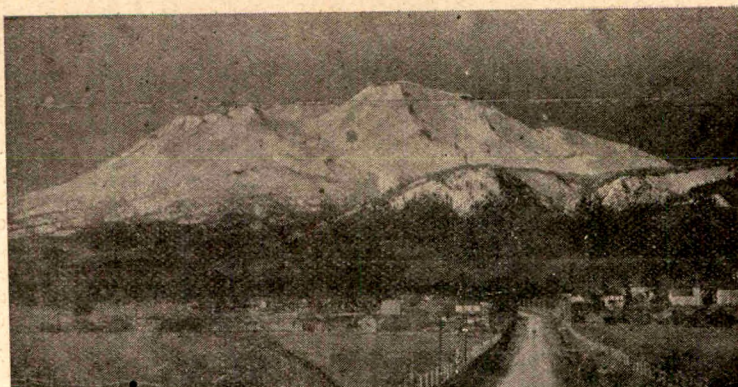


A Red Indian Family

their rare plains shut in with Snake River was La Paz. And it was upon these small valleys semicircular like a hollow shell that a band of restless men first settled after the Revolution. When Champlain came down from Canada to the lake which now bears his name, he looked at the beautiful mountains to the west and said, "Voila les verts monts! Behold the green mountains!" During the Revolution Ethan Allen, Seth Warner and others were active against the British. It was Ethan Allen at the head of a band calling themselves "Green mountain boys" who captured first Ticonderoga, on May 10, 1775 and secured military supplies much needed by the colonists. It was in the rare harbours and river-mouths that the transports anchored and many Germans landed in Philadelphia and went to Western Pennsylvania. Many of them moved even southward into Virginia and the Carolinas. The mountainous coasts down to the gulf of Honduras stood like a wall to keep back the travellers. Much of the Mexican territory has remained a desert to the present day. The people are just learning however that much of the soil needs only water to make it fertile. Accordingly the Government is building dams in the mountains so that the people may preserve the water of the melting snow for use as it is needed instead of allowing it to run to waste.

My second week's experience was much the same,

save that the mountains were a little higher, but before evening the boat was headed lazily towards the land; we rounded a point, and I was in that great harbour, where cotton could not be grown but factories manufacturing goods to sell in the south increased in number and size. And a little way further west stood like a lion's head the Great Panama which may in some remote times play a great military part. I was in California again and my two weeks' journey was over, and that was the end of the







THE HOUSE OF LORDS

By GEORGE CHRIST,

Parliamentary Correspondent of the London "Daily Telegraph"

THE British House of Lords can claim to be the oldest legislative chamber in the world, and the most numerous in membership of all second chambers. It stands by itself, too, in combining both legislative and judicial authority—and that in a country that insists on a clear separation of the judicial and the political. It is paradoxical as well that, yoked to a House of Commons elected on a basis of universal adult suffrage with no sex discrimination, the House of Lords should be based firmly on the hereditary principle and should exclude women from membership. Peeresses who hold titles in their own right have unsuccessfully sought to establish a claim to a seat in the Upper House, and are today as far as ever from gaining their point.

In a country inclined to logic in its principles of government, or in one with a rigid written constitution, a system containing so many anomalies could hardly have survived. Yet after an existence of over eight centuries the House of Lords remains an essential and important part of the British constitution. It is true that its powers have frequently been modified since Norman times when it met as the King's Great Council, but its composition remains fundamentally the same, in that it comprises bishops, known as the Lords Spiritual, and peers, known as the Lords Temporal.

Before the Reformation the ecclesiastical representation had a majority, but today it is in a small minority of 26 in an assembly of nearly 800. The creation of new peerages has increased the membership of the House by about 200 in the course of the present century.

The modern practice of raising to the peerage distinguished men in all walks of life, in the professions, the arts and sciences, the Armed Forces, politics, industry, commerce and the trade union world, has introduced into the House of Lords some of the characteristics of the Senates in other countries. The titles of about a quarter of the Lords today have been created since 1800, but old families like the Howards, the Cecils and the Cavendishes, with peerages centuries old, still play as active a part as ever in its life.

The House of Commons has shown jealousy of the House of Lords ever since the two chambers became separate entities six centuries ago. Conflicts between them have been frequent, and came to a head in 1909 when the House of Lords rejected Mr. Lloyd George's budget. The House of Commons maintained that a non-elected body should have no voice in the raising and spending of public money. A bitter fight ended in one of the landmarks of British constitutional development—the 1911 Parliament Act.

This modified the powers of the House of Lords, reducing it to a delaying chamber by removing its right to amend or reject any bill concerned with public finance, and establishing that any bill passed by the House of Commons in three sessions must become law within two years, if necessary without the approval of the Lords.

As old as the legislative functions of the House of Lords are its judicial functions. These were first exercised in the Middle Ages when justice was administered by the King in his Great Council. With the growth of a more complex system of law courts the House of Lords has evolved into the supreme court of appeal, before which both civil and criminal appeals can be brought. Theoretically all 800 peers may attend judicial sittings of the House, and join in delivering judgment.

In practice it is a hundred years since any but a peer with the necessary legal status has done so. The Lords would have lost its judicial functions before now if it had not made practical arrangements to form a court commanding the highest respect. There has been a departure from the normal hereditary principle to allow the appeal judges to be made peers for life only. With the Lord Chancellor presiding they, and they alone, constitute the House of Lords when it sits as a court of appeal.

The Lord Chancellor himself embodies the dual nature of the House of Lords. He is a judge of the High Court. Yet he is a party politician, normally with a seat in the Cabinet, and its chief legal adviser. In practice no conflict ever arises between his judicial and political loyalties. To add to the peculiarities of the office the Lord Chancellor is also the Speaker of the House of Lords, presiding at its meetings from the red-covered Woolsack—emblem of Britain's original staple trade.

Unlike the Speaker of the House of Commons he does not have to eschew party politics. He has, and usually exercises, the right to speak in debates, and he has the same right as all other peers to vote. His duties as Speaker are not onerous, since the Lords keep all questions of order in their own collective hands. On the rare occasions when it is necessary to restrain a peer in debate it is done by considering a motion that "he be no longer heard."

The House of Lords still exists as an original court of trial. By ancient statute it alone can try a Peer of the Realm for treason or felony. There have been two trials of peers by the House in the past 40 years. Spectacular affairs they were, too. Every peer is entitled and encouraged to attend. Full robes must be worn. At the end of the trial each member must rise in turn, starting with the most junior, and give his verdict.

Impeachment is the other judicial function of the House of Lords. It is resorted to for offences against the State not covered by ordinary laws. It is now-a-days an event of the greatest rarity which has not risen for nearly 150 years. It is the House of Commons that acts first by passing a bill finding the charge. The Commons then take the charge to the House of Lords acting as prosecutor. The Lords try it as a combination of judge and jury.

HINDU MARRIAGE REFORMS

By DR. ROMA CHAUDHURI, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.)

THE Hindu Marriage Reforms, proposed by the Rau Committee, fall under three main heads: (1) Monogamy, (2) Divorce, and (3) Inter-caste and Sagotra Marriage. As natural, the orthodox section of the Hindu community is opposing the proposed Reforms tooth and nail on the plea that they are absolutely opposed to the scriptures. Here two pertinent questions may be asked: First, what exactly is the meaning of "Sastra"? Secondly, how far can the "Sastras" claim to regulate civic laws and legislations even after thousands of years and even under changed conditions? As regards the first question, there can be no difference of opinion that the Vedas are the real scriptures of Hindus; while Smritis, Puranas, etc., can be so regarded only so far as they clarify, expound and supplement the Vedas. The Smritikaras themselves admit that the Vedas are the main source of "Dharma" or laws, etc., regarding marriage, adoption, inheritance and numerous such topics. Further, they go so far as to admit even that when there is any opposition between *Smṛiti* (scripture) and *Smṛiti*, the former is to be followed, not the latter. Hence, it is clear that only those Smritis that conform to the letter, and what is more, to the spirit of the Vedas, can be taken as authoritative as scripture; and not those that are opposed to Vedic teaching and tradition. It is true that in the Vedas we do not find any systematic exposition of the Dharmas, and they are silent or not very explicit on some important questions. But still, here too, those Smritis alone that tally with the general spirit and culture of the Vedic tradition can be called real Dharma-Sastras, and accepted as scriptural authority. As regards the second question, it involves the deep problem of the real relation between the spiritual and the secular and between the old and the new, and how far can and ought the former influence and mould the latter. This is not the place to discuss this difficult question. But it is an admitted fact that an unwarrantable mixture of the spiritual with the secular and the failure to keep the latter on a sound, practical, scientific and common-sense level, as well as an altogether blind faith in antiquity irrespective of the urgent needs of changing times that have been the causes of many evils in our society.

Now, if by scriptures we mean only the Vedas and those that conform to the Vedas, then the objection that the proposed Reforms are absolutely opposed to the scripture at once falls to the ground. First, let us take Monogamy. It is true that monogamy has never been enforced by law in India even during the Vedic Ages. For example, a hymn in the Rig Veda (X. 145) contains a charm to win away the husband from a co-wife. In another hymn (X. 159) Sachi claims to have vanquished and killed all co-wives to rule supreme over Indra. According to *Maitrayani Samhita* (I. 5. 8), Manu had ten wives; and according to *Aitareya Brahmana* (VII. 13.), King Harischandra had as many as a hundred wives. Sometimes, several princesses and their slave-girls were given in marriage to the same priest. (Rig-Veda viii. 19. 36, etc.). But, in the *Samhitas*, some passages indicating polyandry also are found. In the Rig-Veda (I. 167. 4. 5.), we find a reference to Rodasi, the "saharani" or the common wives of Maruts. Suryya, the common wife of the Asvinis, is

also mentioned sometimes in the Rig-Veda. In the Atharva-Veda, too, (V. 17. 8, 9), there is a reference to a woman having ten former husbands. Whatever be the case, there is ample evidence to show that neither polygamy nor polyandry, but monogamy alone was the Vedic ideal. We may cite two kinds of direct evidence for this. First, the Vedic Mantras clearly prove this. We have numerous passages in the Atharva Veda where constancy of conjugal affections is earnestly sought for by both men and women. (II. 30. 2. 5., etc.). The word "Dampati" frequently used in the Rig-Veda (V. 3. 2. etc.), and the poetic metaphor of a pair of love-birds (*chakravaka*) mentioned in the Atharva Veda (XIV. 2. 64) strongly suggest the ideal of monogamy. Apart from these, the famous Vedic marriage mantras prove beyond doubt that monogamy was the ideal and the rule of the day. For example, the bridegroom says to the bride. "Abide here together, may you never be separated, live together all your life . . . May Aryaman unite us together until old age. . . . Be a queen to thy father-in-law, mother-in-law, sister-in-law and brother-in-law. May the universal gods unite both our hearts." (Rig-Veda X 85.). Secondly, the status of the first wife as compared with that of other wives clearly shows that monogamy alone was the spiritual ideal, while polygamy was allowed only as a second best provision for physical considerations. The first wife alone was the *patni*, literally meaning "participator in religious sacrifices"; while the other wives were mere *bhogini*, literally meaning "participators in carnal delights." Thus, in the Vedic rituals, the first wife alone participates with her husband in the rites undertaken for supreme bliss, *viz.*, religious merit or salvation; other wives are allowed to participate only in those rites that are meant for mere earthly bliss. But even in these latter cases, it is the first wife who performs all the important rites. It is she who adorns the fire, pounds and husks the rice, occupies the best seat, eats the sacrificial cake and so on. It is she alone who participates with her husband in kindling the fires (*Agniyadhana*) and constantly keeping them ablaze (*Agnihotra*). Examples may be indefinitely multiplied to show the spiritual value of monogamy from the very high spiritual status of the first wife. Thirdly, that monogamy was the ideal may be indirectly proved also by the fact that Vedic marriages were mostly of the Gandharva type (love-marriages). It is no wonder that of the eight kinds of marriage known in ancient India, *viz.*, *Brahma* (the bride is offered by her father to the bridegroom), *Daiva* (she is given away by her father to a priest), *Arsa* (the bride's father accepts a pair of kine from the bridegroom), *Prajapatya* (the bridegroom proposes marriage), *Gandharva* (love-marriage), *Asura* (the bride's father accepts money from the groom), *Paisacha* (the bride is abducted when her relatives are sleeping), and *Raksasa* (she is abducted by killing her relatives)—the Gandharva was the rule of the day. For as is well-known, daughters in those days, were given equal education and freedom with sons and allowed to mix with boys in houses of the preceptors, sacrifices, tournament, debates, etc. And, if love-marriage was the order of the day, then there can be no doubt that the general tendency was towards monogamy.

Even some of the Smritis try to hold up this noble ideal of Monogamy in two ways. First, many of them declare that only the first wife is a "Dharma-Patni", others are merely "rati-vardhini" (for carnal delight), and that religious merit can be obtained only through the former, while mere earthly benefits through the latter. (Daksa, IV. 15.) Secondly, they allowed polygamy only under certain stringent conditions. For example, Manu. (IX. 80) holds that a man may at once re-marry only when his former wife is a drunkard, of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, wasteful, or quarrelsome. But if she hates him, he should wait one year, if she be barren eight years, if she be one whose children all die ten years, and if she bears only daughters eleven years before re-marrying. (IX. 81.) Manu further recommends that if a sick wife be kind and virtuous, the husband can marry only with her consent (IX. 82.). Apastambha similarly holds that a man may re-marry only when the first wife is barren and lacking in dharma (II. 5. 11.); but if he abandons his wife without rhyme and reason, he must expiate for it by putting on the skin of an ass and by begging from door to door for six months (I. 10. 28.). Narada also recommends that a man should be fined if he abandons a wife who has sons and who is obedient, chaste, sweet-tongued and active. Kautilya also holds that if a man violates the rules of waiting (*viz.*, eight years in case of a barren wife etc.), he should not only be fined, but also be made to pay compensation to the wife. But in the modern Hindu society, a man may marry as many wives together as he likes, even without any sufficient cause; while a woman is not allowed to divorce her husband even on the strongest possible grounds; and even widow marriage is not tolerated by society. That the professedly Vedic Hindu society has so long fostered the utterly one-sided and unjust institution of polygamy is a clear proof how the real Vedic tradition is being ignored by us. Strange that even some educated men have thought it fit to raise their voice of protest against this very just provision of the Rau Committee!

Inter-caste marriage, too, was allowed in the Vedas. This was but natural, considering the fact that Vedic marriages were in many cases love-marriages, and love, as is well-known, laughs at external, artificial barriers of caste and creed. The cases of Brahmanas marrying Kshatriyas are the sage Chyavana who married King Saryata's daughter Sukanya (Satapatha Br. IV. 1. 5. 7.); the sage Syavasva who married king Rathaviti's daughter (Brihaddevata). According to Aitareya Brahmana (2. 19. 1.), Kavasa Ailusa was born of a Brahmin father and a Sudra mother. Satapatha Brahmana (XIII. 2.) and Taittiriya Brahmana (III. 9. 7. 3.) speak of kings marrying Vaisya girls. The Panchavimsa Brahmana (XIV. 11. 17) mention the sage Dirghatamas as the son of the slave girl Usij (cf. Brihaddevata). The Yajur-Veda Samhitas mention "Ayogu" or Aryya women married to Sudras.

In the Smritis, too, two kinds of inter-caste marriage are spoken of, *viz.*, anuloma (a man of higher caste marrying a woman of lower caste) and pratiloma (a man of lower caste marrying a woman of higher caste). Anuloma dvijati marriages, or marriages of Brahmanas with Kshatriya and Vaisya women and of Kshatriyas with Vaisya girls, were allowed; and according to Gautama (4. 16) and Baudhayana (1. 17. 3), sons of such marriages have equal status. The marriage of a man of a higher class to a Sudra woman, too was allowed, but to a lesser extent, and opinion was

divided on this. According to Manu (3. 46), on marrying a higher class, a Kshatriya girl should take hold of an arrow, a Vaisya girl of a goad, a Sudra girl of the hem of the bridegroom's garment. If a Brahman marries women of all the four castes, the son by the Brahman wife is entitled to four shares, the son by the Kshatriya wife to three shares, the son by Vaisya wife to two shares and the son by a Sudra wife only to one share. (Manu. IX. 152). Pratiloma marriages were generally condemned. But in the modern Hindu society inter-caste marriage is not allowed in any form.

As regards Divorce, the Vedas are silent about it. Perhaps polygamy, coupled with polyandry, was thought quite sufficient. But the Smritis, in general, regard marriage as indissoluble. The husband, of course, may abandon a wife and marry again; but a wife, on her side, is never, under any circumstance, released from wifedom; and can never, as such, re-marry. But even here at least two Smritis, *viz.*, Narada (XII. 97) and Parasara (IV. 26), hold that a woman may re-marry under the following five conditions, *viz.*, when the husband is lost, dead, impotent, when he has become an ascetic or been outcasted. Narada holds (XII. 98-101) that before remarrying, a childless Brahmin woman should wait for her absent husband for four years, and eight years if she has issue; a Kshatriya woman should wait three or six years, and a Vaisya woman two or four years accordingly as they are childless or without issue respectively. But, no such definite period is prescribed for a Sudra woman. In the Vasistha Smriti, twelve kinds of sons are mentioned (Chap. 17) of which the following six are entitled to property and are regarded as props and saviours:—son by a lawfully wedded wife, son of Niyoga (*i.e.*, the wife is enjoined by the husband to procreate through another man), son of a putrika (*i.e.*, of a brotherless daughter, regarded as the son of her father. The son of such a daughter becomes the son of his maternal-grandfather), son of a punarbhu (*i.e.*, one who re-marries when her husband is dead, or is impotent, insane and expelled from caste), son of an unwedded mother (such a son is the son of his maternal grandfather), and son born in secret. From this it is clear that divorce was allowed, and the sons of such re-marriages had legal status. According to Kautilya (Arthashastra III), if a woman hates her husband and loves another man, she should return his gifts to him and allow him to go to another woman; and if a man hates his wife, he should allow her to take shelter in the house of her lawful guardian, etc. But neither a man nor a woman can dissolve marriage without mutual consent; but in some forms of marriage, divorce is allowable, when there is mutual enmity. The second condition of divorce is apprehension of danger from the other party; and here the man should return to his wife the gifts she received on the occasion of her marriage, and the wife forfeits her claim to property.

We have shown above, as briefly as possible, that Monogamy, Inter-Caste marriage, Divorce, etc., are not opposed to the scriptures, and not even to many Smritis. The fact is that there is a good deal of diversity among the Smritis on almost all important points. Most of them practically deprive women of almost all their birth-rights; though a few may be found that very justly delegate many of those rights to them. But it is these latter few that really conform to the Vedas, for, as is well-known, the Vedic code was one of

equality of the sexes. Strange that modern Hindu society, though claiming to be based on the Vedas, has, for the most part accepted the former class of Smritis, we do not know according to what criterion. And, accordingly, a great hue and cry has been raised that "scriptures are in danger"! Now, whether the further sanction of scriptures is absolutely necessary even when a measure is thought desirable from every point of view, according to all the codes of justice and according to the urgent needs of changing times—is really a doubtful question. But whatever be the case, a reformer, seeking public sanction, must, in our country, first show the scriptural authority for those proposed reforms. Otherwise, he has very little chance of being listened to, for, even many educated men hesitate to support a measure, otherwise quite alright, if it be not sanctioned by the scriptures as well. Fortunately, however, our own scriptures, properly understood, are solidly in favour of an equal status of women with men; and hence the cry of "scriptures in danger" is really an absolutely false one. We have here only tried to show generally that the proposed Marriage Reforms are not at all heretical innovations—that they are supremely desirable, imperfect though they are, on

grounds of justice and independent reasoning no less, is a fact that can never be consistently denied.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that our own Smritikaras have laid the greatest emphasis on reason. The famous Smarta Brihaspati has declared in unequivocal language that "duties are not to be determined on the basis of the scriptures alone. If there be a (blind) acceptance of a law without due reason, that would entail a failure of justice". Our own Jimutavahana also has voiced the opinion in his Vyavahara-Matrika, that "what is just and reasonable can never be made unjust and unreasonable even by a thousand texts." Hence, really Reason alone should have the final say in every matter, whether there be a further sanction of authority, or not.

१. केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो विनिर्णयः ।

युक्तिहो न विचारे तु धर्महानिः प्रजायते ॥

Brihaspati-Smriti, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXXV, (1. 114).

२. उपपन्नमनुपन्नं कर्तुं शक्यं न हि वचनसहस्रैः ॥

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LINGUA FRANCA FOR INDIA

By MD. SHAHIDULLAH, M.A., D.Litt.,

Principal, Azizul Haque College, Bogra

RECENTLY the Hindustani Prachar Sabha at Wardhaganj has decided that Hindustani should be the *lingua franca* for India with Nagri and Urdu scripts. Mahatma Gandhi has given his blessings to this. To me, however, it occurs that those who advocate for one *lingua franca* for India are obsessed with the idea that in one state there can be only one official language or *lingua franca*. As a matter of fact, there are several states or countries with more than one official language. Canada has English and French. Belgium has French and Flemish. Switzerland has three—French, German and Italian. U.S.S.R. recognises all the different languages under the Union.

We cannot shut our eyes to one fact that although we may ask Englishmen to quit India, we cannot and should not give up the English language. This is necessary for the acquisition of modern knowledge in science and for world politics. In fact it is the common medium of thought and communication in almost all All-India conferences like the All-India Oriental conference, Science conference, Historical conference, etc.

Now coming to practice from theory the curriculum of studies must include under the new scheme a plurality of languages. A Bengali student must learn (besides his mother tongue Bengali and the international language English) Hindustani with two scripts. A Hindu boy may naturally take up Sanskrit and a Muslim boy Arabic or Persian as his classical language. So in all a Bengali boy must learn four languages and four scripts. So much valuable time is bound to be lost in learning languages and scripts. An educationist cannot but deplore such wastage in education.

So I am of opinion that if we should have one *lingua franca* for India, we must retain English. But if it hurt

any body's patriotic sense, it may be called Indian, just as the Americans call their language American, though essentially it is not at all different from English.

If there is a strong (unscientific) prejudice against this view, my alternative proposal is to have three or four official languages for India in three zones as in Switzerland. In the Eastern zone, the homeland of Bengali, Assamese, Oriya and Bihari (*i.e.*, the old province of Bengal or Subah Bengal) Bengali should be the official language. In the middle zone, the homeland of Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Nepali, Hindi and Urdu should be two official languages. In the Deccan, the homeland of Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Malayalam, Kudagu and Tulu, I shall leave the selection of the official language or languages to the speakers themselves. I should like but should not dictate that one or two of the official languages of Northern India may be adopted as their official language. As Bengali has no chance, I should like to see Hindi and Urdu as the official languages of the Deccan. This will culturally link up the Deccan with Northern India. Considering the fact that India is a vast sub-continent equal to Europe minus Russia, the proposal for 3 or 4 official languages is very modest indeed.

On literary grounds I have objections against Hindustani as proposed by the Hindustani Prachar Sabha as also against the Bazar Hindi, the pet theory of my friend Dr. S. K. Chatterji of the Calcutta University. Hindustani will be a somewhat artificial language by the side of the living and ever-spreading Hindi and Urdu. This artificial language like Esperanto may be our intercommunal or inter-provincial language.

But it cannot foster literature, which is the natural outcome of the inner urge of the author. Moreover, for scientific nomenclature you cannot have Hindustani, for you shall have to borrow words from foreign languages or Arabic or Sanskrit, as the village folk have no ready-made word for scientific terms. It will be almost impossible to coin scientific and technical words in Hindustani without borrowing. Take for example, the *centre* is in Sanskrit, *Kendra* which has been adopted by Hindi and *Markaz* in Arabic, which has been adopted by Urdu. You cannot have a word for such terms which is neither Arabic nor Persian nor Sanskrit. It is better to adopt both living Hindi and Urdu in place of a single theoretical Hindustani. For one knowing Hindi it is a very easy matter to master Urdu in a few months and *vice versa*. There is no harm in having two official languages in the same province as in Canada.

As for Urdu it has a distinct advantage over Hindi. Being written in a modified Arabic script and having a number of Arabic and Persian words incorporated in it, it can serve the purpose of an international language like Esperanto from Morocco to China. I admit the script is somewhat unscientific, but it can be easily reformed. I insist on its early reform for popularising Urdu. Of course, Devanagari is a scientific script; but it is not widely known outside the midland of India. But I should like that this Devanagari script may be adopted for the different Sanskritic languages barring Urdu, Pashtu and Sindhi and for the Dravidian languages barring Tamil and Malayalam. So that before attempting the adoption of any *lingua franca* for India, we may have only three scripts all over the country—

Devanagari, Persico-Arabic and Tamil in place of ten scripts that are current in India *viz.* Bengali (Assamese), Oriya, Devanagari, Gurumukhi, Sarada (Kashmiri), Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese and Persico-Arabic (for Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pashtu). The adoption of the Roman script for all the Indian languages will be very useful for telegraphic communication and for international purposes outside India as well. But I am afraid it will take time to remove prejudice against it. Moreover, it has its disadvantages as requiring many dotted consonants and barred vowels.

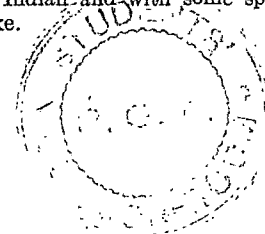
I have reason to believe that Hindustani with Urdu and Nagri scripts has been decided upon for communal considerations. If it is so, then the best solution will be to have Sanskrit and Arabic as two national languages for India. Every Hindu will bow down his head to Sanskrit as every Muslim to Arabic, which two are their sacred languages. Arabic is a living language of the Near East and shows signs of revival. Sanskrit though a dead language can be easily acquired by one whose mother tongue is a Sanskritic vernacular like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, etc. In many European universities both Greek and Latin are taught as classical languages. So it will not be very difficult to learn both Sanskrit and Arabic. Moreover, by knowing the languages of culture of Hindus and Musalmans, there will be better understanding between the two communities, which is essentially necessary for the advancement of the country, materially and morally.

After all these alternative proposals, I again emphasize the claim of English as the *lingua franca* for India with a new name Indian and with some spelling reform, if you should like.

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AN IMPERFECT REPORT

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH



THE Famine Enquiry Commission Report on Bengal, otherwise a rather impartial document, fails, however, in certain essential points. It may be that the Commissioners wanted to avoid all references to persons and personalities and to attach praise or blame to institutions only, and through them to the actors in the most tragic drama of the twentieth century. But this is hardly sufficient to satisfy the exigencies of the situation. Through the published proceedings of the legislatures, statements of officials and press notes the public have formed their own judgment about responsibility of individuals but they would certainly have welcomed corroboration of their views from the Commissioners who had had the opportunity of meeting some of these persons and cross-examining them on relevant points.

There are other serious omissions of material facts which have robbed much force from the Report. These should have found prominent place in the document to give a complete picture of the famine, at least of the more salient points.

As the Report forms part of the history of the famine, omission of the name of His Excellency Sir John Herbert and the part he played in the drama is regretted. His Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, protested against his Excellency's "personal interference

in total disregard of ministerial responsibilities....and issuing of a mandate to the Joint Secretary...in the matter of rice removal policy." With regard to the Boat Removal Policy, the Governor had "all along been acting under the advice and guidance of some permanent officials without taking the Ministers into confidence." Mr. Fazlul Huq also recorded his strong disapproval, on Jan. 9, 1943, of the whole policy the Governor and some of his officers had been pursuing since April 1941, regarding the matter of foodstuffs and supplies. He had the boldness to charge the Governor "with partizanship and violation of his Instrument of Instructions." There was no answer from the other side. The "Report" contains, against this accusation, the following passage, "We are satisfied from the material which has been placed before us that important issues of food policy and administration were referred to the Cabinet and decisions taken in the normal way." But the grave charge of issuing mandates without the knowledge of the Chief and/or other Ministers remains unanswered and these relate to the Denial policies regarding *Boat* and *Rice*.

About Lord Linlithgow, the *zubberdust* Viceroy and Governor-General of India during the most fateful days of Indian history, the less said the better. He was at the head of the administration of India. He

was for some time also in charge of the Food Department of the Government of India. The people have not been able to know anything about the activities and achievements of the most important functionary in the whole government except that a most barren policy had been pursued during the seven years of His Excellency's stay in India, that there had been one of the worst repressions in the civilized world and one of the worst famines in recorded history. When people had been dying in millions, His Excellency was busy touring the territories of the Princes by way of farewell visits, and at a great personal risk waiting on *machans* for arranged *shikar* of wild beasts that had been ravaging the forest and killing some of its denizens. The weak must be protected against the strong because otherwise black stain would attach to the fair name (and skin) of the Executive Head of British India. When the famine was at its peak, His Excellency "was busy packing his trunks." "A friend of the bovine species, he perhaps would have been more interested, had it been a case of cattle epidemic in Bengal," was the surmise of Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Assembly on Nov. 15, 1943. He suggested another reason for the noble Lord's turning his face against Bengal and Mr. Neogy, in anguish, asked, "Was it because a sense of constitutional chastity prevented him from visiting Bengal in those days?"

Then, what should we say about Mr. Amery, the most notable Secretary of State for India and of the Government he represents in the India Office? The only comparison that holds good in the present case is that of the Roman Emperor Nero who fiddled joyously while the capital city was fiercely burning, dealing death and devastation to the innumerable inhabitants of the city. Mr. Amery's attitude was all along marked by uncommon light-heartedness and as having no sense of reality of the situation. In the Parliament he deliberately minimised the gravity of the situation and endeavoured to persuade people to believe and to proclaim the worst famine to be a 'mere scarcity.' He and he alone by his act and utterances prevented the kind-hearted people of other lands to come forward with help, monetary and otherwise.

Something must be said about the British Parliament and the news service, *Reuter*, which professes to be despatching international news most impartially. On September 23, 1943, *Reuter* reported that in the House of Commons—"intense interest was shown by Members who flocked into the House to hear Government's view and the steps being taken to overcome the crisis." On Oct. 12, according to *Reuter*, the Secretary of State "aroused the keenest interest in the House." On Nov. 4, 1943:

"After reading for many days past the harrowing account of distress caused by the Bengal famine, Members of Parliament assembled to-day to debate the situation....The attendance, both on the floor of the House and in the galleries was mainly composed of people with special interest in India. Mrs. Amery, wife of the Secretary of State, was in the Speaker's gallery."

People will be interested to note that the attendance in the House taking sometimes 'intense' sometimes 'keenest' interest in India's food situation never exceeded 53 and was at times 35, in a House of over 600 and odd members.

Of course, the Governments of Bengal and of India have been castigated for their many sins of omission and commission, but it would have been better if the Hon'ble the Civil Supplies Minister of Bengal and his able colleagues were individually given their meed of praise and blame. The 'no shortage' propaganda has received the severest condemnation from the Commissioners but other pieces of lying propaganda of similar nature should have received the same degree of their attention. But that does not matter much, because the people of Bengal who have survived the famine would remember with indignation the exploits of the team of happy ministers brought into existence through the subterfuge of a Governor who is no less or rather more responsible for turning, in the language of the Commissioners, scarcity into a famine of immeasurable magnitude.

Of all the individual causes that contributed in a very large measure to the ravages of famine, 'profiteering' has been given its rightful place. The Report says:

"It has been reckoned that the amount of unusual profits made on the buying and selling of rice during 1943, was 150 crores."

And that

"Every death in the famine was balanced by roughly a thousand rupees of excess profits."

No more stronger, yet restrained, language could have been used on this sordid affair. But what strikes us most is the omission of all references to the immense and heartless profiteering by the Central and other provincial governments, particularly Bengal, where death was dancing in all its fury, and Sind. The Government of Bengal made huge profits over foodgrains imported from other provinces. The *Commerce, The Civil and Military Gazette*, the then Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Sir Collins Garbett, I.C.S. (the then Regional Food Commissioner of Northern India) openly accused the Civil Supplies Department of looking more to the profits than to the interests of the people who were starving for their inability to purchase foodstuffs on account of their high prices. It is on record that

"From May to August, 1943, the profit to the Government of Bengal amounted to Rs. 33.34 lakhs, derived solely from sales of wheat to mills."

In addition to wheat sales the Bengal Government earned a "gross revenue of Rs. 6.32 lakhs from re-sales of wheat products" to the starving people of Bengal. These are all known facts and the public has the suspicion that these transactions disclose only a tithe of the whole affair. On the transaction of rice, nothing is known. Mr. B. R. Sen, the then Director-General of Food, disclosed on Feb. 21, 1944, in the Council of State, that the Bengal Government made a profit of Rs. 5/7/- per maund of wheat, from Sept. 20, 1943 to Jan. 1, 1944 and all this wheat was supplied by the Central Government at Rs. 7/5/- per maund. The instances can be multiplied but want of space prevents further enumeration.*

The Government of India is a worse offender in this respect. They made a profit of several crores of

* For further details the reader is referred to pp. 33-38 of *Famines in Bengal, 1770-1943*, by Kali Charan Ghose.

rupees. Sardar Baldev Singh stated on Oct. 24, 1943, that

"Even the Government of India made a profit of one rupee per maund on wheat purchased on its behalf in the Punjab and sold to deficit provinces."

This was hotly contested by Sir Jeremy Raisman in the Central Assembly on Nov. 17, 1943. But the cat suddenly leapt out of the bag when on the next day Sir Srivastava regaled the House with the statement that "although the final bills of the agents had not been received yet" it appeared that the transaction "would leave the Central Government with a substantial profit."

"On December 19, 1943, the Sind Government wanted to abolish the development fund based on profit derived from grain sales because 'it is criticised by the whole world'."

It passes one's comprehension why the Commission which directed examination of account books of a certain purchasing agent of the Government of Bengal failed to make even the slightest references to the greed and injudicious policy of the several governments in India.

There is only a meagre reference to the huge waste of foodstuffs at government stores; it is one which the Commission could not ignore to mention because of the publicity it received and the quantity it involved. This refers to the large quantity of grain that was stored in the open in the Royal Botanical Gardens. The Report says that

"While we have evidence that only a small percentage of these stocks deteriorated, their storage under such conditions was undesirable for various reasons, including the effect on public opinion."

It is contended that the loss of foodgrains at the Botanical Gardens was very large inasmuch as there were thousands of eye-witnesses who may vouchsafe for the quantity and in which respect they are corroborated by the press in the following manner. On Sept. 4, 1944, several newspapers of Calcutta published photographs of fully loaded lorries with such captions as :

"Thousands of bags of half-decomposed foodstuffs have been removed by about 200 motor lorries and thrown into marshy lands in the Howrah-Belgachia dumping ground, five miles from Howrah Station. the foodstuffs were being removed from the Botanical Gardens."

There were other photographs showing 'hillocks' and very thick layers of decomposed foodgrains deposited in and also strewn over the dumping ground proclaiming unequivocally of the very huge quantity that was lost. During this period reports appeared almost daily in the press of huge stocks of foodgrains having been rendered unfit for human consumption, in *Government godowns*. The quantity involved must have been several lakhs of tons. A fairly comprehensive list was published in *The Modern Review* in its issue of February 1945 under the caption, "Strange But True" (pp. 75-77) containing a list of all cases of waste that had been published in the papers up to Dec. 20, 1944. Subsequent to this date, there have been reports of cases involving a few thousand tons of grains and published from time to time in the newspapers.

There was also a considerable waste of grains in the military circles. On Nov. 16, 1943, Mr. Frederick

James of the European Group in the Central Assembly said that he knew of a case in which a distinguished scientist was approached by the authorities of a prisoners of war camp to tell them how to make compost out of surplus bread; and that was when the people were starving. For all these reasons it is deplorable that the Commissioners did fail to take notice of such an important fact under the purview of their valuable report.

The Report speaks of the facilities created by the military for transport of foodgrains during the concluding months of 1943 and it should have given its unequivocal verdict on the failure of the earlier authorities for breaking the bottleneck and making it possible for foodstuffs to pour smoothly into the various parts of Bengal.

On Nov. 18, 1943, Pandit H. N. Kunzru stated in the Council of State that

"If the truth had been told earlier, the situation would not have deteriorated to the extent it did. Whoever had controlled the news about Bengal, had done a very serious injustice to the Province."

While the fact was, as is stated in the Hon'ble Mr. Kunzru's statement, a small publicity in the press was characterised by a very high government official as a "*tendency in certain quarters to overdramatise the situation*." The Commissioners would have done well to make a reference to such facts which more than anything else aggravated the situation and caused thousands of avoidable death.

About 'large-scale' purchases, which have been one of the potent causes for raising the prices and thus denying millions of persons of humble means to procure their food, the verdict of the Commission is rather halting. The Central Government according to Mr. Neogy, was "itself responsible for encouraging employers of labour in this murderous enterprise of theirs. . . . Here was the Government supported by the capitalists whose needs must be satisfied at all costs, if necessary, at the sacrifice of humble lives." In support of his contention said he :

"This attitude was very forcibly expressed by a British executive officer in one of the Eastern Bengal districts when he pointed out that 'the life of a pack mule belonging to the military transport department was more valuable, and deserved to be preserved with greater care, than the life of people who were not helping in the war effort. That truly represented the attitude of a section of the permanent officials in this country, and that also led to the tragedy that we are witnessing to-day.' (Central Assembly Proceedings, dated the 15th November, 1943).

There are other omissions of a minor nature in the Report and need not be gone into in greater detail. One word is necessary. Before Lord Wavell, no officer high or low, ever disclosed (or betrayed) any sympathy for the sufferers as if they were mere automatons without human feelings and as wooden and lifeless as a modern administrative institution is.

We would have welcomed such remarks from the learned Commissioners in the Bengal report. May we expect that the points referred to above will receive their proper attention and they will be pleased to let the public know their views on the several issues raised in the course of this article.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—*Editor, The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

RANJIT SINGH: By N. K. Sinha, Ph.D. Second edition. Demy 8 vo. Pp. x+212, one portrait. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 7.

Professor N. K. Sinha's monograph on Ranjit Singh, first published twelve years ago, has been greatly improved and expanded in this new edition, much of which has been rewritten in the light of the author's further study and reflections. He has "scrupulously avoided, as far as practicable, all personal details about Ranjit, except in the opening chapter (*viz.*, Early Years and Early Conquests). . . . It has been mainly my aim to elucidate in the light of new evidence the relations of Ranjit Singh with the Afghans on the one hand, and his Indian and British neighbours on the other. A graphic account of Ranjit's civil administration has also been attempted." Thus, there is more of political instruction than personal gossip about the Lion of the Panjab in this book, and this fact enhances its value,—less than half of its pages being taken up by mere narrative. The British Indian records and the personal reports of travellers and diplomatic agents have been fully utilised, and the author's conclusions stand on a firm foundation.

The paper is thick, the printing clear and well-spaced, and the volume has an attractive get-up; but the price of Rs. 7 for such a small thing seems to be prohibitive. Dr. Sinha has used only the short *Letters of Victor Jacquemont* (p. 205). He would have found much more useful and highly interesting material in this French savant's original *Journal de Voyage*, in 5 vols., which is preserved in the Macmin collection of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and a liberal selection from which has been reprinted under the editorship of M. Alfred Martineau, as *Etat Politique et Social de l'Inde du Nord en 1830* (Paris, 1933) followed by another volume on South India. In the North India volume a hundred pages (364-460) are devoted to Jacquemont's travels in Ranjit's dominions (including Kashmir); these abound in acute observations and criticism, besides giving full and illuminating details of his famous interview with the Maharajah. The proofs seem to have been hurriedly read, and a correction-slip would be a helpful addition.

J. S.

OFF THE MAIN TRACK: By Dr. Surendranath Sen. Published by Mitra & Ghosh, Calcutta. 1944. Pp. 116 + x.

This is a collection of papers contributed by Dr. Surendranath Sen between 1941 and 1943 to various Journals, sessions of the Historical Records Commission and so forth. Based mostly, as the author candidly admits in his short Preface, upon "unimportant records" and presenting examples of "excursions into the bye-lanes and alleys of history", they may still be remembered as throwing "unexpected light on the

social and economic conditions of the country." This claim is borne out by the contents of some of the papers notably those entitled: *Lord Cornwallis and the Slave Trade in Bengal*, and *The Confession of a Dacoit*. But in other cases, the interest is almost exclusively biographical. There is room for considerable difference of opinion on the author's arguments and conclusions in his first paper called *Survival of Some Asokan Forms in 17th century Bengali*. Dr. Sen takes it to be a well-known fact that "modern Bengali has a close affinity to Western Prakrit", and he claims to have found a fresh "link in the chain of evidence" in a word-form found alike in the western and north-western versions of Asoka's rock-edicts and in a 17th-century Bengali work. It would have been well if the author had given fuller proofs of his challenging statement.

The author would have been well advised in pre-facing his papers with short historical notes to enable the average reader to put himself in touch with the subject-matter. The book has a good Index, but the list of errata is too large for a modest work of 118 pages. We hope it will be possible for the author to utilise the advantage of his high position to enrich the historical literature of this country with contributions of first-rate importance on the life of the people in the early period of British rule.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ROMAIN ROLLAND (The Story of a Conscience): By Alex Aronson. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

Prof. Aronson has rendered a real service to the cause of international understanding by undertaking to write his study on the celebrated French Pacifist and Nobel Laureate, Romain Rolland. Within the short compass of 200 pages Prof. Aronson has given a searching analysis of the various trends of thought underlying the works of Rolland from his college days of early adolescence to practically his last days of freedom when he was in close collaboration with the makers of modern Russia, and therefore was sent to the Concentration Camp by the Nazis. The tragedy of Rolland's life was the tragedy of intellectual Europe; and this has been narrated with a rare sympathy and judgment by Prof. Aronson. But Rolland belonged as much to the East as to the West and his three masterly studies of Mahatma Gandhi, Ramakrishna and Vivekananda will ever inspire thoughtful readers of India with a feeling of profound gratitude. Rolland's relations with our national Poet, Rabindranath, with whom he collaborated ever since the publication of the "Declaration of Independence of the Mind" (March 1919), opened a new chapter in the cultural *rapprochement* between the East and the West. In the Library of Santiniketan Prof. Aronson found valuable materials which permitted him to work out this admirable study on Rolland almost simultaneously with the announcement of the death of the Great European. The author is to be congratulated

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...the Government of India, Department of Supply on the 25th July, 1942, wherein it was pointed out that an enquiry was made regarding the matter and it was found that Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., was the only Indian firm at that time able to supply Sera up to the standard of army specifications and the same had been given orders for the same. A further letter was received from the Government of India, Department of Supply on the 25th July, 1942, wherein it was pointed out that an enquiry was made regarding the matter and it was found that Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., was the only Indian firm at that time able to supply Sera up to the standard of army specifications and the same had been given orders for the same. A further letter was received from the Government of India, Department of Supply on the 25th July, 1942, wherein it was pointed out that an enquiry was made regarding the matter and it was found that Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., was the only Indian firm at that time able to supply Sera up to the standard of army specifications and the same had been given orders for the same.

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on this brilliant study and I recommend it to all serious students of Comparative Literature. The book gives a condensed survey of the voluminous works of Rolland which will be very useful to general readers. From the bibliographical point of view I noticed only two gaps: (1) the last play that Rolland wrote in his "Cycle of Revolutionary Dramas" which bore the title, *Gamble of Life and Death*, of which the author very kindly sent me a copy from Paris and (2) a small illustrated scenerio which he possibly wrote for some film corporation and which bore the title, *Revolt of the Machine*.

K. NAG

CHINA AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF WAR: *Published by the Chinese Ministry of Information, Chungking, China. 1944. Pages 167.*

A year has passed since this report was published, and fighting China has just celebrated the eighth anniversary of her war with Japan. During these twelve months Chinese soldiers have added fresh laurels to their already fine record of heroism and sacrifice, the civilian population have had to further tighten their belts and the Japanese, while yielding ground to the American forces almost in every theatre of Pacific warfare, have shown no willingness to relax their grip on China. Nevertheless, this story of China's grim and unequal struggle against a ruthless enemy lacks neither topicality nor human interest for any reader who is concerned with human freedom and human dignity. No documentary book such as this could tell more than a fraction of the full story of war-time China, but this official version of China's trials and tribulations matched only by the indomitable spirit of its people covers quite a wide ground and contributes to a better understanding of the life in unoccupied China to-day. There are in it fascinating, though somewhat poignant, pictures of government employees living with their wives and children in straw-thatched cottages around the buildings in which they work, of dramatists and novelists using literature as a weapon to fight the Japanese, of students in refugee universities, of the curious and indestructible city of Chungking and of the aviators who maintain a thin line of communication between blockaded China and the friendly world outside. China's spirit after eight years of war appears to be fittingly epitomized by that Chungking rickshaw-puller whose name is *Yu Kang-ming* which means "I Fight Fate."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

ONENESS WITH GOD: *By Minocher K. Spencer. Published by the Spiritual Healing Centre, Raja Street, Coimbatore, South India. Pp. 394. Price (Cloth-bound) Rs. 3-8.*

Mr. Spencer is not a new author. The volume under review is his third book. It is foreworded by Rishi Ram Ram, the Spirit-Guide of the Centre, from which the book has been published and whose object is "to cultivate co-operation between incarnate, and discarnate spirits". Rishi Ram Ram of the Spirit World rightly observes in the foreword that "the One becomes Many under the creative impulse and the man of wisdom sees steadily the One amidst the Many." The learned author explains from a comparative study the different religions and stresses the value of realising the aspirant's oneness with God which alone can pave the way for everlasting peace and blessedness and extinguish for good the fire of suffering. He rightly proves with copious quotations from various sacred texts that all prophets are fully unanimous about this conclusion. He quotes Admiral Byrd who while detained in search of South Pole about seventy days in an Advance Base in polar-region absolutely alone in

the wilderness of frozen ice experienced and said "The Universe is not dead. There is an all-pervading Intelligence behind it. Though I am cut off from all human beings, I am not alone." This is the theme of this book and the basic teaching of all faiths. That Realisation is the unity of life or in other words oneness with God is the goal of human life, is very clearly pointed out in this book. The seven chapters of which this book is composed are all very well thought out and written in an elegant style and convincing way. The chapter on reincarnation is especially interesting and proves beyond doubt, with apt quotations from various scriptures, the immortality of the soul and the doctrine of transmigration. The book is a worthy addition to the increasing literature on the subject and deserves a perusal by those who want to understand the common ground of all faiths.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO BANKING PRINCIPLES, PRACTICE AND LAW: *By Bimal C. Ghose, B.Sc., (Econ.), B.Com. (Lond.). Oxford University Press. Pages 361. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book has been divided into four parts. In Part I, General Principles of Banking have been discussed in twelve chapters. Part II contains four chapters on Foreign monetary systems of the United Kingdom, United States of America, France and Germany. In Part III Indian Banking and Money market have been dealt with in six chapters. Part IV of seven chapters has been devoted to Banking Practice and Law. The book is meant for the B. Com. students of the Indian Universities and for candidates preparing for the Examinations of the Indian Institute of Bankers. So far as the general treatment of the subject is concerned, the book has been made much attractive for under-graduates with up-to-date figures and statistics as far as available in these abnormal days. Part III will be specially useful to students in their study of the Indian Money Market. The portion dealing with the Practice and Law of Banking is rather short and as such cannot be entirely depended upon by the candidates appearing at the Examinations of the Indian Institute of Bankers, although this will satisfy the requirements of commerce students of the University. We have no doubt that the commerce students of the University will find Mr. Ghose's book a useful guide in a subject which is interesting and difficult at the same time.

AUSTRALIA—A NEW NATION: *By C. E. Sayers. Hindusthan Publications, 50, Zahe Place, Calcutta. Pages 61. Price Re. 1-8.*

From a convict settlement to a prosperous and self-governing Commonwealth, Australia is a wonderland. In this small book everything worth knowing, viz., physiography, population, economic development, gold, wool, dairy products, livestock, fruits, manufactures, Government—State or Federal, political parties and last but not the least, Australia's part in the present war and its post-war problems, has been arranged and discussed in a business-like manner. The book is well illustrated and up-to-date figures and statistics have been given.

All classes of readers, students and traders alike, will find this book useful and interesting.

ADVERTISING TO ALL: *By R. Dhara. Published by Industry Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. Pages 214. Price Rs. 4.*

There are not many books to tell small businessmen how to advertise their merchandise and as a result much money is wasted in fruitless advertisement. The author of this book, an experienced journalist, discusses the subject threadbare and concludes rightly that false propaganda for trash goods does more evil than good

to the advertiser. Advertisement must be to help the buyers and not to mislead them, far less to induce them to mis-spend their money. Really useful articles should be advertised in a scientific manner to educate the prospective consumers. Ultimately honesty in business will pay. The public who are the buying members for a particular article, cannot be cheated for long. So honesty is the best policy here as well as elsewhere in human society.

This book is specially written for helping small Indian businessmen who will find it useful.

A. B. DUTTA

THE PEACOCK LUTE : Anthology of Poems in English by Indian Writers (Kiranavali No. 1). Edited by V. N. Bhushan. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. 155. Price Rs. 6; Foreign sh. 7/6.

The Peacock Lute, an anthology of poems written in English by Indian writers is a novel but needful venture in the field of Indian publication and it will be received with a delightful surprise. Indo-English poetry, has, in some quarters, been looked upon with scepticism and prejudice and remains in a neglected and straggling condition. The difficulty of collecting it, emphasised by Latika Basu in her work, is great.

But Indo-English poetry can not afford to remain neglected. Though not more than a century old, it has already grown in volume, significance and value, and holds out a high possibility. It represents, as Tagore has said, our spontaneous cultural response to English influence. It represents, as Latika Basu has said, England's cultural conquest over India. The present volume will make us conscious of these facts. It includes poems of men like Kashiprosad Ghosh, M. M. Dutta, Sri Aurobinda, Swami Vivekananda, Manomohan Ghosh, Toru Dutta, Tagore, Mrs. Naidu, Chettur brothers, Bharati Saravai and a host of other reputed poets. The book, however, does not aim at comprehensiveness and excludes many other daring adventurers into the bower of English Muse.

The editor of this volume, Prof. Bhushan, himself a poet of a high order, deserves to be congratulated upon this excellent work. The selection of poems is generally representative but the editor might include a few more of the poems, specially, nature poems, of Manomohan Ghosh, who, according to George Sampson, is a remarkable poet of ours. Specially valuable are the introductory essays attached to the book which are scholarly as well as delightful. In these essays the editor analyses the growth of Indo-English poetry from its imitative stage in Kashiprosad Ghosh to its present creative stage. It contains a bibliography which makes it conspicuously useful for study and research. The book is a successful venture and it ought to be regarded as a new cultural acquisition.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

MUDRA-RAKSHASA OR THE SIGNET RING : Translated into English from the original Sanskrit by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit. New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. 1944. Demy 8 vo., pp. xvi + 278.

Here we have an English translation of the celebrated Sanskrit drama describing the complete overthrow of the Nandas resulting from the machinations of Chanakya. It is not the work of a professional scholar but of a man of sharp intelligence and broad outlook of life with scholarly instincts whose translation of the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana already made him famous among Sanskritists at large. The translation is followed by exegetical notes and a number of

appendices containing dissertations on topics like the Indian drama, Pataliputra, age of the Guptas as reflected in the drama under review, the Nandas, the Mauryas and Chanakya, and Iranian, Greek and Chinese contacts with India. Thus the reader will not only enjoy the drama but will profit by the sufficient material for thought and enlightenment embodied in the book. Attention may be drawn to the translation and interpretation of a few words and expressions which may not appear to be strictly accurate or quite in agreement with tradition. *Vrshaka*, the term by which Chandragupta was addressed by Chanakya, is supposed to be a term of 'great affection and esteem' meaning 'young bull' (p. xiv). But from III. 15 and the prose line preceding it the term would appear to have at least an indication of Chanakya's superiority complex over Chandragupta, a *Sudra-Kutumbini* (p. 3) is translated as 'mistress of the household' instead of simply 'wife'. *Chanakya-hataka* is translated (p. 252), as 'good as dead Chanakya' instead of 'villain' or 'wretched'. There is some discrepancy in the numbering of words for annotation on p. 143. The translation of *Javanika-vrita Sarira* (p. 143), as 'his body hidden behind a curtain' seems to be rather too free.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

DIGANTA : Nishi Kanta. The Culture Publishers, 63, College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

To readers of Bengali poetry, Nishi Kanta is quite well-known. In an age that is mad after material realism, rather the grosser side of it, he strikes a note of deep spiritual emotion. He does not ignore the smiles and tears of our daily life but imbues them with the glow of a higher reality. His poems come easily out of the depths of his soul and flow with a lofty serene music.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BHAKTA MANOMOHAN : Udbodhan Karyaya-laya, Baghbazar, Calcutta. 1351 B.S. Price Re. 1-12.

The book under review is the life-story of Manomohan Mitra, (1851-1903), a devout follower of Sri Ramakrishna and a close associate of Ramchandra Datta, the well-known founder of Yogodyan. He stood by the latter and made joint endeavours to spread the gospel of the saint of Dakshineswar and their efforts met with success. The gradual waning of the influence of Brahmo Samaj, the overflowing tenderness for Sri Ramakrishna, the absorption of the entire being in the loving contemplation of Godhead—such a story will throw a flood of light on the life in Bengal when there was a renaissance and its consequent clash of ideals. It is also a valuable document which may be quoted to show that the current of spiritual life runs underground in young Bengal, that it has not dried up but fertilises the soil even though we cannot see it always at work. A loving heart, a determined mind, a tendency to the spiritual way of living fostered by hereditary leanings—Manomohan's biography will at once attract readers and will add to the stock of Ramakrishna literature which is still gaining in popularity in Bengal, and influencing millions to a better view of life.

P. R. SEN

HINDI

DHARTI KE GEET : Edited by Ramesh Sinha. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Bombay 4. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.

This short collection of simple and instructive songs in various dialects of Hindi aims at the popularisation of anti-fascism in rural India. Some are quite realistic and have a freshness and appeal of their own.

AZADI KA ALHA : By Ramgulam Singh. Published by Jan Prakashan Griha, Bombay 4. Pp. 19. Price four annas.

These songs of freedom by a seasoned Kisan-worker have a vigorous message and appeal. Though in old and traditional style, the poet has striven to foster a broadbased international outlook towards world-freedom.

MARUDHARA : By Bharat Vyas. Published by Prachya Kala Niketan, Bikaner. Pp. 71. Price Re. 1-4.

Marudhara or Marwar is commonly known as a barren land or desert. But being born there, the poet feels greater attachment to it. He has, therefore, invested it not only with the historical significance that is its due, but also with colourful imagery, which has turned it into a veritable paradise. The poet derives a good deal of inspiration from its golden past and sings for a bright future.

M. S. SENGAR

BHAKTA NARSINH MEHTA : By "Mangal". Gita Press, Gorakhpur, U. P. Pp. 179. Price six annas.

This is the first full-length biography in Hindi of the famous fifteenth century saint of Gujarat, Kathiawar, Narsinh Mehta. Though at places there is more of legend and less of history,—due apparently to lack of authentic records,—yet the book does not entail too much of a strain on the reader's credulity. But its most attractive feature is its spirit of devotion, which cannot but evoke a similar response from the reader. The original songs,—which are in Gujarati and a selection of which is given at the end,—have been translated for the benefit of the latter.

SHAKUNTALA : By Durgadatta Tripathi. Govind Ashrama, Ghatia Darvaza, Chandausi. Pp. 65. Price four annas.

This is a metrical story of Shakuntala whom Kalidasa has immortalized in Sanskrit. It is in eight cantos and makes an easy reading. It could be used with advantage for reciting the tale to the masses, who are not acquainted with the original.

G. M.

KANNADA

UKKINA MANUSHYA : By M. Haridas. Published by Minchina Balli Chavadi, Dharwar. Price Rs. 2.

The book under review is a short life-sketch of Stalin—the maker of Modern Russia. The name of Stalin conjures up a host of images in the minds of the youth of the world. The Soviet experiment and its achievement in the field of economic reorientation have a peculiarly fascinating charm—particularly so at a time when the whole world is ardently pining for an enduring peaceful social order.

Naturally, therefore, one feels curious about how Stalin could weld a mighty union of Socialist Soviet Republics out of the weltering mess of disintegrated Russian Imperialist States. Today Russia under the dynamic leadership of Stalin—the Man of Steel—stands at the apex of the pyramid of the "Big Three" powers. The magnificent work that the mighty military machine of Russia has achieved in smothering the Fascist and Nazi menace has won the approbation of even its bitterest enemy—Churchill.

Mr. Haridas gives us the relevant details of Stalin's life. He has not failed to give us the background of the Russian revolutions and the lurid picture of Czar's tyranny. Incidentally he has referred to how Lenin's

"Iskra", the spark, ignited the slumbering embers of Russian peasants' self-respect and inspired and inflamed them to revolt, and how the newspaper was a magnet to attract even the unlettered mass. The diverse vicissitudes through which Russia had to pass from constitutional liberalism to relentless radicalism are vividly portrayed and thus grip the reader to the end.

The writer has tried to put his finger on the secret of Russian success and has been largely successful. The style of the book is very lucid and the diction pleasing and picturesque.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

CUTCHNI LOK VARTA : By Dungarshi Dharamsy Shampat. Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 348. Price Rs. 2.

Cutch in old days was the land of heroes and their romantic deeds were embodied in a book called "Cutchna Kaladharo" written by Mr. Dulerai Karani, noticed in these columns before. The present work is an abridgment or summary of matters set out there by that veteran statistician and encyclopaedic writer of Gujarati, Mr. Dungarshi Dharamsy Sampat. The abridgment has not suffered in any way so far as the merits of the original are concerned. It is as comprehensive as the original, and we congratulate the society on selecting the book and its summariser and publishing it in these days of paper scarcity, at its present price.

PYRAMIDNI CHHAYA-MAN : By Chandrashankar P. Shukla. Published by the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, Bombay. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 2.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Thoreau at Walden

4TH JULY 1845

A century ago Thoreau, the pioneer of Civil Disobedience in the U.S.A., celebrated Independence Day by commencing to live his hermit life at Walden. Mr. Hugh Harris writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Twenty miles from Boston in the State of Massachusetts, U.S.A., is the picturesque and historic village of Concord. It is celebrated as the place where hostilities started in the American War of Independence. In literature it is even more famous as the home of Emerson, Hawthorne, Thoreau and other writers of the Transcendentalist movement. The influence of their ideas radiated from this New England centre throughout the world, but they in their turn had been inspired by currents of thought that reached them from Europe and Asia. The year 1845 marks a focal point in this interaction of spiritual forces. Then it was that Thoreau began his experiment at Walden.

Henry David Thoreau was born at Concord in 1817, the son of a local pencil-maker. A formative influence in the shaping of his character was his close friendship with Emerson, in whose house he lived from 1841 to 1843. Emerson had abandoned the profession of a clergyman, and was seeking for a wider philosophy of life than that afforded by his Puritan environment. The teachings of India and the Orient greatly contributed to Emerson's spiritual development. Examples of his indebtedness are his essay on "The Over-Soul" and his poem "Brahma".

In March 1845, on the shore of a small lake in the Walden woods, over a mile away from Concord, Thoreau began to erect a hut. He quickly built and furnished it unaided at a cost of twenty-eight dollars. On July 4, 1845—to celebrate Independence Day after his own fashion—he went into occupation, and there he lived alone for two years and two months.

His object was to find spiritual refreshment by direct contact with Nature, away from the industrialism and machinery of Western civilisation.

Throughout his life Thoreau kept personal Journals of extraordinary interest. During his sojourn at Walden he edited his records of a voyage that he and his brother had taken six years previously in a boat of their own making. These were afterwards published under the title of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. The Journals that he wrote while at Walden went to make his even more famous book, *Walden; or Life in the Woods*.

Thoreau contemplated Nature with a wise passiveness that owed much to the Indian teachers whose works he studied in his retreat. He writes in *Walden* :

"I grew in those seasons like corn in the night, and they were far better than work of the hands would have been. They were not time subtracted from my life, but so much over and above my usual allowance. I realised what the Orientals mean by contemplation and the forsaking of works."

Both *Walden* and *A Week* are full of references to, and quotations from, the sacred books of India. In *A Week* a third part of the chapter entitled "Monday" is devoted to a sympathetic exposition of Hindu thought. In particular he praises the *Bhagavad-Gita* (a translation by Charles Wilkins).

Thoreau relates that he also greatly enjoyed the *Dharma Sastra* (Laws of Manu) in the translation of William Jones.

The entertaining fables of the *Hitopadesa*, translated by Charles Wilkins, also much appealed to Thoreau because of their "playful wisdom."

Such were among the books which Thoreau read at Walden, and which in his writings there he recommended to his contemporaries.

Oriental literature was at that time little known in Europe and America, and Thoreau made the following suggestion :

"It would be worthy of the age to print together the collected Scriptures and Sacred Writings of the several nations, the Chinese, the Hindus, the Persians, the Hebrews, and others, as the Scripture of mankind . . . Such a juxtaposition and comparison might help to liberalize the faith of man. This is a work which Time will surely edit, reserved to crown the labours of the printing press. This would be the Bible, or Book of Books, which let the missionaries carry to the uttermost parts of the earth."

That very year, a young unknown student in Paris—Max Muller—conceived the ambition of publishing a text and translation of the *Rig-Veda*. Subsequently, he also edited "The Sacred Books of the East", translated by various scholars, in fifty volumes, and published by the Oxford University Press.

One summer afternoon in 1845, while walking from his hermitage to the village cobbler's to fetch a shoe, he was arrested and put into jail, because he refused to pay his poll tax. His refusal was intended as a protest against the country's maintenance of the institution of Negro slavery. He spent but one night in jail, the tax, much to his disgust, being paid by one of his aunts.

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Thoreau's account of this episode was afterwards elaborated in his famous essay *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*. This essay came, in 1907, into the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. It greatly influenced his adoption in South Africa, and subsequent transference to India, of the policy of *Satyagraha*.

The Peace That Comes

Without assuming the role of a prophet one can examine the forces at present working and have a guess at the composition of the Peace Conference and say which way the wind blows. M. Balasubramaniam writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

It is probable that the U.S.A. will occupy the central place in the dais at the Peace Conference. England comes second. Russia comes next. The Dominions—Canada, Australia and South Africa follow. Poland and France will be there. China will be represented and as appendages India and other countries will doubtless be invited.

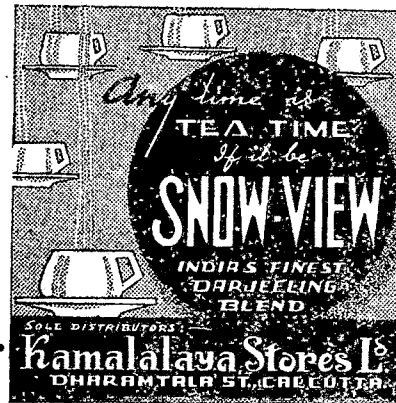
What will be the policy of these nations? If History is any guide, their policy at the Peace Conference will not be completely different from what it has been so far. Though called a democratic country the United States is not as democratic, as the word implies, or as Americans ask us to imagine. For at home there is the colour problem. Not long before his death the late Wendell Willkie urged the Americans, in vain, to make the Negroes, the partners in war and suffering, partners in peace and prosperity. So long as America has not got this equality she lives in a glass-house and cannot throw stones at others—particularly at Britain for her policy in India. That explains why President Roosevelt could not interfere in Indian affairs. When Ambassador Philips exposed inconvenient truths about India, Roosevelt could do no more than recall the Ambassador.

True, America has no designs of political domination. But can it be said that she has no desire for economic exploitation?

The desire to make Germany an agricultural country—the reference is to Morgenthau plan—and cripple her industries, though said to be as a measure for securing world security, is also intended to remove one commercial competitor from the field for years to come. American entry in this war is to root out Japan which is a powerful competitor in the world market. Germany and Japan removed, America wants to retain the first place in world commerce. This is obvious to any one who has glanced through the proceedings of the several conferences—Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, Rye, Chicago—that took place recently. With this background America enters the Peace Conference. How far she will fight for a fair peace for political equality for all nations—victor and vanquished, for those which lost their freedom now or before—, how far she will help the economic regeneration of exploited countries, can be better imagined than described.

The next important country at the Peace Conference will be England.

England's aim in this war is well-known and oft-repeated. Clearly and unambiguously Mr. Churchill has said, 'We mean to hold our own, I have not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire.' Logically he gave a limited application to the Atlantic Charter. Britain's policy in India is but translation of Mr. Churchill's dictum into practice. Fenner Brockway might say that Amery is a



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pigmy compared to the giant Nehru. But Britain's policy in India is clear, not to allow Indian parties to come together, to imprison Indian leaders who wanted the application of the Atlantic Charter to India and, who wanted the 'four freedoms' so loudly spoken of.

Britain's economic policy in India and elsewhere is enough testimony to her future intentions to continue the exploitation of India and other countries. The hurdles put in the way of Indian industrialisation are too many and too well-known. When Indians wanted to start major industries as building of ships, manufactures of locomotives, automobiles and aeroplanes, the Government of India did not even guarantee to purchase Indian-made cars. The Government help was so great that the aircraft factory intended to manufacture aeroplanes has remained a repair factory. Orders for ships for India were placed in Australia, a country much less equipped to manufacture them. And still Mr. Amery swears that Britain is not in the way of Indian industrialisation. To crown all this, the London paper *Indian Affairs* claims half-partnership in Indian Industries in the post-war period for the expert help that Britain may give to India. Britain's role in India will be that of the old man in the story of Sindbad the Sailor.

The third peace-maker is Russia.

Russia is said to be the greatest democratic country—at least so the communists say. But any disinterested observer will find that Russian policy is proving the maxim that power corrupts, and absolute power, absolutely. We read of the treatment given to the Poles, Britain, by the way, entered the war to defend the integrity of Poland against Germany. While the same war is on, and when Russia questions the same rights, Britain is a silent spectator. And the celebrated *Times* says that 'Britain cannot afford to meddle in Central Europe against Russia.' Such is the political record of Russia. Russia's desire to get oil concessions is proof of her economic intentions, and the harmless desire to benefit herself at the expense of others.

Gen. Smuts will represent S. Africa, it has already been announced.

His love of fairplay is famous. The British settled in S. Africa as they did in several other countries. The people they have to come in contact are the natives and the Indians who have made S. Africa, their own land. The first the British want to exterminate and the second they want to drive out. The British policy towards the natives is well-brought out in a saying common among the natives:

"When the white man came he had the bible and we had the land. Now we have the bible and he has the land."

The lot of Indians settled in S. Africa, is a twice-told story, in a word it is miserable. The S. African Government wanted to worsen it. When a harmless Indian Central Government gave out an empty threat of retaliatory action against S. Africans, a S. African paper says, with evident modesty, that the S. African Government will go on with their anti-Indian policy till an Indian army arrives in S. Africa. The typical leader of such a country will be an important member of the Peace Conference. What will be the nature of the peace?

Australian representatives will play a prominent part in the peace deliberations for will not Australia have contributed to the victory of the allies?

Canada's voice will be no less distinct and no more in favour of the oppressed.

Poland and France cannot be expected to talk against the interests of the U.S.A. and Great Britain.

Should China be critical of British or American policy, China will be dubbed ungrateful.

India's contribution to the war effort has been admitted on all hands. She will have 'representatives' selected by the Government of India, 'through the proper channel' and will be under the inspiration and guidance of the Secretary of State.

Such will be Peace Conference. Such will be the antecedents of the peace-makers. The reader may judge for himself the outcome of such a conference. But it appears that the Biblical sentence about peace-makers has to be modified to suit modern times.

Retrospect

The New Review observes:

A review of Nazi strategy may throw additional light on the Pacific War. It is undeniable that the Nazis had not at all prepared the war with that thoroughness with which they were credited. They miscalculated the fundamental situation. According to military writers, like the German Hans Delbruck, or the English J. F. Fuller, strategy has two forms, annihilation or exhaustion; in the first, battle is the only aim and weapon of war; in the second, battle is only one of the means which may lead to the political goal. Strategy of annihilation which brings about the political result in view within the shortest time and with the least expenditure supposes a war potential superior to the enemy's throughout the struggle. Short of it, war leads to destruction; it led Napoleon to St. Helena, and the Kaiser to Doorn, it has now annihilated Nazidom. In 1939, the Nazi High Command and the German industrialists were aware that their potential enemies had resources which, if given due respite, would tilt the military balance in a decisive manner. Russia was sidetracked by treaty, and America was hesitating; the problem was to overrun or

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neutralize Europe before America could be ready. As England was the most powerful and most strongly entrenched enemy, her reduction was the key-problem of Nazi strategy. It is remarkable that it was neglected.

The Nazis prepared their land warfare most accurately.

Their plans for the conquest of Poland, the Low Countries, and France worked out smoothly. But they were so obsessed with their land superiority that they failed to notice the sea and neglected the water-equation of their strategy. In particular they failed to see the British Channel; yet the Channel was the focal point of the western war; one might even say that the western war could be called the Channel War, since its fortunes could be read in the Channel which was a defence moat in 1940, a no-man's water in 1941-43, and became an Allied canal in 1944-45. If we are to believe F. M. von Rundstedt, the Nazis never contemplated crossing that 20-mile stretch of water. With Britain's refusal to oblige with peace proposals, the Nazis felt at a loss; their fleet was helpless against the British Navy and could not be expected to keep any improvised invasion force protected and supplied. They resorted to air bombing, but failed to complete the preliminary task of securing air superiority; their bombing-plan was ill-articulated, and if we believe Goering's recent revelations, it was spoiled by Hitler's interference, and given up prematurely.

All the known facts go to show that the cold calculating Nazi High Command had not prepared for Britain's invasion; yet that was the key-operation of their strategy.

Had they achieved it, they would have won the war. However much Mr. Churchill may have challengingly spoken of fighting on from the distant shores of the Empire, the occupation of Britain would have been a disaster from which the Allies could not have recovered: an invasion of Europe from American shores would have been postponed indefinitely, and Hitler would have had time to organise Europe according to his Nazi pattern.

What is stranger is that even their defeat in the Battle of Britain did not teach the Nazis that the reduction of Britain's power was the key-problem of the war. Once they renounced invading Britain, there remained for them to strike a decisive blow at the Empire's naval power by overrunning Egypt, the sole bridge-head. This was quite feasible; instead of keeping inert, they should have ordered the Italians to occupy Tunisia, and so dominate the shortest sea-route to Africa, and they should have doubled Rommel's armoured divisions. Rommel would have been in Cairo by the summer of 1941, the Mediterranean would have been turned into an Axis lake, and the Allies would have had no oversea bases from which to assault the continent. Any move by Russia at that time could easily have been countered by divisions on the defensive.

Instead of this, the Nazis waited till the spring of 1941, rushed through the Balkans and occupied Crete. From all appearances they were preparing Turkey's invasion in order to reach Egypt through Palestine; they then hesitated, possibly out of fear of Russian reaction, and, soon after, they committed their second great strategic blunder. They changed their line of operations; they turned away from Britain and her Empire, which was then in a much weakened strategic position, and they shunted their war machine into the measureless expanses of Russia. What they should have done was to keep on the defensive against possible

Russian attack, until they had mastered the Near East and brought Nazi aggression to the Arabian Sea where they could have joined their Japanese partners. Their position and resources could then have sufficed to defy the Allies.

English Tradition

Sir Robert Denniston writes in *The Indian Review* :

What is tradition? As a lover of my own language I often consult a dictionary, and Mr. Webster, I think, rather rises to the occasion. "Tradition", he tells us, "is the oral delivery of information, opinions, doctrines, practices, rites and customs, from father to son, or from ancestors to posterity; the transmission of any knowledge, opinions or practice from forefathers to descendants by oral communication, without written memorials."

Why do we attach value to a family heirloom—some trinket perhaps of no great intrinsic value except that it has been passed down from father to son? We value it, I think, for its antiquity, and because of its associations. It has been said that the only true aristocracy is old age, and tradition and old age have much in common.

If we search for tradition in England we at once discover the greatest tradition of all—the monarchy. If tradition and antiquity have much in common perhaps also tradition and loyalty go hand in hand.

Where does tradition come from? What is its background? Religion? To some extent, as those will agree who remember the grandeur and nobility of the Coronation Service. History, of course, is the mother of tradition, and many present-day ceremonial customs—and extremely odd some of them are—date back to the

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knights errant of old. The navy and the army, of course, are full traditions, most of them connected with battle honours.

Tradition in England is not confined to the army and navy and you will find that nearly every little village has its old customs, the origin of which is sometimes lost in antiquity.

Our law courts, of course, are full of traditions, and there is nothing nobler in the English language than the clerk of the court's charge to the jury. If the official who administers the charge is not called the Clerk of the court I apologise, but the law and I are but slightly acquainted.

Parliament is tradition-ridden to the Nth, and in spite of Cromwell's petulant 'Take away these baubles' 300 years ago, they still remain. I can imagine the hush of reprobation when, a short time ago a truculent Scot was so lost to all sense of tradition as to scorn the good offices of his sponsors, and to declare, in effect, that he had been elected by his constituents, here he was and here he would remain, and he didn't propose to be introduced thank you.

Those who sneer at the "old school tie" will also, I have no doubt, sneer at tradition, and our schools are full of traditions, but those traditions are based on loyalty, and I can think of less desirable characteristics than loyalty. Each school has its own traditions and some of them, such as the precise angle at which the cap should be worn, in accordance with one's seniority are rather puerile, but the motto "Manners maketh man" is no bad thing to live up to—no, I do not myself come from that particular seat of learning.

No mention of English traditions would be complete without the mention of Shakespeare, who is England. There is no occasion, no event, no world shattering occurrence for which we cannot find some appropriate reference in the works of Shakespeare. Why, in happier days, was Stratford-on-Avon the Mecca of tourists from the new world? There is nothing that our orators have said for generations that was not better said by Shakespeare 320 years ago.


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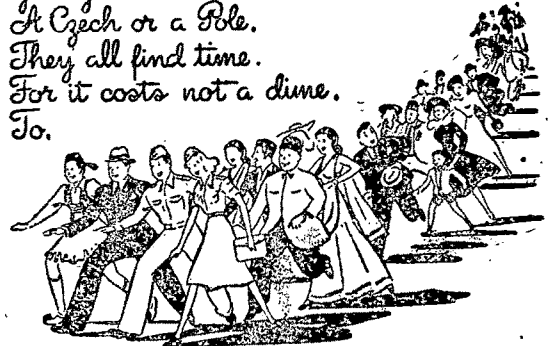
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Vocational Guidance for Young Persons in Sweden

The following extract is made from an article under the above caption published in the *International Labour Review*:

In 1940, the organisation of the employment service in Sweden was taken under central control by the State Employment Market Commission, and at the same time special attention began to be paid to the further development of vocational guidance.

An adviser on these questions was attached to the Commission. After preliminary investigations had been made to find out the conditions which were likely to prevail in various quarters and the main lines which ought to be followed, the Commission undertook a comprehensive reorganisation of vocational guidance in the spring of 1941.

From the outset, the Commission took the view that the work of vocational guidance must be so organised as to bring it into direct contact with the employment service proper. Only in this way could vocational guidance be based on a broad and general view of the employment market and on the necessary familiarity with the various workplaces, occupations, and types of work. In addition, experience had shown that the mere assembly of a great deal of information is in vain unless it is accompanied by practical action and that therefore vocational guidance must in many, perhaps in most, cases lead directly to preparation for work or training.

From the point of view of organisation, therefore, vocational guidance activities were linked up with the public employment service, and particularly with the sections of employment offices set up for applicants for work under 18 years, the juvenile employment exchanges, and for secondary school pupils and students, with the student employment exchanges in Stockholm, Göteborg, and the two university towns of Uppsala and Lund. When the Commission took over the employment service, however, only a few of the larger offices had special sections for juveniles, and the student exchanges were also relatively unsatisfactory. Steps have therefore been taken to equip the juvenile and student exchanges more adequately for their work and to extend their services over the whole country.

The material needed to help the vocational guidance officers in their work is in the main prepared in the headquarters department of the Commission which is directly responsible for the juvenile and student exchanges. This applies to: (1) the forms needed for collecting information on the person applying for work or advice; (2) the pamphlets to be studied by the juveniles and their parents or guardians; and (3) the descriptions and surveys of occupations used by the guidance officers as a guide when giving young people the necessary information on different jobs and training opportunities.

So far as training and work opportunities are concerned, a fairly comprehensive enquiry is being made for the purpose of providing guidance officers with reliable information on different occupations and training facilities. Particulars as to workplaces, occupations, kinds of work, and means of training are systematically collected from vocational schools, employers, occupa-

tional organisations, individuals representative of particular occupations, and technical journals and literature. These particulars, after having been examined and sifted, are intended to form the basis for accurate descriptions of occupations in each branch of activity. Such descriptions have already been completed for some occupations. As soon as a particular field of work and training has been analysed, the material is placed at the disposal of the vocational guidance officers. In this way the Commission hopes that reliable information will gradually be compiled, of the type demanded by members of the Riksdag in 1938 and also recommended by the Social Board and the Central Board of Education in 1939, concerning the most suitable form for centralised information work for the vocational guidance of young persons. In this connection, it is worth noting that material from the Commission's investigation of employment conditions of certain university graduates, and from various other enquiries made by the Commission and/or by the employment exchanges (in collaboration with, e.g., the handicrafts associations) to ascertain the supply of and demand for pupils and apprentices in the various localities and occupations, constitutes a valuable basis for the work of vocational guidance.

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An Oriental Cultural Centre in London

In a snappy article in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Fred H. Andrews discusses the need of the establishment of an Oriental Cultural Centre in London :

By the reconstitution of the Archaeological Survey through the efforts of Lord Curzon, and its brilliant administration by Sir John Marshall, the appointment of expert coadjutors and the systematic training of Indian students in scientific methods of research instituted under Sir John Marshall's direction, the advances made have been very remarkable. The extent of territory indicated and now subject to the active investigations of the Archaeological Survey is, apart from other considerations, sufficient to justify amply the provision of a great museum in this, the centre of the Empire. But the geographical dimensions, extensive though they be, are small in comparison with their artistic, historical and archaeological content. And, mindful of the fact that Britain has been in administrative charge for many generations, of more or less of these great tracts with their hundreds of millions of people, their numberless languages and dialects, their varied culture and their past and present influence on the rest of the world, our obligation to recognise worthily all this in the form now again advanced, is surely incontestable and, indeed, imperative to our own self-respect. While other countries publish by snappy articles in small popular periodicals the activities of their nationals in India, conveying by implication that we British are doing worse than nothing, we by culpable complacency allow the fiction to pass as fact. It is unfortunately true, as a distinguished Indian scientist intimated recently, that "there is as little general attention paid to India in this country as to the planet Mars."

One of the effects of the present war has been to bring together in this country thousands of men and women from the Dominions and from the countries of our Allies. It is characteristic of many of these latter candid friends that they believe they have better knowledge about us and our activities than we ourselves have; and one hears the fantastic ideas entertained by the majority about India, of its people and our administration of that land. Our own people being almost equally ignorant, thanks to deficient education, are not only incapable of rebutting calumny but often enough are inclined to accept the distorted views so positively aired. The want of knowledge concerning progress made in education, sanitation, health, industry, irrigation, and in numberless other directions is deplorable, and the ignorance of the complexities of race, language, caste, religion and social customs is not only profound, but by its extent affords scope for speculative assumptions unjust alike to Indians and British. Another effect of the war has been to take thousands of our intelligent and educated men and women to the East, many of whom would have their interest in those lands awakened, and in many cases would desire to supplement and extend that interest by available means on their return home.

In the near future, with the extension of rapid travel, distance will no longer divide East and West. Short visits will be practicable and will be encouraged; and our Oriental Centre might be made an attractive and appropriate focal point for visitors, providing rooms for private consultations, for small committee meetings and such other facilities as the general idea may suggest. It should be a rendezvous for Orientals and Westerners where friendly intercourse in congenial surroundings would promote knowledge and understanding of each other.

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Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The Catholic World writes on the death of President Roosevelt:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt died suddenly at Warm Springs, Ga., April 12th, at the age of sixty-three. The news of his death came as a great shock to the whole nation that was momentarily expecting the final victory in Europe.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born January 30, 1882, at Hyde Park, N. Y. He prepared for college at Groton Boys School and entered Harvard at eighteen. He became president of his class in his senior year and editor of *The Harvard Crimson*. He then studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1907. Meantime he had married his distant cousin, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, and they had five children.

Mr. Roosevelt entered politics in 1910 when he became a State Senator, and very soon achieved renown

by fighting Tammany, though Tammany controlled both houses of the Legislature. When Wilson became President in 1912, Mr. Roosevelt was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy and he held this post during the First World War. In 1920 he was defeated for the office of Vice-President.

The following year Mr. Roosevelt was stricken with infantile paralysis but he went on to further successes in spite of this illness. In 1928 he was elected Governor of New York and in 1932 was elected President in the midst of the depression. In the two months prior to his first inauguration 5,504 banks had closed and the country was almost in a panic. The various alphabetical agencies were brought into being to counteract the depression.

President Roosevelt was re-elected in 1936 and in 1940 was elected for a third term, breaking a precedent as old as the Republic. During this third term the President met with Winston Churchill, August 14, 1941, and they issued jointly the eight-point statement of principles for peace known as the Atlantic Charter. Four months later Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and the President asked for a declaration of war. In November, 1943, President Roosevelt met with Churchill and Stalin in Teheran in Iran. In the following year he was elected for a fourth term and was inaugurated with a simple ceremony last January 20th. Less than a month later he again met with Churchill and Stalin at Yalta in the Crimea. At the end of March the President went to Warm Springs, Ga., intending to stay for a brief rest. Death came a few hours after he had a sudden brain hemorrhage.

May his soul rest in peace!

Curtis W. Reese writes in *Unity*:

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a great man and a great President, and we shall not soon see his like again.

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He was great in his strategy of dealing with all sorts and conditions of men, and he was able to marshal conflicting groups in behalf of democratic and unifying social purposes.

He was great in his awareness of world trends and the meaning of world events, and he gave direction to trends and events.

In the scope of his outlook, in the method of his procedure, and in the breadth of his human interests, Franklin Delano Roosevelt stands secure among the great of all time.

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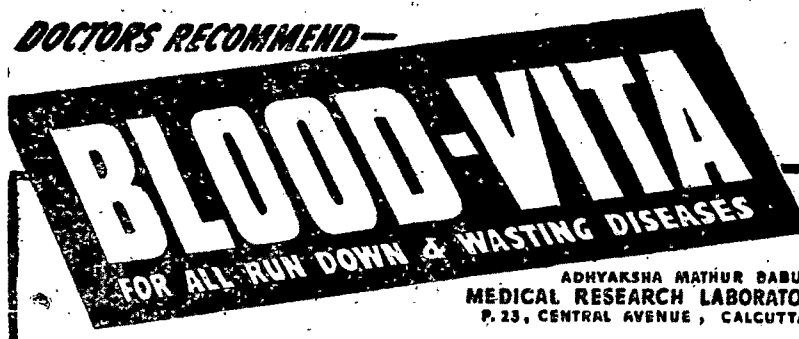
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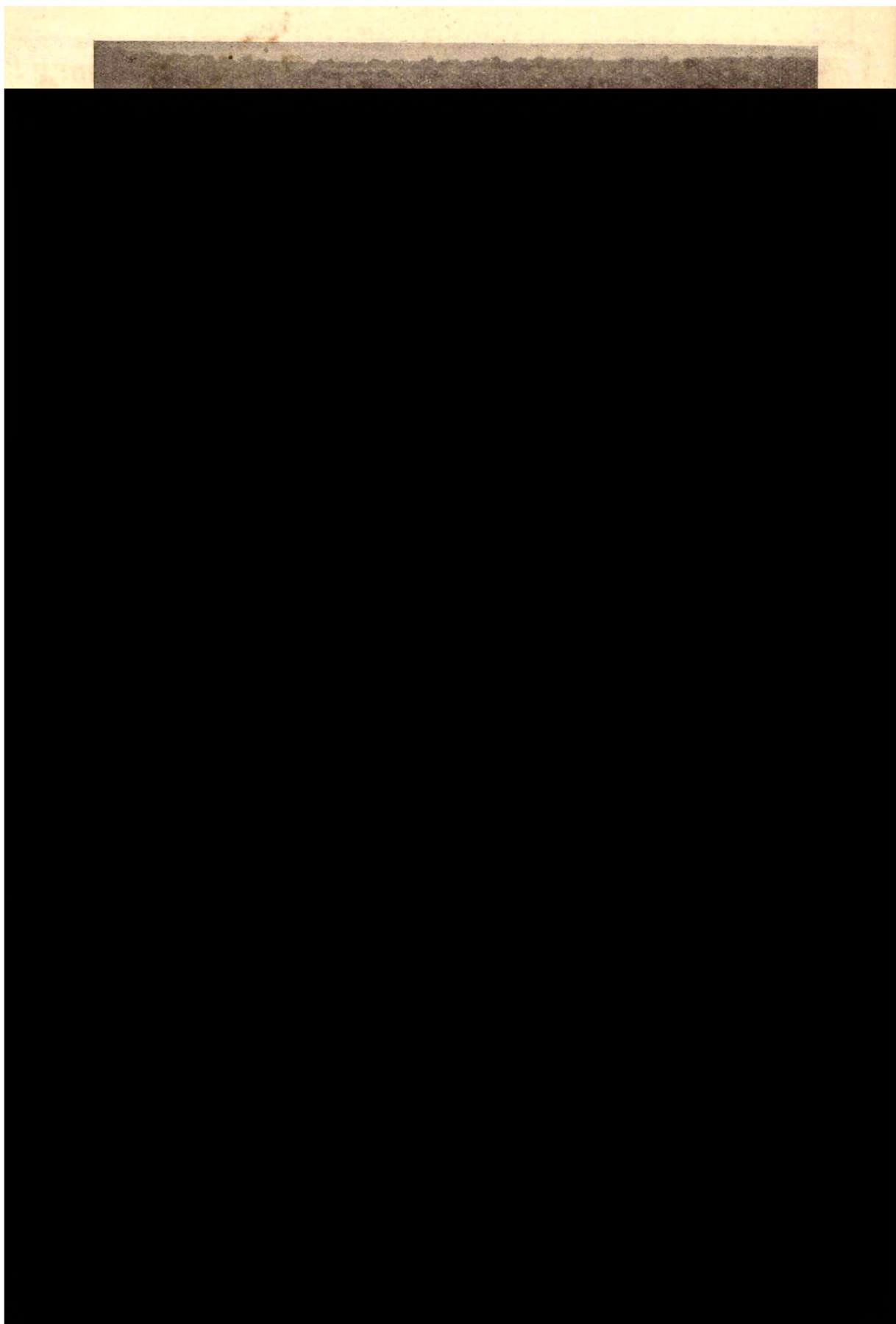
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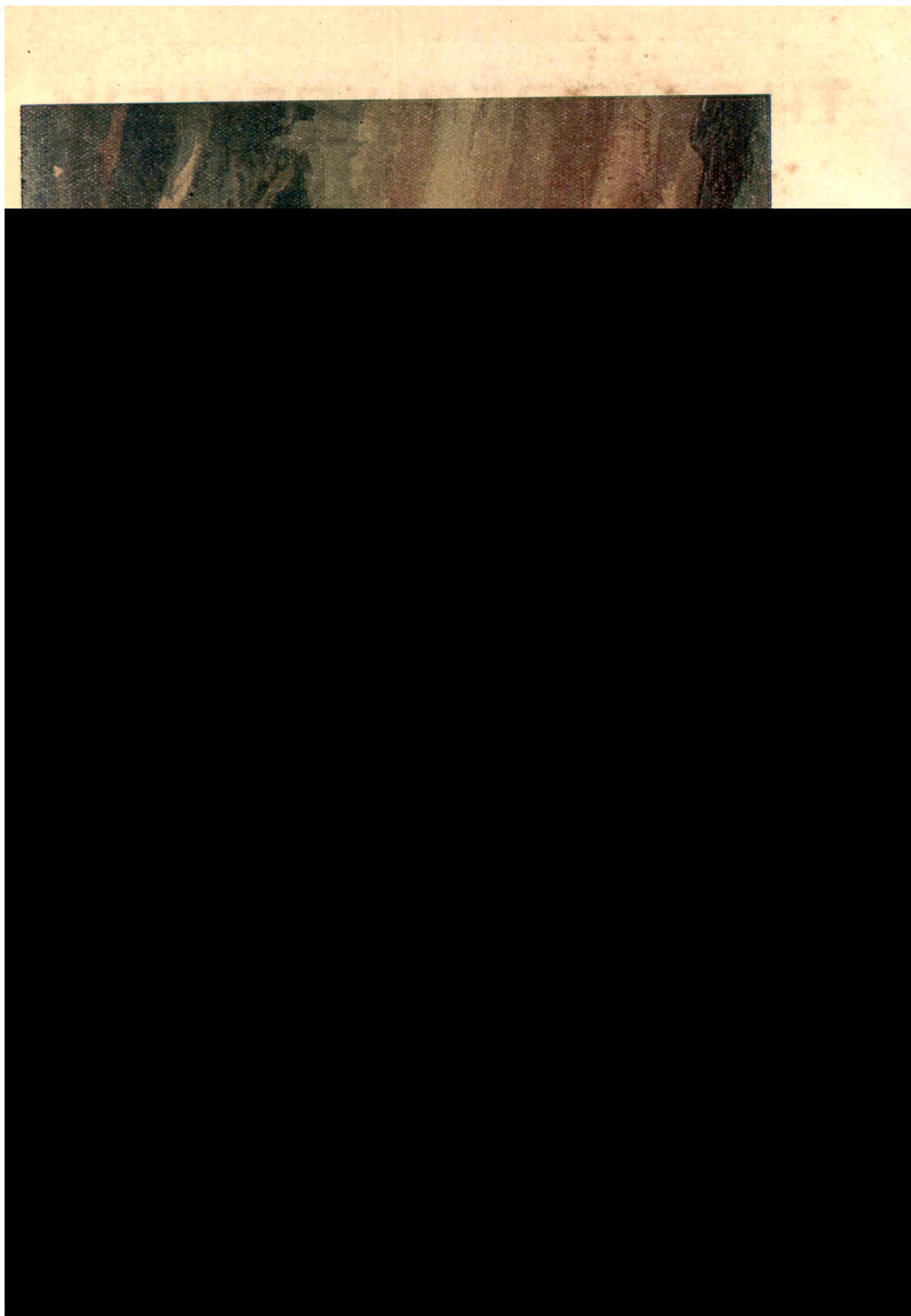
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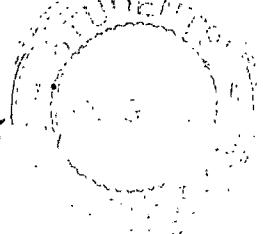


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1945



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WHOLE No. 465

NOTES

The End of World War No. 2

The last phase of the war against the Axis powers came when there were less than three weeks left of the sixth year of the struggle. As yet the finale has not come to a close (29. 8. 45.) but the Allied fleet is steaming into Tokyo Bay, and soon the curtain will be rung down on the second act of what seems to be the tragedy of Western civilization. The end came with dramatic suddenness, as is known to the world, with the Atom bomb and the Russian invasion of Manchuria. But whatever be the factors in the concluding stage, the main cause of the Japanese collapse was the American conquest of the air, as was also the tidal wave of American war production. As in Europe so in Asia the failure of the Axis lay in their inability to meet this twin challenge of the U.S.A. war effort. Of course, it must be admitted that but for the grim and bitter resistance put up by the Chinese and the Russians there would have been no time for the American war machine to reach its optimum output. Similarly it must also be conceded that many other opponents of the Axis contributed in their own several ways towards the frittering away of the fighting strength of the Wehrmacht, without which the defeat of the Germans would have been a task even more favourable than what it was in 1944 and 1945. But World War II has come to a close anyhow and soon it would be merely so much material for historians, propagandists and other dealers in political fiction.

The first World War was a "war to end all wars" and such a good job did the victors make of it that for the twenty-seven years that have elapsed since, the world knew no peace. There was a backward drift into medieval despotism on the part of all the Imperialist Powers, major and minor, and international tension never eased for a moment, nor did the fires of war totally cease on this earth for a day. Oppression of subject peoples reached a new height once the Western Imperialists felt that they were secure, and their Far-Eastern colleague started fishing in troubled waters, in accordance with the rules of the game of Power Politics. International strife began to rise in intensity and with the advent of the Rome-Berlin Axis the dream of world peace and security faded into the thin air. Major wars started blazing up in Africa, Asia and South-Western

Europe, while the "Democracies" kept looking on with puzzled amazement. Then followed a stampede for the stepping-up of armament production which set the trigger for the world-shaking explosion that was the second World War.

The second World War has surpassed the first one not only in its magnitude and intensity but also in its slogans and shibboleths and likewise in its diatribes and denunciations. The suffering of the billion odd inhabitants of the old world beggars description while the whole world, victors and vanquished alike, is now facing economic chaos. All the wealth of the nations of the Western "civilized world," accumulated through three centuries of toil and predatory adventure, now clutter the earth as rubble, dust and metallic shards or poison the atmosphere in the form of noxious gases. It may truly be termed the end, not only of the World War II, but of almost all things that really are of the essence.

The War is over, and Post-War merely awaits the Declaration of Peace. And in the terms of that Peace the World will see what will prevail, *Ahimsa* or the Atom bomb.

The Atom Bomb

In all its six years of intensified scientific warfare World War II produced no new weapons of destruction excepting towards the end. For almost five years the armament of the belligerents were merely bigger and "better" varieties of the weapons of World War I. Mechanized warfare brought into action panzers of diverse varieties, with far greater fire-power, superior mobility and heavier armour. Aeroplanes were improved beyond the dreams of the air-strategists of 1914-1939. Interceptors and Fighters attained speeds exceeding that of sound, with the capacity to climb into the stratosphere at a straight steep angle with the speed of an arrow. Bombers of gigantic size and tremendous radius of action were built to carry bombs of great destructive power to heights never attained before, and so on and so forth. And above all the Gargantuan production of the U.S.A. war factories dwarfed all previous records into insignificance. But there was nothing in all this that was intrinsically new. Towards the close of the War in Europe came the V weapons,

marking not only a new departure in the matter of destructive missiles but also a new phase in the methods of "civilized" warfare. And the end of the six-year-old struggle was hastened by the newest of all weapons, which ushered in not only a radically new method of destruction but also threw into strong relief this new phase abovementioned.

What is known as the early medieval period of History is marked by the savage and barbaric incursions of uncivilized nomadic peoples of Central Asia into the civilized areas on a vast scale. Inhuman slaughter of innocent, non-combatants and wanton destruction of all things pertaining to higher modes of living and thinking were the results. Entire peoples were terrorised into slavery and highly-developed civilizations, as those of Mesopotamia, Iran and Trans-Caspian areas, were ruthlessly destroyed. Revulsion rose high in all cultured countries and as a result was evolved a code of warfare which put certain limitations on methods of fighting and on the use of weapons, which also enforced discrimination between combatants and non-combatants. The Code of Chivalry of the medieval period marks the zenith of this attempt to civilize warfare, and Western civilization really starts from that period. In the East, the Code of Honour amongst warriors is far more ancient amongst the civilized peoples of Asia, whence resulted the magnificent civilization of the East, that were destroyed by the barbarians of the West and Far-West, whose methods of warfare were devoid of all concepts of honour and morality.

Gun-powder marked the end of chivalry, as was remarked by Chevalier Bayard, the greatest name amongst the knights of Europe. Immense power for destruction was put in the hands of the unscrupulous peoples of the West and for centuries thereafter the world knew neither peace nor security. War was glorified since it brought in plunder and threw into slavery people who did not possess adequate firearms. And this process of international butchery and blackmail has prevailed up till now despite protests from a multitude of thinkers and philosophers. Western civilization has lapsed more and more into savagery although the outward veneer of luxury and science has been polished up to a brilliance never attained before. Standards of living have soared up, while the thoughts and passions of the possessors of that standard sank lower and lower.

The Atom bomb marks perhaps the culminating point in this retrogression. In effect it tends to complete the work begun by gun-powder. It has been denounced by all true lovers of human life and culture, from the Pope downwards, and pious hopes have been expressed by others that it would act as an instrument of international peace, since the secret is in "right hands"! It is useless to discuss here either the futility of the denunciation or the inanity of the hopes as the next decade, or even a lesser period, will amply demonstrate the realities of the situation. It is sufficient to remark that this 'secret' will be possessed by *all bellicose nations* within the next few years and new fissures will develop into international alliances and antagonisms accordingly. And that Western civilization will go down in a welter of destruction and mass butchery of non-combatants, unless the Western peoples can radically alter their ideas of living like princes of old and thinking and behaving like predatory animals.

British Empire a Trading Empire

Leonard Barnes, in his recently published admirable booklet *Soviet Light on Colonies*, gives a brilliant picture of the British colonial system as viewed by a Socialist politician. He seems to have touched the vital part of the subject when he says that the real question in British colonial policy is: "What is the concealed final end that operates to produce the appearance of aimlessness? What is the unstated major premise on which British official thinking about colonial affairs depends, and why does it express itself in policies that seem to exhibit no coherent principle?" The author himself answers this question and says that there is no great mystery about it really. If it appears to work in a mysterious way, that is simply because it governs British colonial policy without being concerned with conditions inside the colonies. He suggests that the British colonial system has always been and still is fundamentally uninterested in the internal state of social health among colonial peoples. British empire "is a trading empire, British dominant interest in the countries of which they make imperial use is the extra-territorial rights that have been carved out for themselves—"the iron frame within which trade (and latterly industry as well) could be preferentially carried on." To the problems of the various societies among whom that trade and industry went forward, British attitude has been one of superb indifference.

The basic formula for the British empire is concessions, foreign settlements and extra-territorial rights. The conception of extra-territoriality lies at the root of all their colonial dealings and gives them a certain consistency, beneath their superficial opportunism. Administrative responsibility is avoided as far as possible. When such responsibility is assumed it is done with reluctance and for the primary purpose of creating stable economic and political conditions for profit-earning co-operation between British capital and native labour and natural resources. Dependencies which are actually governed are secondary forms derived from the extra-territorial prototype to meet special circumstances. "Government is conceived as a regrettable but sometimes necessary outgrowth from extra-territoriality, and is felt as something whose scope it is always advisable to restrict to the minimum."

This hypothesis no doubt is capable of accounting for all the characteristic features of British Imperialism. There is a grotesque discrepancy between the paper principle of no racial discrimination and the extremely thorough practical elaboration of the colour bar in industry, trade, law, education, public and social services, property ownership, political representation and entry into government service. Britain shrinks from any positive or constructive role in colonial affairs. The British Imperialists have the profound conviction that the art of government consists in bringing about some kind of balance of pre-existing social forces and interests, while declining all effort to impart a consciously chosen direction to the social process as a whole.

British "Trusteeship"

Barnes next discusses the trusteeship theory as the foundation of British colonial policy. He suggests that trusteeship arises as a secondary feature of policy in the secondary type of dependency—the type of depen-

dency in which Britain does assume direct administrative responsibility. In the last two or three generations, Britain, and indeed every advanced country, has been driven to introduce universal compulsory education, a complicated system of social insurance, and a wide range of social services, in order to maintain the working population at the level of technical efficiency required to enable the ruling groups to pursue the art of power politics with some hope of success. In the same way and for very similar reasons there comes a stage, as world economic relations grow more closely integrated, when even the iron frame in the colonies has to be padded and upholstered a little, if the natives who toil within it are to be kept sweet and made competent to carry out the technical tasks which world economy imposes on them.

In trying to appraise the whole colonial situation, one has to see this trusteeship question in proportion. The zone of the effective operation of trusteeship is evidently small by comparison with the total social area involved; trusteeship measures actually touch only a little minority of the population. The indices of literacy and of infant mortality, to take two examples at random, are enough to show that. Education in the colonies is never compulsory and it is far from being universal. The social services and public utilities are incomplete and fragmentary in the extreme.

For some months even after this war started the British were still clinging desperately to their pet formula that each dependency should be self-supporting from the standpoint of the public finance. This means that until the early summer of 1940 they were committed to a mainly negative and passive interpretation of trusteeship. Barnes calls it a sort of atomic self-sufficiency which has now been abandoned—nominally. The British authorities announced in 1940 that financial assistance for development and welfare schemes in the colonies would be granted up to a maximum of £5 million a year. The total population of the British colonial empire, excluding India, is about 60 million. The British Government has, therefore, expressed its pious wish to spend 1s. 8d. per colonial head per year on implementing the trusteeship principle. But in practice, Britain does not do even this. The *Economist* records that the total financial assistance given to the colonies under the new scheme was just over £800,000 up to the end of 1941—about one-seventh of what should have been spent if the rate of £5 million a year were maintained. In other words, on Britain's new 'activist' interpretation of the trusteeship, they have allocated from central funds over a year and a half about 3d. per head of the colonial population for welfare and development. This effective rate of 3d. a year does not suggest that the improvement in conditions at the colonial end is likely to be very striking. The *Economist* mentions, by the way, that the Chairman of the committee which settles these allocations has another full time job, and can spare only an hour a week to the committee's business. Then Barnes says that if the *Economist's* version of the facts be accurate, apart from its views, those responsible for the administration of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act are, according to Soviet notions, wreckers and saboteurs. In Soviet Russia, they would be arrested, put on trial, and if convicted sentenced to a fair slice of imprisonment. In Britain, however, they remain undisturbed in posts of consideration and influence, and apparently give satisfaction to the highest authorities. Something

more deep-seated than hypocrisy may be tracked down in the trusteeship principle. In considering the practical significance of the trusteeship principle, one has to remember firstly that its benefit extends only to a small minority of the colonial population, secondly that it was a negative principle until 1940, thirdly that since then British official agents have indeed pursued it in its positive form but in a remarkably half-hearted manner and on a remarkably diminutive scale, and lastly that most of Britain's unofficial agents, such as settlers, mine-owners, banks and big trading concerns, do not make even a pretence of pursuing it in either form. This last matter is important, as the great bulk of the active relations between the British society and native societies of the colonies are conducted by these unofficial agents. The impact made by the officials and their policies is altogether less extensive, less sharp and less continuous. Trusteeship, in short, is a speciality of officialdom, and is of far less vital influence than the unofficial economic penetration by which it is vigorously and often bitterly repudiated.

The history of colonial trade affords abundant evidence that the terms of exchange are normally unfavourable to the native participant, whether he figures as buyer or as seller. Indeed, colonies are valued precisely because colonial trade can offer it continuously over a longer period than can trade with sovereign, independent, and one may add, well-armed countries. Orthodox British spokesmen appear to overlook all these points when they expatiate on the topic of trusteeship.

Power Politics Behind Middle East Oil

The *Commerce* writes in its issue dated July 21 :

The oil resources in the Middle East are enormous, with great supplies still untapped. The major fields are in five Provinces of North Persia, and in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and their neighbourhood. The eyes of the Big Three have, for a fairly long time, been concentrated on these rich resources. The United States is interested in their exploitation as its own oil reserves are stated to be getting depleted. Britain has no natural reserves in its homeland and has, for several years past, enjoyed concessions in exploiting oil resources in Iran. Russia is interested in Middle East oil areas for more reasons than one—both economic and political. From the Czarist days, Russia has enjoyed oil concessions in the northern Provinces of Persia; and, with the recapture of Rumanian and Polish oilfields, it cannot pretend to be short of oil for its internal needs. The interest it now evinces in this direction is twofold: first, for claiming a right in the South to ship oil from the Persian Gulf, back through the Suez and the Dardanelles, to Batum and feed its export markets; and second, with a view to exercising political hegemony in the areas extending as far as the Persian Gulf.

Whatever may be their respective motives, the Big Three, in their mutual interests, are anxious to avoid a clash in the Middle East region; indeed, there have been evidences of anxiety on the part of Britain and the U.S.A. to arrive at an agreement on the issue with Russia. It is pretty certain that the Middle East oil question will come up for discussion at the Potsdam Conference now in conclave. Early last year, there were suggestions that some link between the three countries had been established in regard to the development, sale, and distribution of oil from the Middle East, but they lacked confir-

mation. There have, however, been pointers suggesting that moves have been afoot for a world-wide agreement covering the development and conservation of oil resources. America is especially appreciative of the fact that agreement between the Big Three would enable them "to control 95 per cent of the known oil resources of the world, and would be an effective weapon at the Peace Conference as well as international trade and policies."

India has also been included in this zone of trading interest. It has been openly alleged that all the prospecting licenses for oil have been granted to European companies and no contradiction of this allegation has as yet come to our notice.

Separation of Races in South Africa

The following report appears in the *Natal Mercury* of South Africa :

The Bill, of which Mr. H. G. Lawrence, Minister of Welfare, gave notice in the House of Assembly, comprises five clauses and a number of regulations which will permit the State to take almost whatever action is deemed necessary to end the present dangerous shortage of roofs for the population.

While the full details of the Bill have as yet not been made available to Parliament, I understand that the regulations will enable Provincial Administrations to set up housing boards which will have powers largely parallel to those of the National Housing and Planning Commission. They will empower such housing boards to expropriate for housing purposes and to take steps towards the separation of races. In this respect the provisions of the Natal Housing Ordinance, passed last year by the Natal Provincial Council will be validated.

The Bill is a most contentious one, but some protection is afforded by the fact that the drastic powers to be conferred upon executive authorities must be reviewed in three years.

One of the greatest obstacles—that of building and auxiliary trade union support—has, I understand, been overcome as a result of the active work of Mr. Ivan Walker, the Secretary for Labour.

The Bill will authorise the National Housing and Planning Commission to act for the Government, to commence building operations without delay, to acquire in bulk building materials necessary for national housing, to undertake experimental construction, and to requisition land on a basis of 30 days' notice. Most of these features were incorporated by the Defence Department at the outbreak of the war.

Recently Mr. Lawrence, in the Union Senate, warned the country that these methods would be adopted to meet the housing shortage.

Commenting on the Housing Bill, *Indian Opinion*, an organ of the Indians in South Africa, writes : "We have no doubt that the other object of this Bill is to provide for the separation of races. The Bill will empower the provinces to set up their own Housing Boards. Natal will be the first to put into operation the powers given to the Provincial Councils under this Bill. Indians in Natal will be the first to bear the brunt of the separation of races. And it must follow Indians in Transvaal and in the Cape will also be faced with the operation of the separation of races by their Provincial Administrations. All Indians sooner or later will become the subject of racial separation and so also other non-European races."

The *Indian Opinion* does not seem to have any illusion about the High Commissioner in South Africa or his masters at New Delhi. It clearly says that "he is not the representative of an Indian National Government. If he were so appointed by such a National Government, he would have taken his cue in all he did from his National Government. We are not yet near to that National Government."

The passing of this Bill in its present form is a clear breach of the Capetown Agreement and Gandhi-Smuts Agreement. Such breach of agreement on the part of the South African Government is nothing new. a similar breach of both these Agreements was deliberately made when the Asiatic Land Tenure and Trading Act was passed. It is natural that such breaches will be more frequent when the war is over and South Africa no longer needs Indian blood to defend her freedom. General Smuts has expressed his anxiety to build a better world. He has started with Indian baiting just as the Nazi Fuehrer had begun his world mission with Jew baiting.

Unholy Alliance Between Indian and British Industrialists

A scathing indictment of what is considered as an unholy alliance between the British and Indian industrialists for the management of Indian industries was made by Mr. Jagmohandas Kapadia at the last quarterly general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay. The speaker informed the House that he had received information from London which showed that the process of mortgaging managerial rights over Indian industries had already begun. The speaker gave details of his information to indicate that certain Indian industries had concluded contracts with the British Companies the effect of which, was to start Indian Companies with such capital structures as would enable two classes of shares to be issued—shares of a higher denomination and shares of lower denominations—the British and the Indian industrialists taking up the bulk of the shares of the lower denomination whose voting rights were the same as those of the shares of the higher denomination. By such devices, said Mr. Kapadia, a complete alliance between the British and Indian industrialists was achieved on the Indian industrial front so far as management of Indian industries was concerned. The speaker further revealed that under the arrangement explained by him the British and the Indian managing agents were to share in the managing agency remuneration as also in the royalties to be paid to the British company. Besides, the Chairman and the Director of the Board were all subject to the approval of the British concern. It was also provided that no changes could be made in the Articles of Association which would disturb the equilibrium regarding the voting rights. In the opinion of the speaker these arrangements were repugnant to the canons of patriotism, and he felt that the stage was reached when it had become necessary for the Committee of the Chamber to criticise the industrialists who entered into such unpatriotic deals.

Mr. M. A. Master, President of the Chamber, said, "It is reported by some of the responsible industrial leaders, who have returned to this country after visiting Great Britain and America, that they have received advice from responsible government quarters that it

would not be wrong to allow the foreigners to participate in the Indian ventures to the extent of 30 per cent." This apparently innocent concession will be sufficient to hand over complete control over the Indian industries to the foreigners. Judging from the practice to-day, it is found that Managing Agents who hold 30 per cent of the shares of a concern are able to exercise complete control over them. Indian shareholders, holding 70 per cent of the shares, are scattered all over this vast sub-continent, and it is not possible for them all to assemble. The maximum attendance of shareholders in a company's general meeting is barely 50 per cent, usually much less. Control over a compact group of 30 per cent easily gives a managing agent or a managing director full powers over the company. Mr. Master has also pointed out that there has not been, and can never be generally cent per cent voting. It will, therefore, be realised that even 10 or 15 per cent participation by foreigners in capital will give them not only a substantial control of the industries but it will also give them the opportunity of exercising the right and power of veto on such progress and development of the industry as may be prejudicial to the interest of the foreigners in the future. The country will eagerly wait to know the identity of those members of the Industrial mission who have taken this opportunity to betray their country for personal gains.

U. N. R. R. A. and India

The U.N.R.R.A. has assumed quite a lot of importance to India. It is absolutely callous in respect of providing relief for the devastated areas in Bengal and Assam which have suffered as a direct result of Jap invasion. But it shows great eagerness to squeeze out more and more money from the Indian exchequer. One must not forget that the sole task of this organisation is to extend relief mainly to the European destitutes. Asia is as yet excluded from its sphere of operation. Allegations of blackmarketing activities have been made against some of its workers which is being investigated by the British police. Americans also are demanding an inquiry.

At the U.N.R.R.A. Conference recently held in London, question arose of implementing its financial resources by increasing the contributions from each country by one per cent. This means in effect doubling the contributions. The original contribution was based at one per cent of the contributing country's revenue. India gave 8 crores. Increasing the contribution by one per cent more means doubling and naturally India would be called upon to pay Rs. 8 crores more. Indian delegation refrained from voting on the demand for increase at the Conference because India could not afford to make this increase. The magnitude of India's contribution is realised from the Indian High Commissioner's statement who pointed out that out of a total contribution of 70 million dollars to that body, 24 millions, or more than one-third was contributed by India. Sir Samuel Ranganathan, at the final session, said :

India cannot be insensitive to the pressing needs of relief in those countries which have endured occupation by enemy. Her long humanitarian traditions preclude that her attitude to the suffering in any part of the world should show any lack of sympathy. India particularly welcomes the promised extension of the beneficent activities of U.N.R.R.A. to the Far

East which the collapse of Japan now makes possible. Without allocation of substantial proportion of U.N.R.R.A.'s funds to the relief in the Far East, India would regard the work of U.N.R.R.A. as seriously defective. My Government realises that U.N.R.R.A.'s existing funds will prove inadequate to meet the total needs of first-aid in Europe and Asia. Nevertheless India though spared of extensive devastation by enemy has suffered severely through war. Her position as base for major operations has involved very heavy direct financial commitments on her Government and she has greatly strained her internal economy which has always lacked that margin of safety which is normal in many other countries. India herself has during war been without consumption goods which U.N.R.R.A. is bringing to the recipient countries. Against this background and expenditure on internal relief of over 700,00,000 dollars, contribution of 240,00,000 dollars has already been voted by India.

We must remember another significant fact that although India contributes more than one-third of its total fund, she has no seat on its Central Committee which consists of Great Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China. Although Indian delegation did not vote, it has now been given out that "all contributing countries have agreed to recommend their Governments double this payment to the organisation's fund."

India has nothing to do with wars. She never participated in fomenting them. It is utterly shameless to call upon India to pay heavily in rehabilitating the areas devastated by the warlike activities of the Europeans themselves. Indian blood and money have been largely used against her wish in this act of destruction and it is monstrous to call upon her to contribute for their relief when her own people are in the direct need of relief. No western country ever came to her help when she needed it.

Government of India's Mineral Policy

The mineral policy of the Government of India has long been an object of mystery. The Geological Survey of India, dealing with India's minerals, was established in 1842, and it was only in 1945, i.e., more than a century later, the mineral policy of the Government was enunciated for the first time. Even this was, done grudgingly by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on a cut motion moved by Mr. K. C. Neogy. He began his statement with the frank confession, "I shall be very candid and say that the Government of India so far had really no mineral policy." The Government of India have recently declared their industrial policy. This declaration dismisses the mineral policy in one sentence by stating that steps were being taken to extend the geological survey. The only specific reference was to coal but even that was confined to a bare statement that the case of coal would be examined and dealt with separately.

The Government of India's mineral policy came up for discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly over the question of the election of a member to the Advisory Committee for the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India. Mr. K. C. Neogy, who initiated the debate, referred to a Conference which was presided over by Sir Feroz Khan Noon, while he held charge of the Department, on July 6, 1942, at which a lengthy statement was made by Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey of India, in the course of which

he called attention to the disgraceful policy of the Government of India in regard to the development of India's mineral resources during the last century or so.

Mr. Neogy said :

Dr. Fox, in announcing the constitution of the Utilisation Branch of the geological survey at the conference, referred to the fact that India even from pre-historic days—he referred to 2,000 B.C.—was a manufacturing country in respect of important metals and was actually exporting manufactured steel to other different parts of the world. With the British connection, however, the whole picture was changed and Dr. Fox made the astounding revelation that the importance of geological work on the part of the Government was realised only in the interests of getting coal for the purpose of supplying ships which came from Europe with merchandise to this country. That was the first step that was taken for the purpose of undertaking geological activities in this country at the instance of the Government of India. (*Central Assembly Proceedings, dated September 14, 1942.*)

Mr. Neogy pointed out that a specific reference to the year 1902 was made by Dr. Fox. He said that in that year the Department possessed six specialised mineral experts and was prepared for a big utilisation drive. The Government of India of those days did not agree to this work of utilisation and stripped the department of its personnel by turning the experts into simple mining inspectors. The Government took the view that the department was concerned in getting minerals for export to other countries and was not interested in the question of manufacturing anything out of these minerals. This is what Dr. Fox said : "The work of geologists in India was mainly to promote the export of raw materials rather than encourage industrial development in this country?"

Forty years later, after the fall of Burma, the Government's conscience was roused and they entertained Dr. Fox's proposal to establish a Utilisation Branch. This Branch has been manned mostly by the Burma evacuees so far as important appointments were concerned. At the opening of the Utilisation Branch we had been given an idea that utilisation was really desired by the Government. No doubt it began during a critical period in the war, but that was nothing more than an incidental feature. It would continue after the war. But in fact, with the improvement of the war situation in Asia, specially Burma, the activities of the Utilisation Branch have been curtailed and it is a fact that it is now in a moribund condition. It will not be surprising if India still remains a mere exporter of raw materials as has been the case so far.

The first clear statement on the Government's mineral policy came from Dr. Ambedkar on March 12, 1945. He said :

The mineral policy of the Government of India and the action which the Government of India propose to take in furtherance of that policy falls into two parts : in the first place we propose to reconstitute the Geological Survey of India in order to make it a more potent instrument for the furtherance of our policy. Accordingly, a detailed scheme of expansion of the survey has been drawn up and administratively approved. The new branches of the Geological Survey which we propose to set up will deal with engineering geology, industrial utilisation of minerals, central mineral development, geo-physical work, oil development. It will include the

establishment of a natural history museum and a publicity section in order to keep the public informed of what is being done.

Dr. Ambedkar said that the second part of the Government's mineral policy consists of legislation which the Government of India propose to initiate for the purpose of establishing control over minerals.

Government of India's Mineral Policy in Action

Within six months of this declaration, we have got a foretaste that the mineral policy of the Government will be administered quite in keeping with its traditional practice of exploitation of Indian resources for the benefit of Britain. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in an editorial article published early in August, stated that recruitment in the expanded Geological Survey was going to be made on racial considerations. Provisions for the appointment of a large number of foreigners have been made by earmarking the big posts for non-Asiatics and it was revealed that an Italian expatriate was going to be one of the fortunates to be selected. Indians have so far been carefully kept out of the highest posts on the Survey. The usual plea is that there are no experts among Indians. But we have a suspicion that Indian officers are not allowed to become experts. If an Indian expert is not given a scope for gaining experience, there is no chance of perfecting their knowledge during the tenure of their office. This careful discouragement provides the Government with the usual plea that Indians are no experts.

The manner in which the Government's mineral policy works, has been further illustrated in the review of the mineral resources and industries of India and their post-war development drawn up by the Minerals Advisory Committee formed by the Mining, Geological and Metallurgical Institute of India. In 1930, at the third Empire Mining and Metallurgical Congress, held in South Africa, this Institute was represented by Mr. E. L. G. Clegg and Mr. F. G. Percival. The former had subsequently become the Director of the Geological Survey of India. It was resolved in this Congress, "that the proposal to institute a 'Review of the mineral resources and industries of the Empire and the conditions affecting their development' be submitted to the Imperial Conference which will assemble in London on September 30, 1930, in the hope that the proposal . . . may meet with general approval . . ." These proposals were submitted to the Imperial Conference of 1930 which adopted the following resolution :

The Conference recommends to the favourable consideration of the various governments that steps should be taken by each part of the Commonwealth to compile along the lines of a common plan existing information of its mineral resources, and where practicable, to make a survey of those resources with a view to completing such information, arrangements for the settlement of the form of programme and for the correlation of results to be undertaken by a Central Committee on which such governments as so desire, the Imperial Institute, and Mining and Metallurgical Institutions of the Commonwealth would be represented.

The Review referred to is the continuous result and the object of the Report, as stated in the Review, published only a year or two ago, "is two-fold : (a) to place before the Empire Council the views of this

Institute on India's mineral position so that the Empire Council can include them in whatever plans it may adopt for the Empire in its endeavour to take part in the discussions on the future of the mineral and metallurgical industries on the cessation of hostilities; (b) to place before the Government of India the views of this Institute in the hope that such official action as is necessary will be taken."

Discussing the Atlantic Charter from the Indian and International viewpoint, even these Reviews that are made to serve Imperial interests state: "It cannot by any stretch of the imagination be contended that India has placed any restrictions on the free availability of its mineral raw materials to the world. On the contrary, there is much to appreciate in the contention that the world's industry has gained more from the use of Indian minerals than Indian trade itself has gained; indeed the argument has been advanced by some that most of these minerals have been exported in the raw state to the detriment of Indian industrial possibilities."

It must be clear that the mineral policy of the Government of India has been kept carefully separate from the industrial policy. Dr. Ambedkar had stated, in his declaration, dated, March 12, referred to before, that "the mineral policy of any government is necessarily dependent upon the industrial policy of that government. Minerals necessarily play a great part in the industrial development of the country and if the country has no industrial policy, obviously there cannot be a mineral policy at all." The Government of India's industrial policy has been officially declared after this statement. The inherent connection between the mineral and the industrial policy, so candidly stated by Dr. Ambedkar, has been left undefined in it. Is it because the Government of India still desires to keep the two separate or due to a lack of co-ordination between Dr. Ambedkar and Sir A. R. Dalal's Departments?

War-time Development of Banking in India

Sir Chintaman Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, in his speech at the last annual meeting of the Bank, discussed some features of the war-time development of Banking in India. Some of these features were in evidence even before the outbreak of war, but the plethora monetary conditions which the war has brought in its wake seem to have intensified them, and though the extent of these unsound practices is yet to be ascertained, available information, specially given out by Sir Chintamon, indicates that they are sufficiently widespread to need a word of caution. The first among these is "the tendency among a few banks to acquire control of non-banking companies by the purchase of the latter's shares, regardless of the price and yield and the effects of the deal on the bank's financial position. Closely allied to this one the interlocking of interests between banks and concerns and the holding of large blocks of shares of companies controlled by the management or directors, the flotation of investment trusts for such purposes, and in general the tendency to use a part of the depositors' money for the benefit of the management against the traditional canons of safety, profitability and liquidity."

The second undesirable feature is "the indiscriminate branch banking engaged in by a number of banks, with the object of attracting deposits at high rates of

interest in places which already have adequate banking facilities resulting in the banks' temptation to make larger profits by assuming greater risks in making advances or in giving undue facilities to borrowers. In some cases, the expenditure incurred on branches is out of all proportion to the resources of the institution or the capacity of the head office or available trained staff to control them officially."

The third undesirable feature "is the excessive manipulation practised, in a few instances, at the time of the preparation of balance sheets which give an altogether misleading impression of the bank's financial position to the shareholders and auditors, particularly in respect of deposits." Besides these, "there are also indications that certain banks, which obtained windfall profits through speculative operations in shares or Government securities or the revaluation of either investments or immoveable properties, have frittered them away in paying dividends instead of following the sounder and more conservative policy of strengthening their reserves."

These unwholesome features are sought to be removed by the present Banking Bill, now with the Select Committee. But judging from the draft Bill we are not quite sure how far it will succeed in removing them. The Bill as it stands now, is not sufficient to meet all the realities of our banking problem. Its chief defect is that it is essentially negative in character and seeks to give much more powers at the hands of the big banks at the cost of smaller ones. It embodies no plan for the healthy growth of the entire credit structure of the country and makes no provision for safeguarding the genuine Indian banking against the unequal competition of the foreign banks.

In this connection we may mention the Banking Act and the Commonwealth Bank Act recently passed by the Federal Parliament of Australia. Both these Acts have their positive aspects, and are not purely negative in character like our Indian Banking Bill. Under the Australian Banking Act it is now mandatory for any bank that may be unable to meet its obligations, to inform the Commonwealth Bank, which can then take over the bank and operate it until all deposits have been repaid or suitable provision made for their repayment. The great need for such a provision in the Indian Banking Bill will be realised within the coming few months. A crop of bank failures may be apprehended when the prices of gold, machinery and commodities go down the cover limit and immediate demands for repayment are not fully met. Our Reserve Bank will be nothing more than a mere statue if and when a bank crash comes. Bank crashes are likely to be widespread all over the world, as had been the case after the last Great War. While other countries are taking steps to prevent such a catastrophe the Government of India is sleeping and the Governor of the Reserve Bank is busy merely delivering sermons over the unwholesome practices instead of doing his best to devise means to tide over the impending crisis.

Two of the more important features of the second Act, the Commonwealth Bank Act, may also be mentioned here for the enlightenment of our financial experts. They may very profitably be introduced in India. The most important addition in the Commonwealth Bank Act is the Industrial Finance Department which will provide long-term finance for industry, particularly small undertakings. The second feature is the special provision for the Commonwealth Bank to

make housing loans. These will be on a credit foncier system to individuals and prescribed building societies to build and buy homes or pay off mortgage on homes. Preference will be given to those who wish to build their own homes. With a limit of £1,250, loans will be made to individuals up to 85 per cent of the security. Repayment will be over a period of not less than five years and not more than 35 years. Interest rates will be as low as practicable.

Rowlands on Tax Dodging

Sir Archibald Rowlands, Finance Member to the Government of India, discussed tax dodging and reorganisation of Government machinery in an interview with the New Delhi correspondent of the *Free Press* (July 29). He said that in England people tried to exploit loop-holes in law to escape taxes but did not attempt to evade them when clearly due under law. It is difficult to draw a dividing line between "exploiting the loop-holes" practised in Britain and evasion alleged in India. To the common man, both appear almost the same in intent and effect. But to those who have a comparative knowledge about the tax systems of Britain and India will understand that there is genuine cause for evasion of tax. The tax burden in this country is very much higher and in several cases extremely unjust. For example, Income-tax in India is the same for every earning which makes no discrimination whatsoever in respect of bachelors, small families or large families. It is, therefore, quite natural that an income tax assessee with a large family will try his best to evade tax. In respect of income tax on companies, the most glaring discrimination between a British and an Indian firm is made. The former's assessment is done on its balance sheet and the whole procedure is finished within a few hours while an Indian firm has to submit all its account books for assessment. Days and weeks and sometimes months are wasted in arriving at the taxable figure which means unnecessary expenses and vexation for the company. The Excess Profits Tax is another shameless example of discrimination in taxing British and Indian companies. The British people has another advantage over Indians in this country. When a taxation measure is passed in any Indian legislature, they secure legal exemptions by utilising their political advantage in this country. The partial exemption secured by Tea Companies which are mainly British from Income-tax or from Agricultural Income-taxes are well-known. We do not claim to know what exactly happens in Britain in the matter of tax dodging, but we find that in India, the British people are no less eager to evade taxation than the citizens of this country. The only difference is that evasion is legally secured by the British while a colossal amount of tax is gathered from the poor people of the country groaning under one of the most unjust and inequitable systems of taxation in the world.

Rowlands on Reorganisation of Government Machinery

In the same interview, Sir Archibald discussed the problem of the reorganisation of Government machinery and said that such reorganisation was long overdue. Two of his most significant sentences are: "If the Viceroy's Council consisted of members commanding general support in the legislature and country, their

task of dealing with difficult and complex problems that lie ahead would obviously be easier than that of a government lacking such support. A government formed by such representative Indians would doubtless find the legislature co-operating with constructive criticism. Sir Archibald frankly admitted that the present government was necessarily less in touch with public opinion than a representative government. His admission is very important because it is the considered opinion of one who had the opportunity of examining the entire governmental machinery of the biggest province in India. His report on the Bengal Administration indicates that it has left a bitter taste in his mouth. This report is a positive proof, if proof was needed, of the danger a government runs in allowing its administrative machinery to be drifted away from the firm moorings of a public vigilance. Power without responsibility is an opiate which is bound to turn the heads of the officials and the entire administration is then thrown open to bribery, jobbery and corruption. The shelter they seek behind control measures and increased powers will always prove inadequate and claim for more powers will ever remain incessant. This is exactly the condition today. One of the fundamental causes of the utter lack of the Bengal Administration to cope with the last famine was an unbridled exercise of power without the slightest responsibility to the people. A paper responsibility to a foreign government through Governors or the Governor-General means nothing. It merely provides an additional cover for official misdeeds as it invariably does under the present conditions.

How Control Hits Handloom Weavers

The President, Madras Sourashtra Weavers' Association, writes in the *Free Press*, Madras, (Aug. 5):

It is learnt that the Government are contemplating introduction of controls with regard to handloom cloths. The poor weavers are already suffering a great deal due to the lack of adequate supply of yarn every month. Originally each weaver was supplied 6 bundles of yarn a month; later on the Government Controller reduced the quota to 3 bundles, while in fact only 1½ bundles are supplied. Thus the weavers have only work for one week in the month and go without any work for the rest of the month. The condition of the weavers is very pitiable. And this reduced supply of yarn has also been responsible for the increased cost of handloom clothes.

Introducing control will only add to their misery. If the Government will, instead of introducing control make early arrangements for supplying at least 6 bundles of yarn to each weaver, the position will not only ease, but the prices of handloom clothes will also come down. Then there will be no necessity for any kind of a control. Furthermore, individual weavers work on a very small capital; most of them are uneducated, and cannot therefore be expected to keep accounts, submit returns and reports, etc., which will become inevitable were control to be introduced.

Control of a commodity produced by unorganised people is bound to lead to further chaos and exploitation. In Bengal, jute price has been controlled by the fixation of a maximum, and the result has been one of undiluted misery for the jute growers. The practice now is for the British Mills and the non-provincial brokers

to keep their shares of the profit out of this maximum, and only the remainder which is barely sufficient to pay for the cost of production goes to the grower. Of Bengal's golden fibre, gold goes to Britain and Marwar and malaria remains for the cultivator. The control measures have just legalised and perpetuated this process. We apprehend that control of handloom cloth will not be different. The poor weavers always in need of instant relief are at the mercy of the rich and powerful middlemen. The fabulous rise in the price of the handloom products has enriched only the middleman and the shopkeeper. Introduction of control measures, enforced by the present administrative machinery surcharged with inefficiency and corruption will open up further avenues of exploitation. Control measure can never be successful unless introduced by a national government, operated solely in the interest of the nation and administered by honest and efficient officials responsible to the people.

Treatment of Indian Prisoners

Treatment of Indian prisoners formed the subject of an interpellation in the newly constituted British Parliament. The answer given by Mr. Henderson, Under-Secretary for India, makes one believe that although Mr. Amery has left India Office, his files are on the Secretary's table and answers to Indian affairs will be culled from them by labour stalwarts whenever questions on India are raised. Replying to Miss Rathbone, Mr. Henderson gave a rosy picture of conditions in Indian prisons admitting by the way that some lapses had occurred 10 or 15 years ago as if things were all right now. He said :

Mr. Henderson said that the Secretary of State for India had made inquiries of authorities in India as to the allegations referred to in Miss Rathbone's question and in other recent allegations in the press. He is informed that there is no foundation whatever for allegations that torture was used in the Andaman islands, that prisoners are kept in cells 6 feet by 4 feet and deprived of water and that a particular prisoner was made to sit on blocks of ice. As regards an alleged incident in Midnapore the Government of Bengal have reported that the allegations relate to the period 1930-32. At a time when there was widespread disorder and terrorism the gaols became overcrowded with this new type of prisoner creating unusual difficulties of administration, and resort was sometimes made to exceptional measures to maintain order, including flogging. The description of a scene during such happenings in the allegations to which Miss Rathbone refers is, I am advised, completely untrue. As regards two alleged incidents in a prison in Bengal during the period of 1930-32 following terrorist and communal disturbances, I am awaiting a further report from Government of Bengal in regard to them.

The Central and Provincial Governments in India have never tolerated the use of third degree methods in any shape or form, and have never hesitated to take disciplinary action against any of their officers who exceeded their instructions.

The latter part of Mr. Henderson's answer has absolutely no relation to actual state of affairs which obtain even to the present day. Confinement in dungeons called cells, standing handcuffs, twenty-four-hour bar fetters are some of the third degree methods practised in Indian prisons even a short time ago. Neglect of medical treatment of political prisoners

resulting in death has been recorded in the pages of the official proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Lathi charges on unarmed prisoners, both political and ordinary, have been quite frequent, the latest instance is not even a few months' old. Firing in the prison or detention camp resulting in deaths has also been resorted. Bad food, bad treatment and worse medical aid are general features of Indian prison administration.

We quote below the comment of the *Independent*, Nagpur (Aug. 20) on the subject :

Not a week passes without coming across, either in the press or in personal talks, complaints about the conditions of political prisoners, either security or convict, especially in the lower class.

The stories we some times hear are disquieting. Diet, health and general treatment are said to be extremely unsatisfactory. Prisoners are kept in solitary cells for months together, or awarded other severe penalties for the smallest lapses. The worst part of it is that, either by accident or deliberate policy, these complaints do not reach higher authorities.

But even if the complaints reach proper authorities, there is no guarantee that they will be speedily and impartially redressed. The experience is that whenever Government is confronted with complaints, it countermands them by blandly drawing attention to the written rules or statements of policy which by themselves provide no scope for ill-treatment of prisoners.

And yet persecution goes on, making one wonder if Government has two sets of policies, one for public consumption and another for actual practice.

In any case Government's confidence in its officials, be he a warder or a jail superintendent, is almost unlimited. Their infallibility in the discharge of their duties is taken for granted, so that very often it appears that an inquiry into a complaint is conducted more to seek out loopholes for their escape than to bring them to book fairly and squarely.

We have deliberately avoided citing specific cases, because they can all be fitted into the general setting given above.

It has become an established practice that the Secretary of State must see through the ears. His ears are opened to the statements of those very people who have participated in these perfidious acts. If he had wanted to exercise his eyes for the ascertainment of facts, he would have enough materials in Indian newspapers reaching his table.

General Election in India

Prior to his departure for London, Lord Wavell has announced general elections for all the Provincial Legislatures as well as the Central. We welcome this decision and we are glad to find that the Congress has taken up the matter. Although it may be difficult for them to prepare within so short a time, but even so we consider that they must face elections at any cost. The relative strength of the different parties must be tested at the earliest possible moment.

The most important issue in the coming elections will no doubt be the question of unity or division of India. The danger of the policy of appeasement is now crystal clear. The timid and nervous Congress policy on the communal question has been largely responsible for bringing the country to the present deplorable

state. We consider that it is high time to declare that no division on any ground whatsoever will be permitted. Congress must declare officially, as many of her leaders are individually doing, that India must remain united. With the full knowledge that a far more devastating third world war is already brewing, India cannot but remain united and indivisible. Concession of Pakistan will logically lead to the creation of Sikhistan, Achhutstans, etc., which will make India weak, divided and an easy prey to foreign aggression and domination.

Congress will do well to declare that any attempt at dividing India will be resisted with utmost strength even at the cost of a civil war. Abraham Lincoln did it and to-day he is recognised as one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever produced. Not only did the southerners demand separation, but even a number of slaves sent a petition to Lincoln challenging his right to set them free. Lincoln turned a deaf ear to all such demands and platitudes, compelled the southerners to remain within the federation and the result is the America of to-day. If the right to secede is granted to the American States to-day, even a fool will understand that none of them will break away.

The same has been the case with Canada. The French wanted to break away but the separation was forcibly prevented. The constitution drawn up by Durham on a strong centralised basis with a good deal of provincial autonomy has now proved to be an unmitigated boon to Canada.

In season and out of season the example of the U.S.S.R. is dangled before our eyes. We do not pretend to have a detailed knowledge of that land painted as a paradise. Broadly speaking, and judging from her actions, we find very little to choose between Churchill, Truman and Stalin. With a fallen enemy at the feet and with a treaty concluded with China, we find the Soviet bear pushing incessantly on towards Korea after having occupied the whole of Manchuria. The examples of Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Poland are also before us. Of the victorious Allies, it is Poland which has really lost the war and that at the hand of Russia. It is true that Russia is to-day a fully integrated and united country. No State in the U.S.S.R. came forward with a claim for separation when Stalin permitted them to secede if they wished. We must not forget in this connection the ruthless repression carried out in the initial stages for the building of a United Russia. Force was amply and fully applied to achieve unity first and when this unity was an accomplished fact, when every citizen completely understood the benefit of this unity, it was then and only then that the "concession" of separation was announced. We want the Congress to travel along those lines which history has proved to be the wisest. We are prepared to accept some concessions made to different communities in the shape of reservation of seats in the Legislatures but that must be done on the understanding, firstly, that it is for a temporary period clearly specified and secondly that joint electorates must be re-introduced forthwith.

The problem of Bengal must have a special consideration by the Congress as conditions here are peculiar and deserve special attention. Bengal is an integral and inseparable part of India and it must remain so for all ages to come. Congress policy towards Bengal has been rightly criticised as halting and short-sighted. Had a Congress-Krishak-Proja Coalition or even a benevolent neutrality of the Congress Party towards the Krishak-Proja Coalition been permitted, Muslim

League could never have gained any footing in this province. The short-sighted policy of the Congress High Command had forced Mr. Huq to the League-fold and the strength consequently gathered by the League meant a tremendous accession of strength by the All-India League. The Congress High Command must take timely precaution this time and should see that progressive forces in Bengal are given sufficient opportunity and encouragement to rally round the banner of the Congress.

Muslim People and the Capitalists

Mrs. Zubaida Khatoon's statement published in the *Tribune* (July 31) gives a good idea of the present-day thought-currents among the enlightened and educated Muslim ladies of the country. We give a few extracts below :

My humble request to Begam Bashir Ahmed, President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, Women's Committee is that she should look at our country's problems with a wider and more sympathetic outlook. Her remarks "... Muslim Unionist dare not say—they do not believe in Pakistan" are vague and irrelevant. We believe in the existence of so many things which we do not want. Pakistan will exclude about 3,00,00,000 Muslims which will be living in Hindustan. Who will look after their welfare? Her remarks "we will not tolerate the capitalist domination of Hindu majority" has my wholehearted support. But is it correct to say that we will tolerate the capitalist domination of our own community? To my mind it is the capitalist domination which we will not tolerate, and it will hardly improve the situation so long as a few, whether Muslim or Hindu capitalists, dominate the entire population.

As Begam Bashir Ahmed agrees that Muslim laws are Socialistic, she will, therefore, agree that we are fighting against capitalism and not Hindus, in which case millions of Muslims and Hindus will follow Begam Bashir Ahmed.

No exaggeration is made when we say that in Bengal and Assam, the most ruthless exploitation of the poor Muslim cultivators has been made by Muslim capitalists acting under the careful patronage of governments dominated by the Muslim League. In Assam startling revelations have been made in the course of the enquiry conducted into the affairs of the Grain Purchase Syndicate. In Bengal if any such enquiry be instituted, we are quite sure that the most sinister revelations will be made.

Difference in Hindu-Muslim Culture

Speaking about the differences in Hindu-Muslim culture, Mrs. Khatoon writes :

To quote the Begam again that 'our language and culture are so different' I feel obliged to say that the culture and language of Muslims and Hindus do not differ in one province so much as they do amongst Muslims themselves from province to province. This is true of Hindus also. Muslims and Hindus are having practically the same culture and language in the Punjab. But a Muslim or a Hindu of the Punjab has very little common in culture and language with a Muslim or Hindu of Assam or Bengal.

I can say without fear of contradiction that a young man or woman from the U.P. or Bengal, whether Muslim or Hindu, would hardly like to have

matrimonial alliances in the Punjab or the Frontier Province and *vice versa*. A further thinking will bring to light the fact that people from Northern India would not like to be married with those of Southern India. Imagine a village girl (87 per cent of Indian population is in the villages) of this province, tall and healthy with Shalwar and Kamiz married to a half-naked Tamil boy, and the former eating 'Idlee and Rasam' (pasted rice and tamarind soup) instead of using Roti and ghee. The question of culture and language is more vital amongst the Muslims themselves if the entire Muslim community of India is taken into consideration, than amongst the Muslims and Hindus within the same province. Pakistan will not solve this. It will not bring salvation to Muslims except a few capitalists. To hope that Muslims will move from Hindustan to Pakistan is idle imagination, which will never be true in case of villagers. Those who talk of Pakistan are dwellers of the towns and are in a microscopic minority. They forget the sentiments of the villagers who cling to that piece of land which is handed down to them by their forefathers, with the utmost affection, which they will not give up to get one, ten, times bigger in some other province. We are not fighting against Hindus or Sikhs, not even against the British. We are fighting against poverty, and capitalism which breeds poverty. In this fight we stand against all who impose poverty on us whether Muslims, Hindus or the British.

We have dealt on these points in these columns on several occasions before. They need not be repeated here.

Caste System Among the Muslims

Pointing out the existence of a caste system in the Muslim Society the enumeration of different castes among the Muslims had been carefully recorded in the Census Report of 1901. Since the adoption of the "favourite wife" policy of the British Government in 1905, the enumeration of castes in the Muslim community has been discontinued and this division has been carefully multiplied in the case of the Hindus. Obviously this was done to give the Muslim community an air of unity and to make the Hindus appear as a divided and disintegrated body. Regarding caste Mrs. Khatoon writes:

I may point out here that although we blame our Hindu brethren as caste-ridden community, we are as much caste-ridden in practice as any one else. Maybe we have borrowed this bad system of caste from the Hindus by living with them for thousands of years. But we cannot deny that it is there in our community which we should now eradicate. A Syed in the Punjab is more respected by Muslims than a Brahmin by Hindus. Pathans do not marry out of their circle. In the U.P. Qasi (butchers) and Julaha (weavers) do not marry each other; and it is a pity that they are considered as low class Muslims by the community itself. Where is the justice and universal brotherhood which our Prophet founded centuries ago?

My intention to find fault with my own community is two-fold—firstly to bring home the defects, so that they may be rectified; and secondly, to contend the notion of creating a difference between Muslims and Hindus or the pretext of divergence in culture, language and caste system, which is unfounded. It is a pity that other countries like Russia,

Switzerland and Egypt can successfully pave their way to peace in spite of wide differences in religion, language and in some cases culture. It is not true economically that religion is playing a vital part in our life. It is false to create divergence amongst Hindus and Muslims on the basis of religion. It is the economic bankruptcy in India which is the root cause of all evils. Look at Bengal who lost more men in one year due to bad management than the British Empire in 6-years' war.

Qaide-e-Azam has all my respect for his efforts to further the cause of our community. But Maulana, Azad and Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani are not fools to make a common cause with the Hindus to fight for freedom. Time is ripe enough for wider outlook to surpass baser communalism.

We take this opportunity to congratulate Mrs. Khatoon on her bold, firm and outspoken statement which contains a very welcome flair of sound and wise thinking.

Enlightened British Opinion on Jinnah

Mr. Jinnah has said that through his efforts the world has been impressed and can see now what he stands for. Like most people Mr. Jinnah naturally cannot see himself as others see him. It is possible that Imperialists look up to him as a great ally to be used and applauded as long as he furthers their interests. In spite of his talks about 'fight for freedom' his slogan "quit but pray divide before quitting" is what Mr. Jinnah thinks can be left as the high water mark of courage, human ethics and patriotism for posterity. It may interest the Moslem League in particular and the Indians generally to know how others see Mr. Jinnah and evaluate his efforts. In an interesting letter received by the Air Mail last week an Englishman writes to an Indian friend long associated with him his views about the Simla talks. The writer was long a member of the Indian Civil Service in Bengal and held responsible positions before he retired prematurely and is now engaged on Social and Educational work in England. He writes:

I think the breakdown of the Wavell proposals a real tragedy. Like you, I am firmly of opinion that the Hindu-Muslim differences owe most of their bitterness to British Policy. Had the British administration in India worked to bring the parties together they could easily have done so 50 years ago—now, certainly, it is much more difficult. But instead they actually exaggerated and harped on the differences. Jinnah I regard as India's evil genius. His claims are preposterous and are largely bluff based on the knowledge that he has the tacit support of Whitehall in holding up agreement. I did hope that Wavell would have called his bluff by saying to him "Very well, if you refuse to submit names I shall go ahead and form my Council without you from the names submitted by other parties." I can not help thinking that if he had been a free agent he would have done so—but that the price that Churchill exacted for agreeing to the proposals was that if there was any such difficulty as did actually occur there should be immediate reversal to the old system. It is, of course, notorious that Churchill loathes the idea of any concessions and would be only too glad to seize on any opportunity for continuing the old system. We were in fact surprised that he sanctioned the proposals at all and probably did so only because that he was confident that Jinnah would prove

obstinate and provide the necessary excuse for breaking up the conference. Churchill, as you know, is a very shrewd estimator of the baser factors in human nature and probably knew exactly how Jinnah would act if indeed he did not tip him the wink beforehand. The only hope now is the return of a Labour Government. I have no very high opinion of Labour Policy in reference to Imperialism. But at least they might reopen negotiations and give Wavell a free hand. There is a strong leader today in the *Reynold's News* which lays all the blame on Jinnah and openly advises a council without him and that paper represents the more enlightened Labour view.

This is what *Reynold's News* wrote editorially, commenting on the failure of the Simla Conference and alluded to in the foregoing letter :

It is time for plain speaking on India. Moslem League Chairman, Jinnah has again endangered plans for settlement of constitutional dead-lock by his insistence that League must be assumed to represent all Indian Moslems in plain defiance of fact that great number of them are enrolled under the banner of Congress. This is not the first time that Jinnah has been intransigent. How much longer can we allow him to sabotage every hopeful move?

Britain's duty is to do more than conciliate. When conciliation is manifestly being wrecked by action of one section then Britain has a duty is to say to Moslem League that we regret its attitude but we cannot allow it to keep a permanent stranglehold on plans for Indian Self-Government. We can say that we are going ahead with what we deem a just plan accepted by the largest Indian political movement; and that places are open for Moslem League when it wishes to take them.

Unless Britain grasps this nettle it seems on past experience that we can give up hopes of real progress towards Indian Self-Government.

Muslim Majlis Chief Refutes Jinnah's Claim

Refuting the Muslim League's claim to represent all the Muslims of India, Mr. A. M. Khwaja, President of the All-India Muslim Majlis, in a statement issued from Aligarh, says :

What is the Muslim League of today ? It is an institution which took its re-birth in 1926 under false pretences posing as a nationalist body, solemnly agreeing to work with the Congress and thus securing its support and that of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Nationalist Muslims belonging to different organizations. Immediately after the last general elections it began to show its true colours and was duly repudiated by all the nationalists. It then started at communal and anti-national agitation based upon misrepresentation of Islam and hatred of Hindus. In their desire to reconcile the League, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and others gave undue importance to Mr. Jinnah. Unfortunately, the Congress and Congress Ministries failed to appreciate the situation and to handle it properly. The baser elements of human nature which exist in all human beings and communities wrought the mischief which has resulted in the situation with which we are faced today.

I claim that the League does not represent the Muslim masses, but let us admit for the sake of argument that it represents the majority of the Muslims. Has a minority no right to exist or claim

representation ? If not, on what principle does Mr. Jinnah base his claim against the 30 crores of Indians ? If the Wavell offer is good for India who would suffer by its rejection—the Nationalist Hindus and Muslims, who by their terrible suffering and sacrifice have brought about the offer, or the Leaguers who have no record of any sacrifice or suffering in the cause of the Motherland ? Mr. Jinnah, unless he is playing a very deep game, must know that his followers consist mostly of men who in spite of their protestations will not be prepared to offer any sacrifice, and that as soon as the League loses the real or the supposed support of the Government, all the titled magnates and benefactors would dwindle away and the net result of the war cry of Pakistan and the ill-feeling nurtured by the League would merely lead to some Hindu-Muslim riots which would be ruinous to poor Muslims.

Mr. Khwaja agrees that the "Congress Working Committee as the Supreme National Council" is taking the correct attitude towards the various communities and the Nationalist Muslims. It is reassuring to find that progressive Muslims have now become more vocal and have unanimously joined in denouncing the League as the sole representative of the Mussalmans.

A Plea for an All-Bengal Electrical Grid

Mr. V. L. N. Row writes in *Science and Culture* for August :

Apart from the development of large-scale industries in a few scattered cities and towns, a well laid-out electrical distribution system in Bengal, when properly worked out, will doubtless bring about the much needed industrialization of the mofussil and rural areas and will further greatly contribute to the development of agriculture by providing cheap electricity. This diversion of industries into the interior of Bengal is the most necessary and desirable drive. It will effect a uniform distribution of employment throughout the province and will thus control the large influx of mofussil population into the metropolis, leading to the scarcity of housing accommodation, sanitary and other difficulties characteristic of a city.

This important problem of decentralization of industries in the mofussil districts throughout the country instead of crowding the cities and depleting the villages has curiously enough escaped the notice of the Bombay Planners.

At present there are roughly about 50 electric licenses in this province, out of which about 14 are held by the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation itself. All these are company managed except the one at Darjeeling which is a municipal undertaking. For large-scale and quick development a large hydro-electric or thermal grid scheme is essential. Though the largest group of hydro-electric and steam power stations in India are owned by private enterprises like the Tata Hydro-Electric and Calcutta Electric Supply and Tramways Co. Ltd., most others like the Mundy and Malakand schemes in the north-west or the Ganges Valley Hydro-Electric in the north and the Sivasamudram, Pykara and Mettur Power Schemes in the south would not have come into existence except for Government activity. Inter-connection of power stations and large-scale generation have always been found to be best done by an independent Government constituted body.

It is a very regrettable fact that the Government have not rendered any financial help whatsoever to

any business undertaking except to the municipal undertaking of electric supply at Darjeeling. The apathy of the Government, the present discriminating licensing system for which the Government are again responsible, and the failure to command adequate finance not forthcoming have largely arrested electrical development in Bengal.

Mr. Redclift, Electrical Adviser to the Government of Bengal, had suggested in 1939 a concrete scheme in his *Preliminary Report on the Position of Electrification of Bengal*. His plan may be operated even now with slight modifications if necessary. He divided Bengal into five separate generating areas as follows :

(1) A hydro-electric power station to be erected utilizing the waters of the river Teesta or Jaldhaka. This would supply electricity for the whole of North Bengal as far south as the river Ganges and as far east as the river Brahmaputra. This power station could also supply the whole of the Dooars and possibly Cooch Behar and any load in the neighbouring regions of North Assam.

(2) The second area could be conveniently supplied from steam-driven power stations in the coal fields and from Calcutta.

(3) The district of Bankura and a portion of Midnapore could be supplied from the proposed large Behar Government thermal station.

(4) The district of Mymensingh and Dacca could be supplied from a thermal power station at Cherrapunji where a hydro-electric power station is not advisable on account of the risk of earthquake tremors.

(5) A hydro-electric project utilizing the waters of the river Karnafuli could supply the Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong areas.

Bengal derives Rs. 20 lakhs annually from the present electricity tax. This amount could be utilised for this purpose. Mr. Redclift expressed the opinion that the completion of this scheme would ensure a supply of cheap electricity within five miles of the remotest village in Bengal and would involve an expenditure of about Rs. 6 crores. The Government of Bengal have already wasted Rs. 17 crores in two years in food transactions and have budgeted for a loss of about Rs. 6 crores during the current year. They are certainly able to find a capital outlay of Rs. 6 crores for this very important practical project only if they have the mind to do so. An honest effort in checking wastages and leakages would, we are sure, bring this money to them.

Educational Progress in Ceylon

The chief Imperialist agreement for denying self-government to the colonial countries is that the natives are backward and therefore unfit for self-government. Before attaining a self-governing status, they must learn the art of government dose by dose under the care, guidance and patronage of their white masters. Ceylon has given a straight reply to the worthlessness and hypocrisy of this plea in the recent Education Bill her native ministers have drawn up. The people of Ceylon have found out the key to democracy—universal and sufficient education. The provisions made in the Bill for the spread of education in the island has no parallel in modern world. From the short newspaper summary of the Bill we find that provisions for free

education from the kindergarten to the university stage have been provided. The education will be free in the fullest sense of the word, books, students' clothings, mid-day tiffin and if necessary the whole day's food and drink will be provided free by the State. This will apply from the primary schools right up to the university including the medical schools. Provision for seasonal health resorts for young students has also been made. Mother tongue has been given a prominent place in the plan, in the lower stages mother tongue will be the medium of education. Education will be compulsory for boys and girls, between five to fifteen years of age. The plan will mean an annual expenditure of Rs. 4 crores 80 lakhs, which will be met from State revenue.

The Education Bill, drawn up by the Education Minister Mr. Kannangare, has been approved by the Ministry and will shortly be introduced into the State Council as an official Bill.

Subhas Chandra Bose

It is difficult to realise that Subhas is no more. On at least two previous occasions the news of his death was circulated only to be disproved by his own voice over the air. Indeed even now the element of doubt is there, though the news has come through the Japanese official sources and is circumstantially connected with other facts that are capable of being proved at a later day. All the same one can hardly believe that that turbulent spirit, that indomitable and doughty fighter for his country's freedom, has gone to his final rest.

Tributes have been paid to his memory all over the country by all real lovers of freedom, the few of his own political creed that have refrained have done so because they are still hoping against hope that he is alive. He was the hero of that section of the younger generation of India that believes in freedom at all costs, and in his own province he was idolized by the youth. There are many true nationalists who differ from him regarding the ways and means but there is none that doubt his utter fearless devotion to the cause of the fatherland.

Patriotism burned like a clear, pure flame in Subhas. There was never any question of his serving any other master, or being guided by any other motive, excepting his fatherland and its freedom's cause. Imprisonment, repression, and frustration, all of that he suffered long, as well as virtual exile from his homeland, but it all failed to quench the fire that was the life of his life and the soul of his soul. If, indeed, he is at his Journey's End, then we can justly claim with the rest of the real lovers of Freedom all over the world, that he is answerable only to his Maker for all his actions. For no soldier ever went through the ordeal of fire for a better cause than that of Freedom nor was there in any warrior a higher spirit of devotion and sacrifice than that of those who give of their uttermost for their country.

Sir N. N. Sircar

In the death of Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, India has lost one of her foremost jurists. His talent had benefitted the whole of the country. As Law Member of the Government of India, he showed a remarkable spirit of independence and astuteness. He had to overcome great opposition in his attempt to amend the Indian Companies Act both from outside and also from within the Government. Three times he had to submit his resignation to Lord Willingdon in order to overcome internal difficulties. This amendment went a long way in curbing the arbitrary powers of the managing agents. He astutely fought one of the stiffest oppositions led by the European Group in the Central Assembly during the course of the legislation. The Insurance Act is one more of the successful legislative measures seen through by him.

As a delegate to the Round Table Conference, his greatest achievement was the securing of the allotment of nearly three-fourths of the jute export duty to the provincial revenue. This success of his efforts has permanently enriched Bengal's revenue position to the extent of some crores of rupees. Sir Samuel Hoare had a hard time with him. Sir Nripen had subjected him to a prolonged cross-examination and had put him in a very tight corner. He followed a persistent opposition to the Communal Award.

All along his life, he was a decent gentleman. His pleasant company is remembered by many. Late in life, he had published a class quarterly, the *Hindustan*.

Dr. G. S. Arundale

George Sidney Arundale was born in Surrey (England) on December 1, 1878, and was educated at Cambridge University. He came to India in 1903 with late Dr. Annie Besant and was associated with her for 30 years in education and politics. He was Principal of the Central Hindu College, Benares, and reported on the Kashmir educational system. Later he became Principal of the National University of Madras, which in 1914 conferred on him honorary degree of D.Litt., Rabindranath Tagore, Chancellor, signing his diploma. He was also, for a year, Minister of Education, Indore. For some years he was the Organizing Secretary of the All-India Home Rule League and was interned with Dr. Besant in 1917 under the Defence of India Act.

He had been General Secretary for the Theosophical Society in England, Australia and India. He first visited Australia in 1926 and took keen interest in activities for Australia's development; founded Who's for Australia League in 1929. In Australia he was the Bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church and lived in Sydney. He was

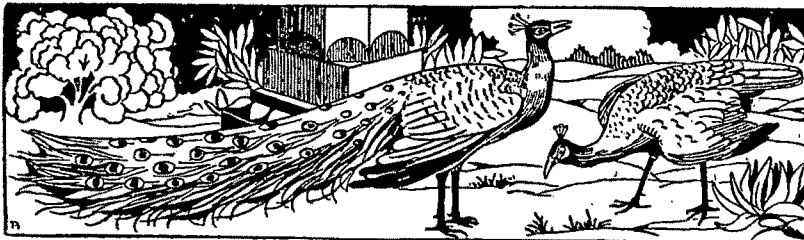
President of the New India League (1939); Chief Commissioner for the Hindustan Scout Association in the Madras Presidency (1939) and an original member of Indian Council on World Affairs (1944).

Dr. Arundale was the first Englishman to marry a high-caste Hindu girl, Rukmini Devi. He was chosen by Mrs. Annie Besant to teach J. Krishnamurti whom she had selected to be the world "messiah." After Mrs. Besant's death, Dr. Arundale succeeded her as President of the Theosophical Society in June, 1934.

Dr. Arundale, accompanied by Rukmini Devi, was in Delhi in December last, and addressing journalists gave expression to his burning desire for the immediate attainment of Swaraj by the land of his adoption. Paying his tribute to his departed soul, Mr. A. S. Iyengar, writing in *Roy's Weekly* (Aug. 19) narrates an incident which is quoted below :

Dr. G. S. Arundale was not a politician, though by reason of his association with Mrs. Annie Besant in the conduct of *New India* he had the distinction of being arrested. It was the summer of 1917 when the first World War was at its height and it was going against the Allies. Politicians began to be arrested under the Defence of India Act. *New India* was publishing articles couched in language of extremism, as extremism was then understood to be, urging Home Rule for India! It was evidently an embarrassing situation for the British Government in India and for Lord Pentland's administration in Madras. I happened to be present at the portico of the *New India* building when a Police Officer came in with a warrant of arrest to be served on Mr. Arundale. As soon as Mr. Arundale heard this, he himself came out to ascertain what the matter was. There was great sensation not only in the Second Line Beach but even in the High Court where the news had spread. But how do you think Arundale received the arrest warrant? With absolute calm and a perfect bonhomie! He did not even look at the warrant order and treated the whole affair as if it did not concern him. On the other hand, noticing that the Police Officer had two buttons missing on his coat, enquired "My dear friend, I see you have two buttons missing on your coat. Can I help you in seeing that they are restored?"! The Police Officer was not prepared for such a calm reception of a warrant order by almost the first journalist-cum-politician to be arrested. At any rate the incident showed that on critical occasions great men are always calm and do not allow personal feelings, whatever they may be, to get the better of their judgment.

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LONDON LETTER

From MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

The General Election

THE most significant election in Great Britain in the memory of man is over and the result has astonished the world and, in the extent of its landslide, has surprised even the victors. The Labour Party, for the first time in history, is not only in office but in power at Westminster with a strong majority. Numerous well-known House of Commons figures are gone, many of them never to return.

Mr. Winston Churchill entered the last Parliament not as a Conservative but as an Independent. He stood and captured his seat as the one and only 'Constitutionalist'. He was not even a member of the Conservative Party when war broke out in 1939. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the then Prime Minister, wanted to form a National Government but, so little faith had the Labour Party in him or his judgment, that they refused to serve in any Government of which he was the head and it was they who urged that he should resign and that Mr. Churchill should take his place, in which case they would co-operate wholeheartedly in forming a really National Government. The Conservatives were the strongest single party in the House and they saw the advantage to themselves, from the purely party point of view, of having Mr. Churchill as their Leader although they had persistently opposed him throughout the whole four years of the life of the Parliament up to that time. He was offered the Leadership of the Conservative Party and accepted the position—his first big blunder. He then had to consider the Conservative Party point of view instead of standing outside party and looking only to the National point of view.

Mr. Churchill had no illusions about the kind of men who had chosen him as their leader. As recently as 5th October, 1938, he attacked the Conservative Government in these words:

"When I think of the immense combinations and resources which have been neglected or squandered, I cannot believe that a parallel exists in the whole course of history.

"The responsibility must rest with those who have the undisputed control of our political affairs. They neither prevented Germany from re-arming, nor did they re-arm ourselves in time . . . They exploited and discredited the vast institution of the League of Nations and they neglected to make alliances and combinations which might have repaired previous errors."

No wonder the electors refused to vote for the men he so described and of whom he became the leader.

The Conservatives were convinced that if they could get a General Election soon after the end of the war with Germany they could sweep the country in another 'khaki' election on the lines of the 1918 election at the close of the last World War. Labour and Liberal protests were unheeded. The electoral roll was admittedly unsatisfactory because of its errors and omissions. It had been hurriedly prepared on very incomplete data and without adequate revision and many electors—including Mr. Churchill himself—found that their names had been omitted from the Roll. Even the date of the General Election, fixed by Mr. Churchill on the advice of the Conservative Party Headquarters, had to be altered and postponed in the case of between twenty and thirty constituencies owing to local conditions in

these constituencies. Many electors who, at the qualifying period, had been working far from home, found that they could only go to record their votes at the place at which they were registered at the cost to themselves of two or three days' time and pay—a sacrifice many of them were unable to face.

Mr. Churchill apparently forgot what he had written on Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 'khaki' election in the first volume of *The World Crisis*. Then Mr. Lloyd George went to the country on a personal appeal. Every candidate who supported him stood not for any principle but merely asked the electors to support 'the man who won the war.' 'Vote for . . . the Lloyd George candidate' posters filled all the hoardings from one end of the country to the other and those of us who fought in that election and dared to point out that 'the man who won the war' was not necessarily nor even likely, with a strong backing of reactionary Conservatives, to be the best man to win the peace, had no chance of being elected and the result was a Parliament, predominantly Conservative, described by one of themselves as 'a lot of hard-faced men who seem to have done well out of the war.' The recent General Election was fought on exactly the same lines. 'Vote for . . . and let Churchill finish the job.' No programme for peace—simply a personal appeal.

Of Mr. Lloyd George's 1918 Election Mr. Churchill wrote:

"The whole nation was eager to acclaim 'the pilot who weathered the storm.' Was it wonderful that the pilot should turn from aggrieved and resentful associates of former days who sourly awaited the hour of peace to call him to account, and from Conservatives with whom he had no real sympathy, to the vast electorate who sought only to testify their gratitude by their votes?"

The Election at once raised the party issue in its crudest form.

When the Election came it woefully cheapened Britain . . .

Mr. Lloyd George, having committed himself to the electoral scrimmage, played the part which circumstances enjoined. In his august station, national and European, he ought never to have been called upon to speak night after night upon the platform. The hardest test of all is to stand against the current of millions of rejoicing supporters.

He ought to have been more sure of himself at this time, and of the greatness of his work and situation. He could well have afforded, as it turned out, to speak words of sober restraint and of magnanimous calm.

In the wider sphere of Europe the blatancies of electioneering had robbed Britain in an appreciable degree of her dignity. The national bearing, faultless in the years of trial—loyal, cool, temperate, humane amidst terrors and reverses—had experienced quite a vulgar upset."

There is an uncanny parallel between the circumstances of that election in 1918 about which Mr. Churchill wrote so ably and the recent General Election. Had Mr. Churchill re-read and studied and taken to heart the words he wrote about the 1918 Lloyd George election the result might have been different to some extent.

There is no doubt of the gratitude for and appreciation of Mr. Churchill's services as a War Leader felt and expressed by members of all parties, but to try to cash in on this to return to the House of Commons not merely Mr. Churchill himself but many of the more reactionary die-hard Conservatives was more than the country could stand after its experience, not merely of the Parliament elected in 1918 with its reactionary tendencies, but also of the years between the two world wars when the House of Commons was predominantly Conservative. It was under their regime that Japan was allowed to overrun Manchuria without protest, that Franco was fawned on in Spain, that Great Britain remained neutral while the dictators of Germany and Italy tried out their new weapons and planes against the lawful Government of Spain to establish the Franco rebel regime. Mr. Amery, the late Secretary of State for India, who has now lost his seat in Parliament, expressed the Conservative Government viewpoint on Japan in these words :

"I confess that I see no reason why either in act or in word or in sympathy we should go individually or internationally against Japan in this matter. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stands condemned if we condemn Japan."

And Sir John Simon, when Foreign Secretary, on Mussolini's seizure of Abyssinia, stated the Conservative Government policy in these words :

"I am not prepared to see a single British ship sunk, even in a successful naval battle, in the cause of Mussolini's aggression."

It was while giving lip-service to the support of the League of Nations that Sir Samuel Hoare, as Foreign Secretary, made his infamous pact with Laval—the Hoare-Laval Pact—for the dismemberment of Abyssinia, a member of the League. Mr. Neville Chamberlain went even further and in Rome proposed a toast to 'the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia.' For his Munich journey and disgraceful agreement with Hitler he was acclaimed in the House of Commons by the Conservatives and 187 out of 251 who voted for this agreement have lost their seats in this election.

And the 'Caretaker Government' formed by Mr. Churchill after the break-up of the late National Government contained the same Sir Samuel Hoare, under his new title of Lord Templewood, Mr. Amery, Lord Simon and others of that kidney. No wonder the electors, while grateful to Mr. Churchill for his great services as a War Leader, refused again to be saddled with the men with whom he chose to associate himself. As the *Times* in a leading article wrote : "It will be necessary to seek the explanation of the Conservative defeat largely in the circumstances and conduct of the election itself. Mr. Churchill himself introduced and insisted upon emphasising the narrower animosities of the party fight. As a result the great national programme was allowed to slip into the background : the Prime Minister's own stature was temporarily diminished : and the voters, who were deeply interested in real, urgent, and essentially non-party subjects such as the housing of the people, seem to have visited their disappointment on the side which could be represented, on this showing, as taking but a perfunctory interest in the reconstruction programme, and as relying for success rather upon charges against the probable mis-

conduct of their opponents than upon any creative virtues of their own."

There is no doubt that, whatever Mr. Churchill's merits as a War Leader, which are acclaimed by all, his stock as a statesman and politician has slumped badly—entirely on account of his election speeches. It was hard to realise that the inspiring words of the war leader of the dark days of Dunkirk were uttered by the same man who descended to the deliberate misrepresentation of his political opponents—so ridiculous that it amused without frightening the electors, although not amusement but sadness that he could fall so far from his pedestal was the predominating feeling. In his tour of the country Mr. Churchill had great personal ovations everywhere. They admired his leadership in war but these same places voted against the candidates for Parliament with whom he chose to associate himself for Peace.

The war against Japan will be prosecuted with the same vigour by a Labour as by a Conservative Government. That is the first plank in their programme and following on that—indeed along with that—a great housing programme will be speeded up. Coal, electricity and transport will also be amongst the matters receiving early and urgent attention from the Government.

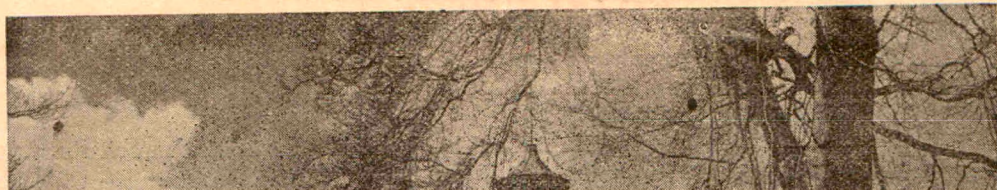
One of the results of the election is the practical elimination of the Liberal Party as a force in politics. Liberalism is not dead—far from it—but it has been absorbed into the two other parties. Out of its 310 candidates only 10 were returned to Parliament and amongst the defeated are their leader, Sir Archibald Sinclair, their Chief Whip, Sir Percy Harris, and Sir William Beveridge on whose Plan they based most of their election campaign. As this plan had been adopted to a greater or lesser extent by the two other parties the Liberals had little distinctive of their own to offer. They were to hold the balance between the two other parties but the electorate want something more definite than that in Candidates who solicit their votes. The other fragmentary parties like the Commonwealth, who gained a certain amount of success during the war years while the party truce was in force, have practically disappeared, their leader Sir Richard Acland even forfeiting his deposit.

The winning of Peace—real Peace—is as difficult as the winning of War, but it is not at all certain or even likely that a good War Leader will prove to be also a good leader for Peace. Mr. Churchill in 1932 published a book under the title *Thoughts And Adventures*. In the course of this book, dealing with this question, he wrote :

"Two opposite sides of human nature have to be simultaneously engaged. Those who can win a victory cannot make a peace : those who can make a peace would never have won a victory. Have we not seen this on the most gigantic scale drawing out before our eyes in Europe ?"

Anxious years lie ahead, years that will try every government everywhere. Great problems have to be met and solved but I am convinced that the government now established in power at Whitehall will meet these problems with a sympathetic understanding and an ability that may presage not merely a Labour Government now but a succession of Labour Governments in this country.

Westminster, London,
30th July, 1945





HUMAN FREEDOMS

By PROF. S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR, M.A. (Oxford), BAR-AT-LAW

FREEDOM is a valuational conception and humanity is an ideational perception and perfection. But are there any fundamental values and ideals of life for man and humanity? Are there any individual necessities or social desirabilities for human beings in order to make human lives possible and good. An answer to these

questions will depend on (1) whether we consider that life of man is fully absorbed in, or is subordinate and is covered by the needs and rules of his group or society and by its political, social, religious and economic beliefs and institutions and cultural complexes,

(2) whether we are of opinion that there is something which is unique, independent or incalculable, which is more or greater than what society, the state or the community has made of him, which always remains with him or is left over in him after all his social and cultural achievements, institutions and complexes have been counted. In other words, the question is this, whether society and its institutions are greater than the man, or man and his potentialities are greater than the institutions he has created. Is society an end or means? Are we answer to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's, and also to man what is man's, to his independence and independence, initiative and potentiality to his physical, moral, mental and spiritual freedom? Should we care only for good laws or for good values also?

What should be the nature and contents of this freedom which is due to man, would depend on his present conditions and outlook, his future course and spirit. The necessity and desirability can hardly be doubted. Whether you consider according to Rousseau that man is born free and he is now found everywhere in chains, or the opposite that man is born in chains and that he now wants to be, is striving to be and ought to be free, as a true reading of history, or whether you accept the truth of the doctrine of the natural rights of man, or of the legal rights of man, as a philosophical hypothesis, you must render unto man what is his due in nature and in society. The question is, does he possess or ought he to possess a right of resistance or independence against complete coercion or absorption in society, state or church which dominates and suppresses his personality, or is it merely their duty to protect and provide good conditions for life and to promote forces for good life for him.

The proper study of mankind is man. There is something more in man than is apparent in his ordinary consciousness and behaviour under a given system or environment, something which frames ideals and values of life. There is in him a finer spiritual presence which makes him dissatisfied with merely earthly pursuits. The ordinary condition of man is not his ultimate being. He has in him a deeper self, call it soul or spirit. In each being dwells a light and inspiration which no power can extinguish, which is benign and tolerant and which is the real man. It is our business to discover him, to protect and to insure him for his and humanity's welfare. It is the nature of this man to search for the true, the good and the beautiful in life and to esteem them properly and to strive for them continuously.

Then we must note that there is also an incalculable element in the human will and an endless complexity of human nature. No system, no order, no law can satisfy the deep and potential demands of a great personality, be they religious, political social or educational. Men are often endowed with great potential energy and creative power which cannot be encased within the bounds of old formulas and doctrines. No fixed discipline can suit the developing possibilities of new human manifestations in the psychological, ethical or spiritual fields. No system can satisfy the growing needs of a dynamic personality. There is always left out something unthought of and unrealised in the system. Hence we want freedom for man in the shape of human freedoms.

There is always a tendency towards a rise of new values and new ideals in human life. No ready formulas and systems can satisfy the needs and visions of great thinkers and of all peoples and periods. Freedom is necessary because authority is not creative. It sets limits to uncontrolled possessive authority. It gives full scope to developing personality and creates conditions for their growth. No uniformity or conformity in or comprehension of all aspects of life will be helpful. The present centralisation of all authority, its bureaucracy and party dictatorship, its complexity and standardisation, leave little scope for independent thought and development, for initiative and choice.

Freedom has to be considered in relation to man himself and also in his relations with others. It must assure him his physical needs and mental qualities and opportunities. It must also protect him from his neighbours and also help him to associate with them for common welfare and progress. What is at issue in the world of today is the dignity of the human being his inalienable right to exist, to life, to freedom from want and violence, from fear and frustration, from early death and dishonour, and also his inherent right to think and to speak, to associate and move freely. Wherever an individual is molested or tormented, wherever he is segregated or detained, the call of human freedom must resound.

Our world must think in terms of personalities and problems and not merely in terms of collective wholes or systems. Personality is the worthiest test of what is highest and noblest in life. The known facts of historical experience do not form a guide in understanding him. Our reason and experience cannot grasp his intuitions and visions. Things or ideals which to us seem as trifles or are unknown, sometimes assume in his valuation and human perspective a great significance. His values and ideals may appear wrong or out of the way, but they may become very valuable for a developing humanity. He may be a rebel or sinner today but his values and visions may rule us tomorrow as being more true in life. This justifies the conception of freedom of human thought and speech and its correlated freedoms and qualities.

When the highest powers and personalities of the world are today engaged in a titanic but tragic drama of slaughter and destruction, when the best, the vigorous and the innocent are being sacrificed at the

altar of national hatreds and imperial wars, when freedom and its high principles of human life are being suppressed in its very name and are lying broken and bruised in thousands of homes, to sing the songs and praises of human freedoms, as if the world is striving and hankering after them, would seem to be a mockery of man and humanity. When the hang-over of supernaturalism and mysticism in political theory and political attitudes, and of the divine right of rigid codes and bigoted preachers, intolerent rulers and superior races, is still inspiring the intelligentsia of some of the countries, and when educated men are still dominated by holy notions of Jihad, Kaffirism, Mlechhism and Negroism in politics, society, religion, economics and culture, when there is no notion of respect, tolerance and fellow-feeling for others, when men are devoted to and dominated by ideas of foreign cultures and religions and when there is no freedom from violence and violation, from want and exploitation, how can there be any hope or opportunity for human freedom in many lands and even in its homelands.

The intellectual outlook of the masses remains much the same as it was in primitive times. It is actuated by an all-pervading supernaturalism and credulity propagated by all religious preachers and preserved by social traditions. Thus the great majority of so-called moderns is still overwhelmingly primitive in their ways of thinking and behaviour. To them freedom would mean more of the same old stuff of life and superstition. Much of the specific content of earlier superstitions has come down to us in the modern era with them. To-day our life is a compound of various levels of culture and tradition. In politics we venerate and worship our rulers. In law we are rigidly bound by our holy books and traditions. In economics we follow caste and communal groupings. In sociology we adhere to notions of heredity and religion. In civics we accept conceptions of the high and the low, the privileged and the protected. Then there is a superficial agitation for democracy, humanism, liberty and equality. In spite of the great vitality inhering in these modern conceptions they are very little adopted in practice. Our life is still based on old theories and practices of small intolerant nomadic and exclusive agricultural groups, and we want still to live our twentieth century life and expect progress and happiness by regulating it according to old standards. Thus we are living in an era in which our opinions and institutions are overwhelmingly the product of contributions from the pre-scientific and pre-liberal or pre-human era.

Can we then feel a call for national freedom and for human freedom, when we are so rigid, inflexible, fanatic and exclusive in our political, religious, cultural and socio-economic outlook? Not having succeeded in imposing our rules and systems on all countries and continents some of us still harbour feelings of superiority and hatred, coercion and dominance against our neighbours.

Therefore first let us "be man", and then lay down the contents, qualities and inter-relations of human freedoms. We must respect humanity and personality, tolerate our differences and others' ways of internal and external group behaviour, and combine to serve one another in calamities and in great undertakings.

To talk of human rights in India is no doubt very necessary and desirable but not easily possible in the present socio-cultural and religio-political complexes we live in and are inspired by. There are no human

beings in India but only religious men, racial men, caste men. Our intelligentsia and masses are mad after racial privileges, religious bigotry and social exclusiveness. In short we are engaged in a silent war of extermination of opposite groups. Our classes and communities think in terms of conquest and subjugation, not of common association and citizenship. There is at present a continuous war of groups and communities, of rulers and ruled, in our body politic and body social, from which conceptions of humanity and tolerance and sense of humility and respect have disappeared. Bigotry, intolerance and exclusiveness sit enthroned in their places.

The world is mad today. It runs after destruction and despotism, world conquest and world order, world loot and world dispossession. The enormous hatred generated against human life and achievements has left no sense of humanity or human love in the world politics of today. But shall we renounce "being men" first and always? What we want is freedom from want and war, from fear and frustration in life. We also want freedom from an all-absorbing conception of the state, the community and the church coercing individuals to particular and ordered ways of life. Along with this we desire freedom of thought and expression, movement and association, education and expansion of mental and moral spheres of life. In any defined and ordered scheme of life we must have a right of independent thought and belief, even a right of non-violent resistance and autonomy in life in order to develop our ideas of good human life.

In order to do this we shall have to give up some of the superstitions of material science and dogma and reason which make man too much this-worldly. We shall introduce higher spiritual values of human life and qualities. Then on that basis we shall have to reorganize our social life in all its aspects. We want not only material conditions of happy life but also spiritual virtues of good life. Man's freedom is being destroyed under the demands of economic technocracy, political bureaucracy and religious idiosyncrasy.

Great thinkers like Manu and Buddha have laid emphasis on what should be the *assurances* necessary for man and what should be the *virtues* possessed by man. They have propounded a code as it were of ten essential human freedoms and controls or virtues necessary for good life. They are not only basic, but more comprehensive in their scope than those mentioned by any other modern thinker. They emphasize five freedoms or social assurances and five individual possessions or virtues. The five social freedoms are, (1) freedom from violence (Ahimsa), (2) freedom from want (Asteya), (3) freedom from exploitation (Aparigraha), (4) freedom from violation or dishonour (Avyabhichara) and (5) freedom from early death and disease (Amritatva and Arogya). The five individual possessions or virtues are, (1) want of intolerance (Akrodha), (2) Compassion or fellow-feeling (Bhutadaya, Adroha), (3) Knowledge (Jnana, Vidya), (4) freedom of thought and conscience (Satya, Sunrita) and (5) freedom from fear and frustration or despair (Pravritti, Abhaya, Dhriti).

Human freedoms require as counterparts human virtues or controls. To think in terms of freedoms without corresponding virtues would lead to a lopsidedness of life and a stagnation or even a deterioration of personality and also to chaos and conflict in society. This two-sidedness of human life, its freedoms and

virtues or controls, its assurances and possessions have to be understood and established in any scheme for the welfare of man, society and humanity. Merely the right to life, liberty and property or pursuit of happiness would not do, nor merely the assurance of liberty, equality and fraternity would help. Human freedoms and virtues must be made more definite and all-sided to help the physical, mental and spiritual development of man and humanity.

If we are to prevent this open and latent warfare of mutual extermination, national and international, we must create and develop a new man or citizen, armed and possessed of these tenfold freedoms and virtues which are the fundamental values of human life and conduct. Otherwise our freedoms will fail in their objects and mission to save man and his mental

and moral culture from the impending disaster with which the whole human civilisation is now threatened by the lethal weapons of science and the inhuman robots of despotic and coercive powers and their ideologies and credologies.

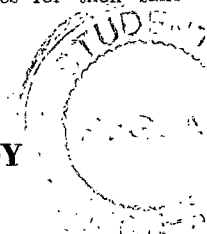
We in India also want freedom from foreign rule. Foreign rule is a damnable thing. This land has suffered from it for hundreds of years. We must condemn it whether old or new. Then we must have self-rule in our country under one representative, responsible and centralised system. Then alone we shall survive.

I know that men who are devoted to and dominated by rigid ideas of cultures and religions cannot feel the call of national or human freedom. But we cannot give up higher objectives and desirabilities for their sake and their prejudices.

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PERENNIAL PHILOSOPHY AND RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

By K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.



As HUXLEY has pointed out in the luminous introduction which he has contributed to the latest English edition of the *Bhagavad-Gita* by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood that what has been called the Perennial Philosophy which was first commenced writing twenty-five centuries ago "has found its way, now partial, now complete, now in this way, now in that, again and again" during the course of centuries—be it in Vedanta and Hebrew Mysticism, in the Tao Teh King and the Platonic dialogues, in the Gospel according to St. John and the Christian theology, in the Persian Sufis and Christian Mystics of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and so on, "has spoken almost all the languages of Asia and Europe." He also showed that underlying all these religions, myths and particularist doctrines "there rests a Highest Common Factor which is the Perennial Philosophy in what may be called its chemically pure state."

Four fundamental doctrines are said to constitute the Perennial Philosophy "in its minimal and basic form", namely, (1) that the phenomenal world of matter and the individualised consciousness is the manifestation of a Divine Ground within which all partial realities have their being and apart from which they would be non-existent; (2) that human beings can realise by direct intuition and have immediate knowledge of the Divine Ground; (3) that man who possesses the phenomenal ego and an external Self or Spirit (the essence of divinity within the soul) can, if he desires, identify himself with the Spirit and therefore with the Divine Ground, which is of the same or like nature as the Spirit; and (4) that man's only end or purpose is to identify himself with his eternal Self and to attain to unitive knowledge of the Divine Ground.

It is said that the various religions and how all the great religions of the world are more or less agreed with regard to these four fundamental doctrines mentioned above as man's final end or goal in life which is the knowledge of the God-head. It is said that the Perennial Philosophy and its ethical corollaries

constitute a Highest Common Factor present in all the major religions of the world, though "there is not the slightest chance that any of the historical religions will obtain universal acceptance" in the sense that the people of different religions will all embrace some one particular religion which may be called a 'universal religion'. But at the same time we are told that the Highest Common Factor of all religions, the Perennial Philosophy, has always and everywhere been the metaphysical system of the prophets, saints and sages of all ages and climes. He concluded by saying that

"It is perfectly possible for people to remain good Christians, Hindus, Buddhists or Moslems and yet to be united in full agreement on the basic doctrines of the Perennial Philosophy."

His view is that

"The hope of the world rests on the possibility of the acceptance and practice of the Perennial Philosophy by all men."

In the light of the above exposition, let us see what the much-misunderstood Raja Rammohun Roy had done over a century ago. He had studied, in original, the scriptures of the great religions of the world and asserted that the basic universal truths underlying all of them were the same, whatever might be the legends and superstitions that had gathered round each one of them, due to varying conditions of climate, culture and custom and that the so-called differences and distinctions which are paraded to sharply distinguish and separate one religion from another are only seeming and superficial. To put the same in the phraseology of Aldous Huxley, they are manifestations of the Divine Ground or the Perennial Philosophy which is the Highest Common Factor among all those religions, and the same, Rammohun called Universal Theism. "He found that the core of religious truth, comprehending the unity of God as Spirit, His worship in spirit and in truth, the immortality of the soul, and ethical discipline as the basis of spiritual life formed the central teaching of the Canonical Scriptures of the historic religions." There was only one Theism, with certain historical varieties, e.g., a Hindu Theism, an Islamic Theism, and

a Christian Theism. He had perceived and proclaimed afresh that "the Universal Truth was stressed in different ways, had different accents in its different historic utterances." According to him,

"All religions ethnic or credal, all religions by which masses of men have lived as social aggregates, must be recognised as moving along their own lines of historic tradition to a universal ideal or Centre of Convergence. That ideal is the ideal of Universal Religion."

Rammohun with his prophetic vision could see that

"It is as certain as anything in man's future history can be, that the future will see a reapproachment of Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Vedantism—not a 'melange', not one Concrete Universal Religion—but world re-actions of each of these religions under mutual contact and assimilation."*

The great historic religions, which are the national embodiments of universalism will neither cease to be nor be merged one in another but will grow along their own lines of historic continuity as specific embodiments of a Common Universal Regulation, growing fuller and fuller by mutual contact and assimilation, as well as by ideal convergence.

To the same effect are the observations of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, the late Editor of *The Modern Review*, in his monograph on "Rammohun Roy and Modern India." He says :

"It should not, however, be forgotten that though he (Rammohun) was cosmopolitan in his acceptance of truth, there are reasons to think that he believed in what may be called rational or racial manifestations or developments of universal theism." "It seems to us, that the Raja may have thought that Theism though at bottom one all over the world has yet found various expressions among different races, . . . and that the future unity of the human race in religion is not to be realised by all mankind following the creed of this or that sect, but by each nation or race giving up all such erroneous and superstitious beliefs and pernicious customs and lifeless rituals as clash with pure theism, but in everything else keeping all that is racily of the soil, all that distinctively belongs to the religious genius of that nation or race, in a spirit of discriminating reverence for its own past and of respect and toleration for others."

Thus it will be seen that the idea underlying the Perennial Philosophy or the Divine Ground, which constitutes the Highest Common Factor, present in all the major religions of the world according to Aldous Huxley is no other than what Rammohun Roy called Universal Theism, underlying all the separate theisms, the universal ideal or Centre of Convergence, the Universal Religion towards which all religions move along their own lines. By his establishing a common place of worship, wherein persons of all religions can meet for the adoration of the one true God, as set forth in his famous Trust Deed, he hoped, as does Aldous Huxley, on the possibility of the acceptance and practice of the Perennial Philosophy by all men.

But yet, Prof. D. S. Sarma, the author of *The Renaissance of Hinduism* and other books, has certain very harsh things to say about the religion of the Brahmo Samaj established by Raja Rammohun Roy, which betray a gross misunderstanding, if not prejudice on his part.

On p. 3 of his book *What is Hinduism?* he says :

"As the aim of all religions is to seek the perfection of God and to teach individuals and communities to order their lives in the light of that knowledge, we should look upon all religions as already engaged in a common cause, namely, the moral and spiritual improvement of humanity."

"But at the same time, we should not commit the mistake of supposing that we could ever arrive at a sort of universal religion by putting together all that is good in every historical religion. Such an attempt would only result in an eclectic artificial religion with no life in it. We may cull all the flowers in a garden and string them together into a beautiful garland but they will fade away in no time. We cannot have a living and growing universal religion any more than a living and growing universal language."

On p. 112 of his book *The Renaissance of Hinduism* he says :

"But they (Brahmos) retain the Cosmism of Keshub and practically cut themselves off from all historic religions when they say : . . . This book contains truths calculated to ennoble and elevate the character is a Brahmo's sect. Whoever teaches such truths is a teacher of the Brahmo Samaj. So the Samaj is to be not a flowering tree with roots stuck deep in the soil, but a garland of flowers taken from various trees. It is a wrong application of the principle of eclecticism to all religions. Harmony is not attained unless religions surrender their historic individuality and hold a round-table conference of skeletons."

Again on p. 636, in the concluding chapter of the same book, he says :

"At the same time this survey has demonstrated that any attempt to establish a universal religion by the eclectic method of choosing the best part of each of the historical religions of the world is bound to fail. No religion can flourish which has not its roots in an authoritative canon and which is not properly protected by appropriate ritual as a tree by its bark. The canon should, of course, be liberally interpreted, the spirit never being sacrificed to the letter, and the ritual should ever be in vital connection with the faith. But to do away with all canon and all ritual is to tear up the tree by its roots and remove its bark. What remains would only be a lifeless stick, fit to be thrown into the fire."

On p. 637 of the same book he says :

"The chief objective of the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj was social reform, and that was achieved they lost their momentum to a large extent."

I have made these rather extensive quotations to show how Prof. Sarma has misunderstood and interpreted the spiritual and social aspirations of the Brahmo Samaj.

While saying that "we should look upon all religions as allies engaged in a common cause"

* The quotations are from the address of Sir Brojendranath Seal, delivered on the anniversary of Rammohun Roy, at Bangalore, on 27th September, 1924.

regard for fundamental principles, greater readiness to espouse the cause of progressive social reform, more concern for taking a rational view of affairs and a quicker perception to respond to peasants' and working-class movement. The literary pages of the *Maharashtra* were the best for quite a long time and no other newspaper has surpassed that feature of *Maharashtra*.

Mr. Ogale was not merely connected with the *Maharashtra*. Even when it began to be published twice a week like the *Kesari* he had extended his activity to the industrial and educational fields. The Nagpur Glass and Pottery Works, the Nagpur Match Works, the Dadibai Drshmulh Girls' High School owe their position greatly to Mr. Ogale's association with them.

He used to speak at public meetings only when necessary, but his weapon really was the pen and not the tongue and that weapon he devoted entirely to the service of his people and country.

He was a practical social reformer. He believed in ending at once all the sub-castes among vegetarian Brahmans and accordingly went out of the Chitpavan Brahman fold, while marrying his sons and daughters, nephews and nieces. Harijans were in his employ both in his household and the *Maharashtra* Press and they mixed with all without the slightest reserve. His generosity supported many philanthropic causes, including that of poor students.

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EARLY HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

AGRICULTURE, from the remotest time, had been the chief means of livelihood for the people of Bengal. The description of Bengal's agriculture, however, cannot be traced earlier than the seventh century A.D. After visiting Bengal in 643 A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Hieuen Tshang has left the record that in all parts of the province the countryside was regularly and assiduously cultivated, and produced grains, flowers and fruits in abundance.¹ Later literature like the *Ramcharita*, and copperplate inscriptions ranging from the 8th to the 13th century confirm the statement of Hieuen Tshang and, moreover, "mention the cultivators as an important class apart from the officials, Brahmanas and others, and in various ways convey an idea of the important role they played in the economic life of the community."² The staple food crop was paddy. The existence of sugarcane as a food crop has been traced as far back as the first century A.D. *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*,³ a commercial guide book written in the first century A.D., records two other agricultural products of this province, viz., the malabathrum and the spike-nard. Another cultivated crop seems to have been mustard. Betelnut, palm, and cocoanut were extensively cultivated. The former, under the Sena Kings, in 14th century A.D., was a source of revenue to the State.⁴ Cotton cultivation was extensively undertaken. Fruits like mango, jackfruit, pomegranate, plantain, date, and figs were also widely cultivated.⁵ But although agriculture formed the chief means of income, it was always supplemented by a second source. Crafts and industries played a very vital part in the economic life of the people. The more important industries were cotton and silk textiles, sugar, metal-work, wood-work, stone-work and pottery. Development of industry side by side with agriculture had taken place in Bengal from very early times, notably since the beginning of the Christian era. "Apart from a very few inland centres of

other provinces. Bengal and Gujarat, because of their shipping facilities, were the chief industrial provinces which worked certain industries, collected the surplus of finished products from the inland centres of other provinces and exported them abroad."⁶ But as the industries mainly provided subsidiary employment to the agricultural population, no development of urban life took place. Area of cultivation continued to expand with the increase in population. Although comparatively more data is available for the Muslim period, these are not sufficient for enabling us to ascertain the size of an average holding or the profits of husbandry. The industries of Bengal prospered in the villages side by side with agriculture, till before the rise of the Christian power in India. The domestic system of manufacture was followed and it makes it impossible to ascertain the proportions of people pursuing agriculture or industry as independent means of income.

One instance of the attention paid to agriculture by the Muslim rulers may here be given. Abbas Sherwani in his *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (quoted by Qanungo in his *Sher Shah* pp. 413-414) states :

"One of the regulations made by Sher Shah was this : That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people ; and when he marched, he personally examined into the state of the cultivation, and stationed horsemen round it to prevent people from trespassing on any one's field. He used to look out right and left, and if he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hand, and hanging the corn (which he had plucked off) round his neck, would have him to be paraded through the camp . . . If unavoidably the tents of his soldiery were pitched near cultivation, the soldiers themselves watched it lest any one else should injure it and they should be blamed and be punished by Sher Shah."

Pulses, barley, millet, peas, sesame, mustard, sugarcane and cotton, besides the principal cereals, rice and wheat were the chief crops. Cultivation of some new crops, viz., tobacco, tea, coffee and potato were intro-

1 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 191, 194, 199, 200-201.

2 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 649.

3 Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea*, p. 47.

4 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 141, 178, 180, etc.

5 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 651.

6 Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan*, J. A. S. B., Vol. I, 1935. No. 2, p. 198.

duced during the Muslim period. A general idea about the relative value of some crops may be obtained from the statistical data preserved by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*:

Crop	Comparative value
Wheat	100
Barley	67
Linseed	51
Rape	53
Sugarcane (ordinary)	213
Cotton	150
Indigo	254
Poppy	

Among oilseeds, *Ain* records til, linseed, rape, toria and safflower. Among fibres, only cotton and hemp are mentioned, and not jute. This important money crop of Bengal came into prominence at a much later age, about the middle of the past century. The high level of the comparative value of cotton may be considered in connection with the industrial development of the country; the raw material of ordinary clothing was expensive when judged by the prices obtainable for foodgrains. Specialisation was already known. Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India and the world. Indigo cultivation was at first confined to two localities—Biana, near Agra and Sarkhej in Gujarat; but later Bengal became the chief centre of indigo manufacture.

Yield of crops in Bengal was high. In his *Account of the XII Subas*, Abul Fazl records⁸ that in Bengal and Orissa, rice predominated, and that the harvests were always abundant.

When the British came, they found the plain of Bengal the most fertile soil in the world. Dow⁹ writes from his own observations in 1767-69:

"Bengal, a kingdom six hundred miles in length and three hundred in breadth, is composed of one vast plain of the most fertile soil in the world. Watered by many navigable rivers, inhabited by fifteen millions of industrious people, capable of producing provisions for double the number, as appears from the deserts which oppression has made; it seems marked out by hand of nature, as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture."

Another contemporary European writer, materially supports Dow's statement when he says:¹⁰

"Rice which makes the greater part of their food is produced in such plenty in the lower parts of the province, that it is often sold at the rate of two pounds for a farthing; a number of other arable grains, and a still greater variety of fruits and culinary vegetables, as well as the spices of their diet, are raised as wanted, with equal ease: sugar, although requiring more attentive cultivation, thrives everywhere."

The chief agricultural products at this time were paddy, wheat, rabi crops, sugarcane, tobacco, cotton, betel, etc. Stavorinus, a Dutch traveller, who visited Bengal about 1768-71 says that Bengal produced "very good wheat which was formerly used to be sent to Batavia." But he himself points out that this wheat trade was discouraged "in order to favour, as much as possible, the corn trade of the Cape of Good Hope."¹¹

Wheat-growing areas, however, were Purneah and the 'borderland between Purneah and Rungpur',¹² i.e., mainly outside the borders of the present-day boundary of Bengal. The cotton-growing areas, as personally witnessed by Rennel, were Jessore, Dacca, Pabna, Birbhum, Bankura and Burdwan.

Colebrooke's *Husbandry of Bengal* provides the first comprehensive account of her agriculture. This book was written jointly by H. T. Colebrooke and Anthony Lambert immediately before the introduction of permanent settlement. It was the result of an intensive survey of the agricultural conditions of this country undertaken by these two young authors. It was first secretly circulated both in India and in London.

By the close of eighteenth century, endless varieties of rice have been recorded. Its causes have been described by Colebrooke¹³ as:

"In almost every plant, culture, in proportion as it is more generally diffused, induces numerous varieties. But the several seasons of cultivation, added to the influence of soil and climate, have multiplied the different species of rice to an endless diversity, branching from the first obvious distinction of awned and awnless rice. The several sorts and varieties, adapted to every circumstance of soil, climate and season, might exercise the judgment of sagacious cultivators; the selection of the most suitable kinds is not neglected by the Indian husbandman."

In the present condition of our knowledge it is difficult to state the actual period when this multiplication of the varieties of rice took place and what were their causes. The universal and vast consumption of vegetable oils promoted extensive cultivation of mustard, linseed, sesamum and palmachristi. Among the most important productions of Bengal rich in proportion to the land which they occupied about the time Permanent Settlement was made, valuable in commerce and manufactures, were tobacco, sugar indigo, cotton, mulberry and poppy.¹⁴ Colebrooke states that rotation of crops was not understood in India, but irrigation was widely practised. He says:¹⁵

"Irrigation is less neglected than facility of transport. In the management of forced rice, dams retain the water on extensive plains, or preserve it in lakes to water lower lands, as occasion may require. For either purpose much skill is exerted in regulating the supplies of water. In some places, ridges surround the field and retain water raised from lower ground by the simple contrivance of a carved canoe swinging from a pole. In other situations, ridges are also formed round the field both to separate it from contiguous lands and to regulate the supplies of water: this is more especially practised in the culture of transplanted rice. Dams, advantageously constructed, assist the irrigation of considerable tracts. In some provinces water is raised from wells, by cattle or by hand to supply the deficiencies of rain. Each of these methods, being within their compass, is the separate undertaking of the peasants themselves: but more considerable works, though not less necessary, are much neglected. Reservoirs, ponds, water-causes, and dikes,

7 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 104.

8 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II.

9 Dow, *Hindoostan*, I, cxxvii.

10 Orme, *Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindoostan* II, p. 4.

11 Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 391.

12 Rennel, *Journals*, p. 73.

13 Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, p. 22.

14 *Ibid*, p. 23.

15 *Ibid*, p. 27.

are more generally in a process of decay than of improvement."

Another English writer, Beveridge, has given an equally graphic account of irrigation in Bengal. He says :

"When, in grounds not regularly flooded, a plough of the simplest and rudest form has by one or more scratchings, sufficiently pulverised a soil, which is for the most part, of light and porous texture, the seed, deposited usually in drills, quickly germinates, and when threatened with destruction by excessive drought, is easily carried with success through all its stages by artificial irrigation. This irrigation, without which a large part of the country would be doomed to absolute sterility, has been provided for in a manner which goes to prove that Hindoos, when urged by the stimulus of necessity, are not deficient in skill and enterprise. No people in the world have done more to overcome the difficulties of their position in respect of the moisture necessary to secure fertility; and when we see how much they have done for irrigation by means of embankments, raising the level or changing the course of streams, and by means of vast reservoirs, in which the superfluous water of the rainy season is carefully husbanded for future use, it seems only fair to infer that if they had encountered similar difficulties in other departments of agriculture, they would have been equally energetic and successful in surmounting them."

Profits of husbandry in Bengal has been calculated in detail by Colebrooke. Cultivators employed farm servants. The monthly wages for such servant did not exceed one rupee per month, in cheap districts it was as low as eight annas. According to the then geographical boundary of Bengal, and the distribution of districts, the dearest and most productive were Burdwan, 24-Parganas and Nadia, while the cheapest and least productive were Ramgarh, Sylhet, Tipperah and Cooch Bihar. Capital expenditure was low. A plough complete cost less than a rupee. The cattle employed were of the smallest kind, they cost on an average not more than five rupees each. The reward of a cultivator who delivered half the produce in lieu of rent was calculated by Colebrooke and was found insufficient for his toil. The calculation¹⁶ is as follows :

Ten mans of rice are a large produce from one bigha, and a return of fifteen for one :

Cultivator's share .. Mans	5	0	0
Seed which the proprietor of the land had advanced, & which is repaid to him with 100 per centum by way of interest	26	10	½
The labour of reaping, etc., at the rate of a sixth of the whole crop	1	26	10½
Ditto weeding twenty days at 2½ Ser	1	10	0
	3	23	5
	1	16	11
Ditto husking with the wastage at three-eighths	0	21	4
	0	35	7

Thirty five sers and seven-sixteenths of clean rice, at the average rate of 12 annas for the man, are worth 11 annas nearly; and this does not pay the labour of ploughing, at 2 annas per diem for 8 days. It appears, then, that the peasant, cultivating for half produce, is not so well rewarded for his toil as hired labourers; and it must be farther noticed, that he is under the necessity of anticipating his crop for seed and subsistence; and of borrowing for both, as well as for his cattle and for the implements of husbandry, at the usurious advance of a quarter, if the loan be repaid at the succeeding harvest, and of half, if repaid later : we cannot then wonder at the scenes of distress which this class of cultivators exhibits, nor that they are often compelled, by accumulating debts, to emigrate from province to province.

It is obvious that, where the produce is greater in proportion to the seed and to the quantity of land, the sum of labour remaining the same, this partition of crop may leave to the peasant a sufficient payment for his toil; on the other hand, where it is less, it may be absolutely unequal to afford the simplest necessities. This is so true, that, in most lands, cultivation for this proportion of the crop is utterly impracticable.

Colebrooke thus found both cultivation by half share and employment as day labourer unremunerative. The beginnings of agricultural indebtedness may definitely be traced back to this period. Even the cultivation of two yearly harvests from each field was found to have yielded insufficient reward. Colebrooke gives an account of a peasant reaping two crops from a field, one of white corn and another of pulse, oilseeds or millet, as follows :¹⁷

A plough, with the usual yoke of two or three pair of oxen assigned to it is equal in common management to the full cultivation of 15 bighas of land : and the expense, estimated at Rs. 22-8, averages Re 1-8 for the bigha.

Ploughman, at one rupiya p. m.	Rs. 12	0
Allowance to the herdsman (say for 5 oxen, at half an ana each) two annas & a half p.m. or per annum	1	14
Pasture, two annas a head, annually	0	10
Interest in thirty rupiyas, the cost of the cattle, and on two rupiyas, the cost of the plough and other implements, at two per centum per mensem, including the wear and tear of the plough, and the replacing of cattle	8	0
	Rs. 22	8

On the medium assumed of the two crops per annum, the produce may be taken at seven mans of rice in the husk, and 3½ mds. of pulse or other grains gathered at the second harvest.

Seven mans, equal to four mans & 15 sers of clean rice, at 12 annas	Rs. 3	4½
Three & a half mans, at 10 annas	2	3
	5	7½

¹⁶ Beveridge, *History of India*, Vol. II, 1865, p. 152.

¹⁷ Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 65-66.

Seed repaid, a twelfth ; & expense of reaping etc., a sixth

Labour of sowing, weeding etc., equal to two weedings, or forty day-labourers, at two & a half sers 2 ms. 20 srs. at 8 annas

Labour of cattle for the plough etc.

Rent, a fourth of the gross produce, including all payments to the landholder or his officers

Re. 1 6

1 4

1 8

1 6

5 8

The peasant, consequently, does not derive from corn-cultivation the very humble maintenance which we suppose, unless his family share in the labour for which we culcate him to pay, or apply their labour to other occupations, or unless we take into account the profit shown by him from the land which he underlets to his ploughmen at half-produce. *In fact it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for his profit or even for his comfortable maintenance.* (Italics mine.—D. B.)

This was in 1790. Within thirty years of British rule, with one devastating famine in between, the agriculture of a province which seemed to Dow to have been "marked out by hand of nature as the most advantageous region of the earth for agriculture," was reduced to this state.

Cultivation of sugar, tobacco, silk-worms, cotton, indigo and opium continued to be profitable only up to this period when the break came. Tobacco cultivation has been described by Colebrooke as follows :²⁰

The whole expense of the culture, upon an average of the districts where it most prevails, and which are among the cheapest of Bengal, does not exceed four rupees per bigha, although land, appropriated for tobacco, be rated at a high rent. The produce estimated at five and a half mans from a bigha of the standard of four cubits to the pole, and this quantity, valued at one rupiya per man, shews tobacco to be a very profitable culture. . . . Though it requires an excellent soil, tobacco might be produced in the greatest abundance to supply the consumption of Europe. Raised, cheaply, it would yield a considerable profit to the exporter upon moderate freight. . . . The best tobacco bears a greater but arbitrary value; the worst, on the contrary, costs much less : we take the usual price of a middle sort, and suppose that it can be shipped at that rate, and that it could support a competition with the ordinary kinds imported into England from North America.

Tobacco was one of the main cash crops of Northern Bengal. Rennel* tells us that it was one of the chief products of Rungpore. Much tobacco was also cultivated in the neighbourhood of Dewanganj, a large village and the limit of Rungpore towards Cooch Behar. The land round Azimpore (a village in the present Faridpore district) also produced tobacco. Tobacco and cotton both had the potentiality of successfully competing with the American produce.

Price of corn widely fluctuated. About 1790, in a cheap district, where paddy in one season sold for two

annas a maund, in another season it was eagerly purchased at a price of eight annas. Colebrooke gives the general agricultural prices as : rice, wheat and barley 12 annas a maund; ghee 3 annas per seer and the average price of cattle Rs. 5 each. He gives the family budget as follows : "2½ ounces of salt, 2 lbs. of split pulse, 8 lbs. of rice, formed the usual daily consumption of a family of 5 persons in easy circumstances. Or according to another estimate 4 maunds of rice, 1 maund of split pulse, and 3½ seers of salt sufficed for the monthly consumption of a family of 6 persons, consisting of 2 men, as many women and the same number of children." A family of 5 or 6 could therefore live on Rs. 3.4 per month. Colebrooke's calculations on the profits of husbandry stated above show that the cultivation of one, or even two crops, did not bring sufficient return to ensure the very modest income of Rs. 3.4 per month for a family of six.

The economic condition of the Bengal peasant in the first quarter of the nineteenth century has been summed up by Raja Rammohun Roy in the following words :

In an abundant season, when the price of corn was low, the sale of their whole crops was required to meet the demands of the landholder, leaving little or nothing for seed or subsistence to the labourer or his family.²¹

We must not lose sight of the significant fact that about this time, the most important industries of Bengal, like cotton and silk textile and sugar, which provided a second source of steady and substantial income to the peasant, were being broken up by the competing British and foreign industries. The beginning of the crash was already there. The Bengal peasant had just begun to fall back on agriculture as his sole means of livelihood.

Failure of agriculture as a remunerative employment led to the two inevitable evils—subletting at high rent and agricultural indebtedness. Colebrooke states :

"Tenants are in the habit of under-letting their lands to other peasants. This class of middlemen is numerous. The under-tenants are depressed by excessive rent in kind and run into debt from which they can never extricate themselves."

Under-tenants and Bargadars had begun to grow in number. Although the greater part of tenants were still peasant proprietors cultivating their own land, holdings were becoming small and uneconomic. In Bengal not more than one acre of tilled ground is available for every person.²² After more than 150 years, the size of holding remains almost the same, to-day only .85 acre is available per head of agricultural population.²³ The unprofitability of corn cultivation had led to an increased plantation of cash crops and dairy, but even these additional sources of income failed to ensure sufficient return. Colebrooke states : "It is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for his profit or even for his comfortable maintenance. In the grazing districts, it is the Dairy. In others, it is the cultivation of some more valuable produce such as Mulberry, Sugarcane, Tobacco, Opium, Indigo, Cotton, and Silk as objects of external

20 Rammohun Roy, *Questions and Answers on the Revenue System of India*, Ans. to Q. 30.

21 Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*.

22 Floud Commission Report, Vol. I. p. 86.

19 *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77.

* Rennel, *Journals*, p. 68. p. 35.

commerce." But the profitability of the cultivation of mulberry, silk-worms, sugarcane and cotton as cash crops fast declined with the increased imports of finished products from abroad. Within about half a century, they were ousted from the field as objects of external commerce.

The emergence of jute as Bengal's chief cash crop is a nineteenth century affair. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* jute had not been included in the list of valuable crops although it had been casually mentioned. Moreland²³ says :

"So far as I know, this fibre is not named by any contemporary writer, but it was probably grown in Akbar's time, since Abul Fazl tells us that a kind of sack cloth was produced in what is now the district of Rangpur, and we may infer that it was used to make clothes from the fact that jute clothing was the ordinary wear of the poorer classes as lately as the beginning of the nineteenth century."

Buchanan Hamilton had found about 1810 a kind of cloth woven from jute and cotton as an ordinary wear for poorer classes in Northern Bengal. Moreland²⁴ believed that "a substantial portion of the population may have worn jute clothing in the time of Akbar", although earlier in the book he himself said, "I have found only one single item of information that a kind of sack cloth was produced in the Bengal district of Ghoraghat (Rangpur), and it might be inferred that at this period jute was in Bengal, what saun-hemp was further west, a fibre grown for domestic use and of no industrial interest." The very fact that saun-hemp was assessed in all the Mughal provinces for which revenue rates are on record, while jute was not even mentioned as an economic product shows that the latter was considered a commodity of negligible importance. Had sack-cloth been widely worn by a large number of people, jute would certainly have been grown and consumed in large quantities and therefore would have been considered an important article to be assessed for revenue. Buchanan Hamilton states from personal observation that the dress of a common labourer "is usually a coarse cloth called megili."²⁵ Megili is a kind of cloth woven from jute and cotton. Jute appears as an article of European commerce, for the first time, in 1793 when the Company's officers sent to England 100 tons of the fibre under the name *pat*.²⁶ From 1804 export of jute gradually increased but the quantity was so small that no separate account of its export was kept at Customs. In 1829 a separate head was assigned to it

in the Customs records when it came up to 364 cwt. Milburn's²⁷ account of jute, about 1810, clearly indicates that even at that period, it was not considered an important crop. He says :

In Bengal, . . . dressed hemp might be procured at 8 S. Rs. per md. or £28 per ton.

There are many other vegetable substances used by the natives for cordage, etc., such as, murgha, kantala, merty-paut, coir and gumatty ; but the principal, and these by far in the greater use, are sunn and paut : these are cultivated at Comercolly, Chittagong, Jungipore, etc.

In Jungipore there are four species of plants cultivated which produce different kinds of raw materials, fit for cordage and other uses. The first is called by the natives Ghore-sunn and approaches very near to the hemp plant. The article next in quality to the Ghore-sunn is the paut ; but as it does not grow to the height of above four-feet, and shoots out many lateral branches, which renders the fibre very difficult to be separated from the woody parts, it is not a profitable article to the landholder : it is in general found near the houses of the inhabitants, the leaves and tender shoots being used as an article of food. The third plant producing a species of hemp is called by the natives cooh-murden-paut. The fourth description of plant is called amleeah-paut and this is in the most general use throughout the country for coarse cordage, and other purposes which do not require the fine twine produced from the Ghore-sunn.

The development of international trade created great demand for the gunny bag and hessian as packing material for cotton, sugar, wheat and other articles of commerce. Although Bengal holds a world monopoly in jute, it has not brought wealth into the province to the extent it should have done under a national system of government. The first organised attempt for the commercial utilisation of this fibre was made by Scotch and British Agency Houses in Bengal and gradually the entire control over this product has passed on to them.

Planned and systematic interference directed expressly against our existing industries rapidly lowered the individual income and precluded the people from the acquisition of capital and prevented them from developing new branches of industries. Neither was any step taken to ensure a remunerative price for the crop. The State thus forced the great mass of the population to become competitors for the occupation of land as the sole means of subsistence. They were placed absolutely at the mercy of the landlord. With the increase of the pressure of population on land, subdivision and fragmentation grew, holdings became uneconomic, and large numbers of people were rendered landless. They lost not only their land, but their money and cattle as well. Nothing remained for them to exchange for bread but their bodies and their labour.

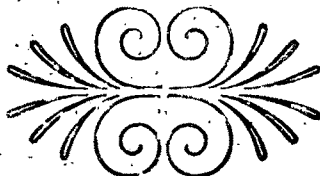
23 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 119.

24 *Ibid*, p. 290.

25 Buchanan Hamilton, *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, p. 703.

26 Report on Jute by Hem Chandra Kerr, member of the Committee appointed by Government to investigate the causes of deterioration of the Jute Fibre, 1870.

27 Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 210.



CAPTURE OF KARACHI

By C. L. MARIWALLA

THE city of Karachi bids fair to become the fairest city in the East. Her present position is but the growth of the past hundred years. She has progressed and prospered during the hundred years of British rule. It is indeed a fascinating tale how the British came to acquire this city of destiny.

By the end of the 18th century the British had brought under their sway the best portion of India. They were just consolidating their newly acquired empire when they became conscious of a mortal enemy. Russia became the bugbear of British policy in India for the next hundred years. In order to check Russian advance towards India all British Administrators of the period were untiring in their efforts to keep friendly relationship with the powers bordering on the N. W. Frontier of British India. And Lord Auckland like the rest spared no pains in this direction. It appeared to him that the safety of the British Empire in India lay in the preservation of the independence of Afghanistan and the cementing of a friendly alliance with that state. And when Burnes failed in his overtures to bring round Dost Mohammed—the Afghan Chief—to the British side in 1837, Lord Auckland, being assailed by disturbing hints and dangerous-promptings from all quarters urging him to adopt vigorous measures, reluctantly entered upon defensive plans of a dubious character. He was made to feel that the best course under the circumstances¹ was to install a puppet ruler on the Afghan throne—one who would ever be ready to dance to the British tune. And the Governor-General found a ready choice in Shah Shuja—the exiled Afghan ruler living in Ludhiana on British bounty. For erecting a friendly state in Afghanistan three Powers combined to reinstate Shah Shuja on the Kabul throne—the ever-willing but ill-fated and exiled Afghan ruler himself, Maharaja Ranjitsing of the Punjab and the British. Under the final settlement of the Tripartite Treaty signed on 26th June 1838 the Maharaja was to wait and watch the situation, and to march forward only in an absolute emergency while a mighty force under Shah Shuja with the help of a powerful British force was to proceed north for his reinstatement.² The Maharaja was fully financed for his aid. He was to receive for his duty of watch and ward Rupees Fifteen Lacs in addition to the recognition of his sovereignty over the tracts of the former Afghan empire which he had conquered.³ Shah Shuja was expected to foot the bill. But he was a penniless refugee living on British bounty. And under the existing state of their finances, the East India Company could not lend him a helping hand in this respect.⁴ The Afghan Chief was a bit disconsolate over this when Lord Auckland came to his rescue. On this occasion he proposed to fleece the Ameers of Sind, his 'eternal' allies. The money payment from the Ameers could be easily obtained, argued

Auckland, by reviving the defunct claim of the Shah for the arrears of tribute due to him from the Sind Chiefs as the ruler of the Afghan empire of which the Ameer's territories formed a part—of course formally. Shah Shuja was doubtful of the success of his enterprise but when he was assured by the Governor-General that the British would press his claim, he became sure of his success. Lord Auckland had heard of the hoarded wealth of the Ameers and he felt fully justified in putting to use the shy capital of an 'eternal' ally for the benefit of the whole Indian sub-continent, even if it was to be without their consent. The noble Lord wanted Sind to be a party in this 'big game' without consulting its chiefs. It was assumed that an 'eternal' friend would by right of friendship accept a partnership in an extremely humane expedition. At the same time the British army had to seek a passage from the Indian provinces, through non-Sikh territory, to face the Shah's enemies. And here too Sind came handy. The British force could well pass through Sind, though for this purpose it was necessary to tear to shreds the Treaty of 1832—by which the Indus could not be utilized for military operations by the British.⁵ So the British Resident for the Affairs of Sind was intimated to sound the Ameers regarding the price they had to pay for their alliance with the British. The Governor-General was so fully convinced of the justice of his demands that he advised the Resident to coerce the Ameers into an accepting mood. Col. Pottinger, the British Resident for Sind, was informed that those "who display an unwillingness to aid us in the just and necessary undertaking in which we are engaged must be displaced and give way to others on whose friendship and co-operation we may be able implicitly to rely."⁶ And to this Kaye offers a fitting rejoinder:—

Earth is sick

And Heaven weary of the hollow words

Which states and kingdoms utter when they talk

• Of Truth and Justice.⁷

The 'dragooning' system was to be carried out in Sind too. In 1836 the British vouchsafed an amicable settlement of dispute between the Ameers and Ranjitsing. And now without their asking, the British assured the Ameers that the arrears of tribute due to Shah Shuja by them on account of Shikarpoor would be reasonably settled by the British and the Ameers would have to pay only a paltry sum—which remained undefined—to the defunct monarch. The Ameers were also apprised that as they were the 'eternal' allies of the British and the British were in a great difficulty of sending troops to aid Shah Shuja, it was but fair for them to demand

5. Kaye : *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 398.

6. *Ibid.* "At one time the Governor-General issued definite instructions to the Resident to occupy Sind with the help of Meer Sobdar or any other chief willing to side the British."—*Parliamentary Papers relating to Sind 1836-43*, p. 27.

7. Kaye : *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 398.

1. Kaye : *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 317.

2, 3 & 4. Thompson and Garra : *Rise and fulfilment of British Rule in India*, p. 336.

a passage for British troops through the Ameers' territories and at the same time, it was reasonable to expect the Sind Chiefs to allow stationing of a British Reserve Force in Sind for any emergency. All these demands were however placed before the Ameers grandiloquently. The British Resident in his Memo of 27th September 1838, apprised the Ameers that 'His Lordship is of the opinion that it is now necessary that the real friends of the British Government should unequivocally stand forward to evince their friendly feelings by assisting in the measures which the Governor-General may consider requisite to frustrate and render null the combination which the Government to the Westward of India are known to have formed with the object of disturbing and injuring the possessions of the British Government and with them those of their allies and tributaries.'⁸ And then followed the contribution Sind had to make in this great enterprise. On receiving the Resident's Memo, and the demands made on them therein, the Ameers could hardly fathom the responsibilities of friendship—they being mere 'crafty barbarians' in the eyes of the English. They protested against the arbitrary claims of the British on behalf of Shah Shuja, when they held receipts of liquidation of the Shah's dues on the leaves of the Holy Writ. 'That the Ameers should have demurred to the payment of money, claimed by an exile, of 30 years' standing' does not excite any wonder. The Ameers were at the same time left wondering how the British dared to violate their own Treaties whereby they had debarred themselves from carrying any military stores, leaving aside any actual Force, by the Indus. Indeed the 'demands made on the forbearance of the Ameers of Sind were of an oppressive and irritating character.' Their money was to be taken, their country to be occupied, their Treaties to be set aside—all this amidst a shower of hypocritical expressions of friendship and goodwill.⁹ All the attempts at procrastination by the Ameers were of no avail. The Sind Chiefs finding themselves in a tight corner did not tender any definite reply to the British demands, but remained profuse in their professions of friendship to the British. The Ameers could not appreciate the unwarranted British interference and therefore without the knowledge of the British, entered into correspondence with the Shah of Persia for help. The letters were however intercepted and their contents convinced Pottinger that 'our chief tie on the Ameers hereafter must be through their fears.' He accordingly informed the Governor-General of his plan of placing the requisite Treaty before the Ameers only when the British Force had set foot on the Sindhian soil, as such preparations alone, according to him, "would oblige the Ameers to be amenable to our demands."¹⁰ A system of universal coercion and intimidation was to be resorted to in demanding co-operation which the British could not command in Sind. Accordingly, the British Resident postponed the placing of the new Treaty before the Ameers till the Army of the Indus had landed in Sind.

The British Force arrived at Bunder Vikkur

(Ghorabari) in the end of November 1838.¹² The Force however could not move forward for want of pack animals and provisions. The Ameers had not co-operated with the British in spite of their professions of loyalty. Through their officers they made it impossible for the British Agents in Sind, like Seth Naoomal Bhojwani of Karachi, to collect the necessary provisions and pack animals for the Army, though the Ameers had issued 'parwanas' in their (British Agents') favour after much prevarication. The Meer of Meerpur obstructed the passage of camels sent from Cutch for the use of British troops in Sind.¹³ However after some protestations at the Ameers' court the British Resident succeeded in making it tolerable for the Army to march forward. But still it was doubtful if the Ameers would remain loyal to the last, as even now rumours of a hostile nature were afloat in the country. To smooth matters for the British, Col. Pottinger felt that the Reserve Force should proceed to Karachi and take possession of that place about the time he presented the Treaty to the Ameers. He accordingly addressed the Bombay Government in this connection so that they could keep the Reserve Force ready.¹⁴ With the passage of time hostile rumours multiplied in number and intensity. Major Outram of the 23rd N.I. and Honorary Aide-de-Camp to the Commander of the British Army in Sind writes as follows in his diary bearing date Tatta 19th December 1838:—"The hostile preparations of the Ameers, who whilst they continue to profess the utmost friendship for us, are levying enmasse their fighting men, bringing their guns from Larkana to Hyderabad, render it imperative that the communication of our Army should be maintained by a strong force stationed in Sind."¹⁵ And accordingly Pottinger despatched an express requisition for the Reserve Force to land at Karachi and then be conveniently stationed in lower Sind.¹⁶

The Bombay Government hearing of the impending active hostility of the Ameers issued orders for the immediate despatch of the Corps de Reserve to Sind which was already ready for service. H. M. S. Wellesley under the Flag of H.E. Sir Frederick Maitland, the Captor of Napoleon in 1815, the H.C.'s Transport *Hannah* and H.C.S. *Syren* were ordered to carry the Reserve Force to Karachi.¹⁷ The ships left Bombay with the 2nd Bombay N.I. Grenadiers under Major Forbes on board for Mandvie where the rest of the Force was to embark.¹⁸ The main body of the Reserve Force was to consist of H.M. 40th Foot (2nd Somerset).¹⁹ The 40th on their arrival at the Cutch port from Deesa, where they were stationed, on 27th January 1839 found that a Company of European Artillery (Bombay) under the command of Capt. W. Brett from Bhooj had already arrived. The whole Force now came under the command of Col. Valiant, K.H.²⁰ The commandant of the Reserve had received the latest news of the Sindhian affairs a few marches from Mandvie while leading the 40th to the port from

8. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 23.

9. Kaye: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 397.

10. Kaye: *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 400-401.

11. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 14.

He even suggested the occupation of Sind as a last resort and the Governor-General accepted his views. P. 22.

12. Kennedy: *Campaign of the Army of the Indus*, Vol. I, p. 20.

13. *Sindhian World*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 34.

14. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 90.

15. *Sindhian World*, op. cit., Vol. I, No. 1, p. 34.

16. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 34. Also *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 104.

17 & 18. Neill: *Recollections of Four Years Service in the East with H. M. 40th Regiment*, p. 14.

19 & 20. Neill: op. cit., p. 14.

Deese, wherefrom it appeared that the landing of the Reserve Force was likely to be contested at Karachi. He was further informed that as the occupation of that port (Karachi) would much facilitate and expedite the operations of the Corps de Armee, he must move the Reserve forward as quickly as possible.²¹ So the full Force set sail for Hujamree mouth of the Indus where they soon arrived. Here they were joined by H. M. the *Algerine* and H.C.S. the *Constance* from the Indus port whither they had carried the Bombay Force, now marching through Sind.²² On 31st January the commandant of the Reserve Force received his instructions short and crisp 'Proceed to Kurrachee and take it.'²³

It is necessary to know what had compelled the English Resident to open hostilities at Karachi. Rumours of active opposition of the Ameers noticed above had been partly confirmed by the Ameers impeding the advance of the British Army by making foodgrains and camels scarce. News had also been received that the provisions stored at Kotri by Assistant Resident Lockie had been burnt by the Beloochees at the instigation of the Ameers.²⁴ At the same time by 24th January it had become evident that the Ameers had declined to accept the new Treaty. Lt. Eastwick who along with Major Outram and others had been sent to place the Treaty before the Ameers wrote, as follows in his letter dated 21st January—"I deem it my duty to report that I consider affairs at this Capital have assumed a decidedly hostile aspect and that there is very little chance of the present negotiations being brought to a favourable conclusion."²⁵ Finally there were rumours that the Ameers had issued definite instructions to their officers at Karachi to actively oppose the landing of the Reserve Force.²⁶ The hostile attitude of the Ameers exasperated the British Resident who sought to overawe the Ameers by the immediate capture of Karachi.

The members of the Reserve were all conscious of what was in store for them before they left the Indus mouth on 31st January and the members of the 40th Regiment in particular were overjoyed by the prospect as they had lain inactive for too long. Next evening the Reserve arrived within 700-800 yards of the Fort perched on the Manora Cliff guarding the entrance to the harbour of Karachi.²⁷ It was indeed a daring feat on the part of the Reserve Force to anchor in such dangerous proximity to a stronghold which was believed to be hostile to them.

The Fort on the promontory at Manora was built about the year 1801 A.D. by the orders of Meer Fateh

Ali Khan Talpur.²⁸ The Fort on the rocky cape—a strong stone construction with a round tower near it constituted the only defences of the harbour. It was square in form with 5 bastions, one at each angle and one on the side looking inland. On the land side of the Fort was a half circle aided to that face for its better protection. It was entered by a gateway with very strong double doors between the bastions which led into the halfmoon, from which there was another gateway of the same description leading into the centre of a square. In the square was situated a small magazine with an arched roof and a small wooden tank. The Fort boasted a parapet running round it with numerous loopholes for musketry. The walls of the square part of the Fort were about 16-18 ft. thick and 15 ft. high on which rested the parapet of 9-10 ft. On the walls of the Fort were mounted about 11 guns—six and nine pounders. The Fort could not effectively command the entrance to the harbour, for which purpose it was erected, as it was built too far from the edge of the cliffs to offer any serious opposition to a vessel entering the port. The round tower had its separate quota of 3-4 guns.²⁹

Immediately after anchoring, some of the Force got busy preventing all communication with the port as some boats from the port were seen approaching the English ships. While engaged in this self-ordained task shots were fired from the Fort,³⁰ which the English thought were aimed at them though none hit them. This was taken as a sign of the opening of hostilities, but as the day was nearly done the Reserve reserved its opening the campaign for the morrow. All therefore eagerly awaited the dawning of the new day. Let one of the Reserve describe the scene of the next morning: "Morning at length broke and the sun burst forth in all that glorious effulgence which can only be witnessed in the tropics; there was not a breath to ripple the sea or disturb the vast uniform brightness of its glassy surface. The white walls of the little Fort, perched on its rocky cliff, stood erect, and the city of Kurrachee in the far distance, with its long chain of bold but sterile hills in the background, all contributed to form a picture of no ordinary grandeur."³¹

Thus all were on the brink of a great expectation. The calmness of the scene had to be broken quite early, to prepare for the coming event. The decks of the Flagship were cleared for action. The soldiers and marines quietly busied themselves in surveying their flints and ammunition. At about 8 in the morning began the British 'amusements.' A flag of Truce under Lt. Jenkins was sent on shore to demand an unconditional surrender of the Fort.³² The killadar refused

21. Neill : *Ibid.*, p. 12.

22. Neill : *Ibid.*, p. 16.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 17. The British Resident in his letter dated Jerruck, January 28th, to the Naval Commander in Chief, now in charge of the Wellesley, after describing the exact state of affairs in Sind wrote as follows : "Under these circumstances a Force must of course go to Kurrachee and take possession of that place which I trust will be effected peaceably, but it is needless to tell you that all opposition must be put down."

24. Kennedy : *op. cit.*

25. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit.*, p. 127.

26. *Selections from the Records of the Commissioner in Sind*, S. File 106 (Letter 93 of 1839, dated 30th January 1839) and *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit.*, p. 129.

27. Neill : *op. cit.*, p. 17.

28. *India Office Records relating to Sind*. Agha Abul Hassan a Bushire merchant, in the employ of the E. I. Co. notices the erection of the Manora Fort in his letter to the Hon. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, dated Muscat 9th March, 1801, as follows : "From Sind it appears that Meer Fateh Alykhan has ordered fortifications to be erected on the hill of Mahoorah for the purpose of defending Kerachy."

29. The description of the Manora Fort is gleaned from : 1. *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government relating to Sind*, New Series, No. XVII; 2. Neill : *op. cit.*; 3. Baillie : *Kurrachee ---Past, Present and Future*; 4. *Parliamentary Papers, op. cit.*, p. 141.

30. Neill : *op. cit.*, p. 18.

31. Neill : *op. cit.*, p. 18.

32. Captain Gray of the 40th Foot accompanied the party as interpreter.---Neill : *op. cit.*, p. 18.

this 'modest' British request and therefore four Companies of the 40th were ordered to land along with the artillery on the western side of the Fort under cover of H.M.S. the *Algerine* and H.C.S. the *Constance*. Once again a flag of Truce was sent but this too did not achieve the object. The killadar admitted the superior prowess of the British but he could not on that account hand over the Fort without the orders of the Governor of Karachi. He however volunteered to send a man down to Karachi and he was sure that the Governor would readily acquiesce.³³ The old Admiral did not favour this proposal and allowed fifteen minutes' time for the surrender of the Fort. On the expiry of the period, the Beloch being still 'adamant', the Fort was again requested with "true British humanity"³⁴ to open its gates. The killadar reiterated what he had said before upon which the *Wellesley* opened her broad-side and hit the Fort with admirable precision. Soon another Division of the 40th, consisting of the rest of the Regiment (under Major Hibbert) was ordered to land.³⁵ But by the time they had landed, the British Ensign was seen waving over the breach which had been effected in the wall of the Fort, the whole southern face having been blown away. "We had gained a bloodless victory", writes an English officer of the Force, "at the expense of some 5 to 600 pounds of powder and a proportionate number of 32-lb. shot."³⁶ The killadar and his comrades had forsaken their charge after the 4th or 5th round and hid themselves in the crevices of the rocks from where they were soon secured. In the words of N. M. B. Neill 'the whole affair was a pretty thing or to use the expression a brilliant field day'. Doubtless the garrison would have favoured their guests with many specimens of their prowess in the art of gunnery, but unfortunately this gratification was placed beyond their attainment by the obstinacy and incapability of their guns—one which had no carriage, another had jumped off from its carriage, which it had destroyed in its violent effort for freedom, while the only remaining one had evidently resisted every attempt to make it serviceable in the defence of the Fortress and had positively declined going off.³⁷

The firing of the *Wellesley* was followed by a dust storm. The people of Karachi had been greatly alarmed by the firing resorted to by the Flagship and had begun leaving the town. They felt that the cause of the change of 'daylight into a night' by a thick cloud of smoke was the result of heavy firing. Under such circumstances, the officers of the Talpur Government at Karachi—Nawab Khair Mahomed, a Nizamani Beloch, Haji Allah Rakhia and other minor officials—all waited on Seth Pritamdas, the elder brother of Seth Naomal Bhojwani—who was at the time in the employ of Col. Pottinger—and represented to him that the smoke had begun to suffocate the people, that they had no power to oppose the English and that steps should be taken to stop the firing of the cannon.³⁸ By this time Capt. Gray and Lt. Jenkins came on shore to offer their terms of peace. They were cordially received at the port by the Ameers' officers and all proceeded to the Kothi of Seth Naomal to

settle the terms.³⁹ After informal talks it was decided that a deputation on behalf of the Karachi Officers should wait on Admiral Maitland and Col. Valiant on the morrow and sign the Treaty for the surrender of Karachi. The British Force, it was decided, was not to land till the Treaty had been signed.⁴⁰ In the evening the Brigadier and the Admiral visited the scene of their triumph. Next day (3rd February) Hassan Ben Butcha, the commandant of the Manora Fort, on behalf of Khair Mohamed, the Military Governor of Karachi and Sanah Khan on behalf of the Civil Governor, Allah Rakhia, waited on the British Officers and soon drew up the terms of the Treaty which surrendered the town of Karachi on the condition that no molestation or looting of the population was to take place and that the civil administration was to remain in the hands of the Ameers' officers who guaranteed the provision of boats, camels and any other conveyance or any other requirements of the British troops, at the prevailing prices.⁴¹

The landing of the Force therefore began on the following day at 11 o'clock sharp, after a company of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment had been put in charge of the Manora Fort. The ships moved towards the port into the channel but soon found that the water was shallow. Hence the troops got into *Batelos* and subsequently into the *Machwas*. Finally all were compelled to bestride the damp backs of brawny Sindhis or to walk with legs 'an naturel' and the nether garments slung over the shoulders, through nearly a mile of mud and water, averaging two feet deep and over-lying a strata of sharp shells and aquatic roots, which admirably performed the office of mantraps.⁴²

The distant scene of Karachi had bewitched the British soldiers. They thought they were entering a land of promise where plenty reigned supreme. But it could not come up to their vain expectations: since Karachi was an oriental city. At the time of the conquest the town occupied roughly an area of 35 acres. It was surrounded by mud fortifications. The Fort evidently had once been a strong one with bastions on all sides so as to command all round. Guns of various sizes which were once mounted on the bastions were now lying on the ground and seemed to have been there for some years past. The walls of the Fort were built on an artificial bank about 16 feet high and were strengthened by a parapet 10 feet above it. At the time of the conquest the Fort was in a ruinous state and at certain points the inhabitants could pass out of or come into the Fort without much inconvenience. The Fort had two gateways—Mitha Darwaza, leading to the sweet waters of the Lyari bed and Khara Darwaza leading to the blackish waters of the sea. The gates were imposing in appearance and were guarded by Beloochee guards who were soon replaced by a European non-commissioned officer and a sepoy after the British conquest, to prevent the soldiers from entering the town without due permits.⁴³ The interior of the town may better be described by an eye-witness of the scene, though his account is unsympathetic. "The town of Kurrachee is exceedingly dirty and the inhabitants generally are a most squalid set of wretches about 10,000

33. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 204.

34 & 35. Neill : op. cit., p. 20.

36 & 37. Neill *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

38 & 39. *Memoirs of Seth Naomal Hotchand Bhojwani of Karachi*, p. 74.

40. Neill : op. cit., p. 25.

41. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., pp. 144-145.

42. Burton : *Sind Revisited*, Vol. I. p. 32.

43. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

in number. The great majority are Hindoos. The houses are generally mud-built and flat-roofed. On the top of them are wicker ventilators facing the sea, which perform the double duty of wind-sail and sky-light. The streets are narrow and incommodious. The bazaar is covered over with matting to prevent the rays of the sun penetrating but which also precluding a free current of air, adds much to the 'desagremens' of those frequenting it. The principal portion of the better description of houses are in the centre of the town, but there are no public buildings worthy of notice. For the preparations of hides Kurrachee has a great celebrity. It carries on an extensive trade with Bombay, Dauman, Mandavie, Malabar Coast, Mascot, etc. Its principal exports are Fleece, Wool, Sharkfins, Dried Fruits, Dyes, Leather, Silk goods; the chief imports being, sugar, spices, British cloths, grains, wood, brass, steel, tin, etc."⁴⁴

The Reserve Force erected its camping ground on the plain now known as the Artillery Maidan. The troops were soon settling down to rest when the British officers proceeded to the Central Police Station and hoisted the British flag. They also put up notices regarding the British conquest of the city and stationed a few non-commissioned officers and sepoy to patrol the streets to prevent any irregularity on the part of the soldiers.⁴⁵ The amusements of the day ended with a dinner organised in honour of the victors by Seth Pritamdas Bhojwani. The chief guests came attended by a company of soldiers with the band playing and colours flying and were treated to a sumptuous dinner.⁴⁶

But the above account of the capture of Karachi is hardly creditable to the brave Beloches who fought so fiercely and nearly successfully against Napier and his English Force a few years after the Karachi affair, at Miani and Dubba. None of the accounts of the eye-witnesses ever adduces any preparedness on the part of the Killadar and his men to oppose the entry of the English. From the details of the contest between the British and the Beloches at Karachi, it is evident that the men who manned the Manora Fort were hardly a few—at the most 30 on the most liberal computation⁴⁷—and hence they could neither have had the will nor the orders to oppose the English. In case of definite orders from the Ameers not to allow the British to enter the harbour reinforcements would either have been sent to them from the capital or the Karachi officers would have been instructed to raise an independent Force of their own, the evidence for none of which is forthcoming. It was natural for the Ameers to put up a good show for the defence of a Fortress the non-occupation of which by the British was, according to Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Indus, a matter of the greatest importance for them.⁴⁸ It therefore appears that the Karachi Affair was a one-sided one, and was hardly a glorious victory that it was considered to be. A different version of the Karachi episode was furnished by the Ameers to the British Resident which the latter officer verified by personal investigation to his satisfaction and he was

forced to admit that there had been more than 'a little sharp practice' at Karachi, on the British side.⁴⁹

To a great extent circumstances conspired to make the 'sharp practice' a necessity at Karachi. The Reserve Force had been excited to the highest pitch and the members of the Force were certain of opposition before reaching their destination. So any the least action on the part of the killadar which could by stretch of imagination be conceived as a sign of hostility was good enough to commence the campaign. So when a gun was fired immediately after the anchorage of British ships and while some of the English officers were engaged in preventing all communication with the port, it was considered more than a signal for a fight by the Admiral of the little English fleet, though it was fired when the day had been done—hardly the hour to (auspiciously) initiate any hostilities. It was in reality a signal apprising the townsmen of Karachi of the arrival of some ships. This was customary. And the prevalence of the custom was known even to the British Resident.⁵⁰ A misunderstanding cropped up when the Flag of Truce was sent on shore. The killadar explained to the English officers, 'as well as he could,' that he could not surrender the Fort without the knowledge and orders of the Military Governor of Karachi whose subordinate he was. That this assertion of the killadar was correct was ascertained by Pottinger on an independent authority. And yet the English thought that the Commander of the Fort was 'humbugging' them. And when the killadar of his own accord proposed to send a man to the Nawab for orders, which he assured the English officers would be in their favour, the Admiral thought that he was playing the usual Belochee trick. The loud intonation of the Beloches's voice, in his best efforts to convince the British officers that he was speaking the truth also wrought its own damage, being misconstrued.

Lastly it is worthwhile to look into the actual state of preparedness in the Manora Fort at the time of the arrival of the Reserve. In this connection the British Resident in Sind, Col. Henry Pottinger cross-examined the Karachi officers independently and they corroborated the statements of each other without knowing if the others had met Pottinger. Hassanben-Butcha, the killadar of the Fort at Manora, assured the Resident that he and his men had no orders whatever to oppose the British and accordingly they were absolutely unprepared. And the Resident believed him for as he put it before the Governor-General, "the young Jam (the killadar) had no wish to disguise or even qualify anything I asked him about."⁵¹ The killadar further informed the Resident that at the time of the arrival of the English Force the garrison consisted of the usual number of men (16) with not even a sword for each one of them and the Fort was practically devoid of ammunition. There was not a single ball in the Fort and the whole supply of gunpowder amounted to about 6 lbs. kept in an earthen pot.⁵² What a state of pre-

49. Baillie : *Kurachee—Past, Present and Future*, p. 7.

50. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 203.

"I had always been aware", writes Pottinger to the G.-G., "that it was usual to fire a gun at the mouth of the harbour when a square rigged vessel came in sight of or approached the place. This I had myself witnessed when I went to that port in 1809 and I likewise know that it was done when H. M. Frigate the Challenger anchored off it in 1830."

44. Neill : op. cit., pp. 28-29.

45. *Parliamentary Papers*, *ibid.*, p. 142.

46. Naomal : *Memoirs*, p. 92.

47. Neill : op. cit., p. 21.

48. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 139.

paredness! The Nawab of Karachi made a like statement before the English Resident. He affirmed that not a single man had been added to the troops either in the town or the Fort and that they did not altogether muster, at the moment, beyond 80 men who were always kept for fiscal and political duties.⁵³ Above all the Beloochees in charge of the Manora Fort hardly expected the firing from the *Wellesley* after they had put their case in clear terms before the English officers. Accordingly, after the departure of the British deputation they all came out to admire the *Wellesley* when to their horror and surprise the Flagship started emitting fire.⁵⁴ When the balls came rolling in quick succession the only way out of the difficulty for the garrison was to fly for life into the crevices of the rocks wherefrom they were subsequently secured. It adds absolutely a different colour to the whole affair when the Nawab of Karachi affirmed before the English Resident that he had received last minute advices from the Ameers to afford all facility to the English Force.⁵⁵ So through a number of misvaluations, the Beloochees were forced into an unequal and one-sided conflict which was in favour of the British from the very start. Even the British Resident after ascertaining the facts did not hesitate to report to the Governor-General that the conflict might have been advantageously avoided.⁵⁶ But that was not to be and so after the accession of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Karachi, with the exception

of Aden added a fortnight before, was the first city or territory ceded to the British Empire.⁵⁷

But this is not all. The British officers seem to have been a bit high-handed in their treatment of the Ameers' officers who surrendered Karachi to them. The members of the Manora garrison were not only deprived of their arms but also of their personal accoutrements which were later sold off.⁵⁸ The Ameers' officers at Karachi were made to suffer any amount of humiliation. They were deprived of their attendants and were not allowed to carry even a knife with them when visiting the British Camp.⁵⁹ What a fine way of executing the obligations of the recently contracted Treaty! Col. Pottinger was greatly surprised when he interviewed the Nawab of Karachi in the British Camp. "He came like a common menial without arms or attendants," reported Pottinger to the Imperial Government and added, "I refrain from enlarging on the evil and cruelty of degrading men of any class by such a system. It seems to me to be calculated to excite disgust and hatred in not only those towards whom it is immediately practised but in the breast of every chief and man in the Province and to be equally impolitic and dangerous."⁶⁰

Thus Karachi was permanently occupied by the British in spite of the Ameers' frantic efforts at getting the Karachi Treaty annulled and within four years it became the capital of the British Province of Sind.

51, 52, 53 & 54. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 204.

55 & 56. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

57. Baillie : *Kurrachee--Past, Present and Future*, p. 31.

58. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 203-204.

59 & 60. *Parliamentary Papers*, op. cit., p. 204.

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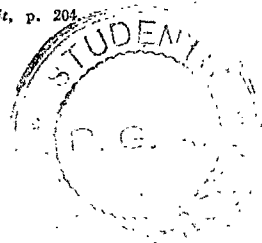
THE VALUE OF A SCHOOL GARDEN

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

"ALL work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." There seems to be an important element of truth in this saying, which the educationists of the day should by no means lose sight of, while drawing up the school programme. The main defect of the present-day educational system consists in the fact that too much stress is laid upon the literary and academic education of children to the utter neglect of extra-curricular activities, such as scouting, excursions, games, tournaments, gardening and the like, which make for their moral and physical well-being. Our mental powers are likely to get rusty unless those are moderately exercised. But our brain should not therefore be over-taxed. Continuous brain work without periods of relaxation and diversion cannot but be detrimental to the health of our mind. So our brain must have occasional rest and diversion. By rest is meant, not a complete cessation of mental activity, which is hardly possible during our waking consciousness, but a diversion and relaxation from the tension of mind. Thus play affords our brain true rest and makes the body "a readier and more delicate servant of the mind." So work and play should go hand in hand in the school as well as in our later life. An important place should therefore be assigned to extra-curricular activities, such as scouting, gardening, games, excursions and the like, participation in

which should by no means be considered to be a mere waste of time. It is a great pity that very few schools in Bengal possess gardens, although the high educational value of a school garden cannot be stressed too strongly. In the urban areas where land is very expensive, ample grounds may not always be available for the purpose of laying out suitable gardens. But in the rural areas of the Province, land is usually very cheap. Even in rural schools, where there are plenty of grounds, people seldom appreciate the necessity and importance of a school garden. It is a great pity that even in these days of food shortage, the school grounds are not utilized for the purpose of growing vegetables, etc.

Gardening should form an important part of the curriculum of village schools. In the opinion of Welton : "In school gardening the pupils learn to perform in an intelligent manner a class of operations which play a large part in country life, and which may be made both profoundly interesting and of great physical benefit." The bookish instruction that is usually imparted at the average rural school is totally unrelated to the activities of the pupils' everyday life. That is why perhaps the average villager does not believe in school education. If education thus consists in mere schooling, and is entirely divorced from the real and



practical interests of a child's life, the school fails to fulfil its true function in the community. In a rural school, a co-ordination of the work of the school and the activities of the everyday life of the pupils can be effected by means of gardening. In a school garden the children may be called upon to take part in such activities as the preparation of the soil, manuring, the sowing of seeds, transplanting, weeding, the watering of plants and trees,—the growing of vegetables in different seasons and flower culture. They may also be made to observe the most common diseases that trees, fruit or leaves may be subject to and may be taught the proper remedies too. Thus a good deal of useful, first-hand information can be imparted to the children with regard to plants and trees in a school garden. This may be of immense help to them in their later life. Besides, the dignity of labour may well be inculcated among the pupils through gardening. It is commonly believed that even, the people who have got a smattering of school education get inclined to look down upon manual labour. Probably it is a fact to some extent. Welton has aptly observed :

"When the work of a school is altogether bookish, it tends to set before the pupils a false idea of the relative values of manual toil and other occupations."

It should be borne in upon the school children that there is nothing degrading in "working with the hands." Such work as the pupils are made to do in a school garden is expected to be of great help in doing away with this sort of prejudice against manual labour, and in changing their entire outlook on it. If their interest in trees and plants can be aroused, they will never think it beneath their dignity to participate in those activities. On the contrary, they will probably derive immense pleasure from the manual labour that they may be called upon to do in a school garden. Besides, such manual labour will be endowed with a dignity of its own, if it is included in the school curriculum.

Gardening constitutes an important manual training, the high educational value of which cannot be overlooked. An important place must be assigned to manual training in the educational programme of the day. To quote a famous Psychologist: "Training in manual skill is an essential factor in bringing the young into true intellectual relations with both his physical and his social surroundings." In school gardening, the children are afforded an opportunity for "self-expression in material forms," the hand being the greatest executive of the mind. They are trained to do things with their own hands and see if those are being done properly. Thus the development of perception goes hand in hand with muscular co-ordination. This training in "real purposeful physical doing" tends to give a practical bias to the education of children, and equip them for an intelligent, practical life. Besides, gardening provides a good open air exercise also. A good deal of physical exercise is involved in the preparation of the soil and the watering of plants and trees. Such activities help to promote the healthy development of the growing bodies of the children. In a school garden, they get plenty of fresh air and oxygen, so indispensable to their health. It is a very good idea to hold open air classes in the school gardens during the cold weather. During the hot weather, of course, the

scorching heat of the tropical sun renders it impossible to do so.

Weaned from Mother Nature as the pupils of the urban schools are, the school gardens, if properly utilized, may be of immense help in engendering and instilling a love of nature into their mind from their very childhood. Gardening helps to beget a healthy interest in nature among the school children, by bringing them into direct contact with her. Very often we are inured to the beauties of the natural surroundings in which we live, move and have our being. One season is giving place to another. But we are seldom aware of the advent of the new one, and the changes that it brings about in the face of the earth. Nature with her vast wealth of colour and fragrance seldom touches a responsive chord in our hearts. We cannot say what wonderful operations are going on about us in the world of plants and trees. Nor do we care to fathom and unravel the wonders and mysteries of their lives—how a small seed germinates, how a tiny seedling gradually grows up and develops into a big tree or plant—how it bears fruit and flowers. We are so used to seeing these things in our everyday life that we take them as a matter of course, and do not even notice them. Gardening forges out a closer link between the life of a man and that of a plant. How interesting it is to see a seed grow up into a big plant or tree bearing fruit and flowers. With what anxious care and solicitude we watch the day-to-day growth of a seedling. We develop almost a motherly love for the plants and seeds we sow. Our joy knows no bound when we watch the first flowers and fruit coming out. In the school gardens, small plots of land may well be assigned to groups of children for the purpose of laying out a garden of their own, where they may be encouraged to grow different kinds of flowers and vegetables in different seasons. Occasional exhibitions and flower-shows may also be organised by way of encouragement.

Quite a number of subjects can be taught in and through gardening. The lessons on those subjects may thus be correlated with those on gardening. It is absolutely ridiculous to teach Nature-study in a classroom, when there is a school garden, where the children may be afforded the opportunity of acquiring a first-hand knowledge of plants and trees. The pupils may also be taught the rudiments of agriculture in a school garden. Ideas of the rotation of crops, manuring, the type of soil best suited to each kind of crops and vegetables may be given to the children on practical lines in the course of the gardening lessons. Elements of Botany can also be taught through gardening, such as, the different species of plants and trees, the different kinds of flowers, roots and leaves, the different parts of a flower, the function of flowers, fruit, roots, and leaves, reproduction or germination. Drawing lessons may occasionally be arranged in a school garden, and the children may be encouraged to copy things from Nature. They may also be asked to design the flowerbeds after some of the geometrical figures—such as circles, squares, triangles, oblongs, rectangles, and the like. They will thus get to learn the names of those figures, and will, also, know how to draw them. Besides, the pupils can be given correct and accurate ideas of distance and measurements, through the gardening lessons.

"A thing of beauty is a joy for ever." Gardening admirably lends itself to the training of the aesthetic

and artistic sense of the children, and as such, its cultural value should not be underestimated. The pupils should be taught to acquire a taste for the beautiful, even from their early childhood. Attempts should thus be made to appeal to their aesthetic instinct, and to inculcate the love of beautiful things among them. In a school garden, the children come into close contact with nature, and learn how to appreciate her beauty. A pretty garden is surely indicative of the artistic taste of its owner, and is a source of immense pleasure to all who look at it. Gardening may be reduced to an art, and may thus help to develop the artistic and aesthetic sense of the children. In a school garden, they may be given ideas of the colour effects, and may also be trained in the sense of symmetry and proportion.

Gardening may be of great help in the training of the pupils' characters. As stated before, the dignity of labour can be borne in upon them in and through the gardening lessons. They are trained in the powers of observation and concentration, as well as initiative. In school gardening, the children learn to be practical as

they have to put their plans and projects into execution. Quite a number of moral habits may also be formed in a school garden. The children learn to be patient, industrious and regular in work. They may be taught how to respect life in all forms, and how to take care of tender and helpless things in Nature. Some of them may be in the habit of tearing flowers and plants to pieces. But looking after the tender plants, committed entirely to their care, is likely to beget a sense of responsibility among the pupils, who will seldom feel inclined to destroy them.

Gardening is a delightful recreation, which can be indulged in by the young as well as the old, and is a most agreeable means of occupying our leisure. Many of us have the hobby of gardening. Hobbies serve to divert our mind, at least for the time being, from the troubles and worries that may beset it, and thus brace our energies for the more serious activities of our life. So hobbies should be encouraged among the school children also. If a taste for gardening can be created among them, many of them will probably take to this hobby in their later life.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

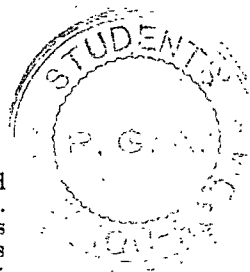
ENGLISH

BHARATA-KAUMUDI: *Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Part I. The Indian Press Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 502. Price Rs. 10.*

This is the first part of a volume of studies presented to Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, the well-known scholar, by his pupils, friends and admirers as a token of "the long and distinguished services rendered by him in different spheres of national life." While there is likely to be a general agreement with this estimate of Dr. Mookerji's many-sided activities, one is a little surprised to find in the Introductory portions of this volume a certain departure from the canons of propriety usually observed in similar cases of presentation of *festschriften* to distinguished scholars. In the biographical sketch the editors have thought it fit to include not only a list of Dr. Mookerji's publications (not excluding two unpublished ones), but also copious extracts from Press opinions and even personal letters advertising the merits of his writings. Of a piece with the above is the inclusion of a number of messages (ten pages in print) written by distinguished public men commending the acceptance of the scheme for honouring Dr. Mookerji.

These opening remarks must not be taken to detract from our appreciation of the high value of many of the papers which extend over a remarkable variety of topics—Epigraphy, Numismatics and Iconography, Fine Arts, Sanskrit and Sanskrit Literature in its different

branches, General History of ancient, medieval and modern India and the History of Greater India. It is not possible to notice even the majority of the papers, but a few may be mentioned. In a closely reasoned paper, Dr. A. S. Altekar disproves the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's theory of the ancestry of the Bharasivas. In another paper Dr. P. C. Bagchi brings forward fresh data in favour of his view of the indefiniteness of the Sanskrit term *Chandradvipa* which he takes to be the equivalent of the Chinese *K'un-lun*, through a Prakrit-Malay intermediate form like *Chandar*. Mr. Adris Banerji sanely discusses the identification of three metal images deposited in the Saranath Museum together with the process of their manufacture. Dr. J. N. Banerjee adequately explains the origin and significance of the doctrine of *vibhava* of Vishnu and compares the different lists of *avatara*s of this deity. Dr. P. V. Bapat brings forward evidence from Pali and Sanskrit as well as Chinese and Tibetan to explain the obscure term *Saptanga-supratishthita*. Dr. B. M. Barua undertakes in an elaborate paper "to distinguish between the pre-Asokan and post-Asokan elements in the composition of the Arthashastra as a prose-treatise," and ends by concluding that the date of compilation of the extant prose-treatise is "near about the beginning of the Christian era." Mr. M. M. Bhat analyses the contents of an unpublished mathematical work *Vyavaharaganita* written by a certain Rajaditya in 1197 A.D. to illustrate the scientific knowledge of the Kanarese people at that time. In a very interesting paper Dr.



S. K. Chatterji after recapitulating current views of the series of linguistic (and racial) migrations into and from India, mentions a number of survivals of Austro culture in modern Hinduism. From a copper-plate inscription recently discovered in Rewa State, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra proves the existence of a line of Pandava kings of Mekala, whom he suggests more doubtfully to have been feudatories of the Vakatakas. The meaning of the Vedic word *Tanukrit* is discussed by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy with his usual thoroughness. An excellent summary of the problems awaiting Indian Archaeology at present is given by Mr. K. N. Dikshit. Mr. O. C. Gangoly traces in a letter written by a Marhatta agent at Delhi to Nana Farnavis, reference to an accomplished artist of the Mughal school called Nidhamal who lived at the Imperial capital about the time of the raids of Ahmed Shah Abdali. One of Nidhamal's paintings is actually identified and reproduced in the course of the same paper. The inconclusive evidence in favour of Endless Numerals in the Rigveda is brought forward by Dr. Batakrisna Ghosh. Mr. S. S. Guleri edits with an introduction, translation and notes an unpublished inscription of a chieftain of the family of the Guhilas of Chatsu belonging to the 8th century. Mr. A. P. Karmakar classifies the Puranic theories of creation and traces their antecedents (somewhat speculatively) to the Mohenjo Daro and Vedic cultures. Dr. S. M. Katre shows by a concrete example the importance of tracing the history of textual transmission of manuscripts by scribes. Dr. A. B. Keith rejects S. P. Chaturvedi's new argument for placing Panini in the tenth century B.C. and reiterates his own date (c. 350 B.C.) for the famous grammarian. Dr. M. H. Krishna traces, with the help of inscriptions and MSS., the remarkable history of a family of chiefs who successively filled between 1610 and 1710 the post of Commander-in-Chief of Mysore and between 1720 and 1761 usurped the whole administrative authority in that State. Mr. Bhavani Churn Law after recapitulating older theories of the origin of the Pahari School of Painting, concludes that it was "a spontaneous art born in the hills probably long before the 17th century." Dr. B. C. Law gives an elaborate account of the Buddhist rules of decorum (*achara*), comparing them with those of the Brahmanical *Grihyasutras* and Jaina *Acharanga-sutra*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar gives a brief survey of the history and culture of the kingdom of Srikshehra (old Prome) which he thinks to be "the earliest Hindu colonial kingdom in Burma known to us."

The printing, paper and get-up are remarkably good, considering the difficulties of the present times. We have, however, noticed some serious mistakes in printing, such as "Dr. Bernhard Bueloer, author of the Kautilya Studien, I, Das Grudeigentum in Indien (1927) and II. Altindische Privatrecht bei Megasthenes and Kautilya. (1928)" (p. 86), and "Maratus" (p. 202). Still more refreshing is the title "Island of Kunlun and Chandragupta" (p. v) of a paper and that of "F.R.S." appended to the name of a scholar (p. vi) in the list of contents.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ENGLISH POETS ON INDIA AND OTHER ESSAYS : By Rabindra Kumar Dasgupta. Published by the Book House, Calcutta.

The learned author attracted the attention of many lovers of literature by his articles on *English Poets of India*, *Walt Whitman on India*, *Calcutta and English Literature* and so forth. He demonstrated beyond doubt that even in the domain of recent Indo-Anglian literature and cultural relations there are many knotty problems which can only be cleared up after painstaking research. Carlyle and Landor are now known to be

admirers of some British beauties who migrated to Bengal and Prof. Dasgupta has succeeded in infusing a new life to those forgotten chapters of history. So his paper on *Walt Whitman on India* throws valuable light on the cultural contact of India with America in the early 19th century; for, as we know, Emerson, a senior contemporary of Whitman, was deeply saturated with Indian thought and spirituality. The author has thrown new light on the life and thought of two eminent British writers: *Byron in the House of Lords* and *Ruskin on India*. The opening paper of the book very characteristically harks back to the age of Aristophanes, who as a pacifist castigated war through his immortal comedies. We agree with Amiya Chakravarti when he wrote in his foreword: 'Sound scholarship and a fine literary skill in transferring experiences make this book a real contribution to modern criticism.' We recommend the book to all sincere lovers of literature.

K. NAG

THREE MYSTIC POETS : A Study of W. B. Yeats, A.E., and Rabindranath Tagore by Abinash Chandra Bose, M.A., Ph.D., with an Introduction by Dr. J. H. Cousins, D.Litt. Published by School and College Book-stall, Kolhapur. Pages 166. First Edition, 1945. Price Rs. 5.

The present volume is based upon a larger work of the same author entitled *Mysticism in Poetry* which was accepted as a thesis for Ph.D. degree by the Dublin University. Dr. Bose, the author of this volume, is a professor of English at Rajaram College, Kolhapur, and has given ample evidence of scholarship which is beyond dispute. The book is prefaced with an excellent essay from the pen of Dr. J. H. Cousins who expresses appreciation for Dr. Bose's laudable venture. As a matter of fact, a study of these three great spiritually allied poets was long overdue and Dr. Bose has done a valuable service to the lovers of culture by undertaking it with considerable success.

But the word 'mystic' refuses to be fully defined. It is difficult to focus upon its quintessential points in the midst of its ever widening connotation. Dr. Bose's grasp of the subject is good but the negative stage of mysticism which he has pointed out can, with difficulty, be called mystic. Mysticism is a love-inspired inner illumination which enables the ecstatic soul to intuit the ultimate reality. It is, as, Underhill says, "a movement of the heart seeking to transcend all limitations of individual stand-point and surrender itself to the ultimate reality." It is essentially a part of the experience of a spiritual temper and is thus different from poetic temper. The poet can at best be an articulate mystic who must objectify, necessarily, not directly, but in terms of symbols,—what is ineffable in case of a religious mystic—his inner intuitions of beauty or divinity, his solitary vision of the burning bush. In final analysis, the poet has to retain as much of individualism as is necessary for communication. Occasional want of this poetic self-assertion has rendered much of Blake's poetry into luminous but ineffectual prophetic verbiage. Poetry and mysticism are widely different, in spite of writers like Andre Bremond, who would almost identify the two, and a poet can be called a mystic only in the sense that his approach to the mystery of the universe is intuitional.

Dr. Bose has taken pains to show how Yeats is a mystic in his own original way. "He is mystic more on account of his temper of mind, tone of his feeling and the nuance of his style than for the revelation of a mystic apprehension or declaration of a mystic faith." Dr. Bose fully discusses the mysticism of A. E. which consists in an "inner illumination," in a lifting of the veil and points out also the various influences which shape his spiritual history. As Yeats's poems are full of

suggestion of over-powering mystery. A. E.'s poems are instinct with sudden illumination. "Many of A.E.'s poems," says also H. Kabir, "are instinct with the momentary glow that lights up the depths of the human heart from some transcendent sources." Dr. Bose's analysis of Tagore's mysticism is also instructive. He shows how the fountain of his mysticism is the Hindu scripture which wakes him up to the "emancipation of the spirit from the bonds of matter, an emancipation that unites it with the super soul." But Dr. Bose might have more fully explored the *Jivana-Devata* conception which permeates much of his poetry and it would throw light upon the poet's mystic reaction to the fundamental spiritual problems of life.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

THE NEW SOVIET THEATRE : By Joseph Macleod. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1943. Pages 242. Price 12s. 6d.

The Soviet Theatre has undergone an epoch-making transformation during the last few years. The formalist period has been left behind. Gone are the exciting terseness of the Proletcult, the dynamism of Meierhold and those newly codified theatre laws which sought to guide the aesthetic aspirations of a collectivist crowd. The audience, which is the most important factor in any good theatre, has responded to a new aesthetic consciousness which has been described as Socialist Realism. Since the publication of Norris Houghton's *Moscow Rehearsals* (1938), the sweep and outlook of the Soviet theatre have recorded vitally significant changes. Macleod, who was at one time Director of the Festival Theatre at Cambridge, visited Russia during these transitional years and has recorded his experiences in this volume which gives a faithful picture of the new trends in Soviet theatre and his judgment on the artistic and cultural worth of the new attitude that guides the dramatists, producers and directors of today.

Like any other philosophy of art, Socialist Realism is hard to define. Broadly speaking, it represents a cultural reaction against the collectivist abstractions of the formalist period and a revival of interest in Western European culture and art forms. A Soviet writer thus describes it : "Socialist Realism does not boil down to an art-creation in style. Style is a secondary phenomenon, a particular moment of Socialist Realism. In Socialist Realism as a method an endless quantity of styles, idioms, forms, modes and so on, is permissible on principle." Socialist Realism is the basic method of literary art in Soviet Russia and demands of the artist a truthful and concrete representation of actuality in its revolutionary development. It is true of all the arts in the Soviet Union, but it is vital to the theatre, and Socialist Realism in the theatre is only possible with a socialist audience. The Revolutionary theatre with its blood and passions, love and hatred is dead.

As a result of this new movement, cultural autonomy of national units is expanding steadily. Each of the many countries in the U.S.S.R. has now its own theatres, with native playwrights and native companies. New figures that have appeared in their own right as socialist-realists have been discussed by the author at considerable length, notably Alexey Popov of the Central Theatre of the Red Army, who has a chapter to himself. The popularity of Shakespeare is illustrated both in the Central theatres and in remoter and unexpected places. Dramatists of today are studied, the plots of many new plays being given in summaries. The day is past when a sophisticated and cynical Central theatre had nothing in common with the primitive and simple regional theatres. The popularity of Shakespeare as seen through Socialist Realism is described by the author as follows : "And all through his studies of tyrants or degenerates, doomed lovers or inflated

cowards, too trusting hearts or too soft ones, runs like a steel wire his practical affection, and regard, and understanding towards the ordinary man. The ordinary man in his weakness and strength, as Lenin saw and worked for him ; in his infinite variety and his modest desire to be himself in the time in which he is born ; we scarcely know whether it is Shakespeare or the Soviet Union that we are describing."

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE RACIAL HISTORY OF INDIA : By Chandra Chakrabarty. Published by Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pp. 360. Price Rs. 5.

Mr. Chakrabarty is a prolific writer. He has already got to his credit about two dozens of books on so serious and such diverse subjects as medicine, religion, biology, politics, philosophy and what not ! We wonder how one can handle so many subjects and deal with them so profoundly. In his latest production, which is the volume under review, the learned author discusses the puzzling problems of Indian races and attempts to "discover the integral components of our racial complex with their historical background." The chapter on peoples contains a scholastic discussion about the original home of the Aryans. The author thinks that Central Asia, the Caucasus, Macedonia and Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Aryavarta, Polar region or the Baltic Shore cannot be the Aryan cradle as held by some scholars but to him the Valdai plateau appears to be that blessed region. He adduces for his conclusion arguments which are mostly linguistic. He holds that a branch of the Aryans following the Saraju and the Saraswati entered India through Gandhara. It is left to the scholars to solve this complicated question of our racial history and offer constructive criticisms invited by the author in the preface. Racial components of India are described in the twelfth chapter in which the author creditably explains how the present Indian race is a curious admixture of numerous alien and indigenous races. He says for instance the Monkhmer offshoots belong to the lower classes of Bengal and Southern India, and the buffalo culture of Monkhmers is represented by the Mahishya, Kaivarta agricultural classes of Bengal. The book is a scholarly study and will be welcome only by the scholars. The style is bombastic and the treatment throughout abounds in technicalities. There is a very short index of important words but a list of contents is badly wanting.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

LETTERS TO KUGELMANN : By Karl Marx. Price Rs. 2.

MATERIALISM AND EMPIRIO-CRITICISM : By V. I. Lenin. Published in the People's Library Series by Burman Publishing House, 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-4.

These are the first Indian editions of two of the most outstanding works in the International Socialist literature. Marx devoted a good deal of space in the correspondence to personal matters. For the general public and for the working class, the theoretical and political matter in his letters are of infinite interest. In these letters we not only have very lucid expositions of his own theories, such as his labour theory of value, but we also have his estimate of various writers such as Duhring, Buchner, Dietzgen, etc.

The latter book is Lenin's study on the philosophy of Materialism. It is also an indispensable work for the study and understanding of Marx.

D. BURMAN

NEW LIFE IN NEW CHINA: By Mao Tse-Tung and others. Purabi Publishers, Calcutta. Pages 163. Price 2-4.

New China is having her pangs of re-birth and the present book gives particulars of the political and economic struggle of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border and other Border regions of the Communistic China. China has enemies both internal and external. Age-long conservatism and a feudal system at home and Japanese aggression from outside make young Communist China's problems difficult to solve. But her leaders inspired by the example of Lenin and Russia are determined to work up the economic and political salvation of the country. The book gives correct and thrilling pictures of the dumb millions of China, her "Labour Heroes", her struggle for food and clothing, reforms in agriculture and taxation, and of her fighters who fight for political freedom and economic emancipation of the country. The book is recommended to those who are anxious to know about China on her way to Communism.

BANKERS' ADVANCES AGAINST GOODS: By D. S. Sastri, M.A., Cert. A.I.B. (Lond.). Published by Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Pages 310. Price Rs. 12-8.

The book discusses various aspects of Bankers' advances against goods in India. On account of defective nature of Indian market the conditions in different parts of the country are widely different, yet this branch of the Banking business is on the increase. The author is an experienced Banker and as such has a thorough grasp of the subject, so the book will be of great help to practical bankers, as well as, to students of Banking. The legal aspect of the advances against goods has been ably dealt with. Subjects like produce under pledge and hypothecation, documents of title to goods, safeguarding of the securities, insurance of the goods, etc., have been discussed in a practical and useful manner. Various commodities from raw produce to finished articles that come to Banks as security for advances have found place in this volume. Reprints of various specimen forms used by the Bankers at the end of this book, will be of help to men in banking profession. The book deserves to be widely circulated among bankers and students of Banking.

GUIDE TO PRECIS WRITING AND DRAFTING: By L. M. Mitra. Published by Prabartak Publishing House, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pages 192. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book is intended to help departmental candidates from various Accounts offices of the Government of India to prepare for S.A.S. examinations. The author has taken pains to make the book useful by constructive hints and helpful exercises collected from the examination papers spread over a number of years. The book will be helpful to those for whom it has been written.

A. B. DUTTA

SARAT CHANDRA CHATTERJEE: HIS MIND AND ART: By I. N. Madan, M.A., Ph.D., Dayal Singh College, Lahore. Published by Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali, Lahore. Price Rs. 6.

This is a carefully written critical study of Sarat Chandra's literary works. In the introduction the author has described the general trend of the Bengali novel before the advent of Sarat Chandra and indicated the significance of his contribution. In the following chapters he has discussed in details the novels and stories of that great writer and commented on his characterisation

and technique. In spite of 'limitations and handicaps' acknowledged in the preface—the foremost among them being the author's want of acquaintance with the original works—he has fairly succeeded in explaining the mind and art of the famous Bengali novelist. The bibliography appended to the book contains a complete list of Sarat Chandra's original works and their translations in Hindi and Gujarati. The fact that all his works have been translated in the two above-mentioned languages is a clear proof of his wide popularity all over India. The present volume is expected to receive general appreciation and be particularly helpful to foreigners, interested in modern Bengali literature.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL: By Mm. Haraprasad Sastri. Revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Vol. VIII. Parts I and II. Calcutta. 1939-40.

This catalogue, which contains notices of over one thousand Tantric manuscripts, bears witness to the widespread popularity of the Tantric cult for many centuries in Bengal. This is the eighth of the fifteen volumes of Catalogue projected by the late Mm. Haraprasad Sastri; but since it could not be completed during his life-time, the work of checking, arranging, revising and editing of the unfinished volumes from the materials left by him was entrusted to Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti, who has not only discharged his task with great care and scholarship, but who has also given an additional account of some fifty more recently acquired manuscripts. Most of the MSS. are connected with Bengal and are mostly written in the Bengali script. They reflect, therefore, a phase of belief and worship which became deep-rooted and peculiar to Bengal. The collection is fairly extensive and representative, and includes works of divergent interest, although works on the philosophical aspects of Tantra as such are not many in number. There are original general works, as well as digests and separate treatises on the different cults of Siva, Sakti, Visnu and other deities of the Tantric pantheon, Stotras and Kavachas, works on rites, mudras and yantras, and on Yogic practice. The editor has added a learned introduction, in which he gives an account of the characteristic features of the more important works, their scripts, material and date, and calls attention to such individual works and authors as possess a special interest. We look forward to the publication of the remaining volumes of the Catalogue, which is the fruit of many years' devoted labour, and which, together with the volumes already published, would stand as a monument to the memory of the great scholar, who did not unfortunately live to see the completion of his cherished project of great learning and importance.

S. K. DE

SANSKRIT

RIGVEDASAMHITA: Edited by Shripad Damodar Santabalekar with the help of a number of Vaidik Pandits of Marhatta. Crown 8 vo., pp. 72 + 978. Swadhyaya Mandal, Aundh, Dt. Satara. Price Rs. 5.

This is a beautiful edition of the text of the Rigveda with various indices and appendices. Of these the index of the Rishis and the index of the first lines of the verses are the most useful. In the latter reference is also made to other Vedic works where particular verses of the Rigveda are known to occur as well. That the book passes through a second edition testifies to

The Earth's Smiling Face

depends on the Salts lying
hidden in the soil :

Man's vitality, too, rests on
the Blood flowing in his veins.

While the earth's eaten-up salts may
be easily replaced by manures, man's
stock of depleted blood may be quickly
replenished

By

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CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JIBAN-MRITYU (Life and Death): *By Sri Vivekananda Mukhopadhyay. Published by A. Mukherjee & Bros., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

As a journalist and poet the author has won distinction. Fortunately for us, he does not mix up his journalism with poetry. The poems included in this neat volume evince an imaginative soul, an aesthetic temperament. Both in respect of their matter and manner of composition, they present a variety—serious and light, original and translation, rhyming verse and prose-poem, historical and personal. 'Cleopatra's Mrityu' (The Death of Cleopatra) and 'Samudra Saikate' (On the Sea-Beach) are particularly delicate and impressive.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AKHIL BHARAT CHARKHA SANGH: *Karya-Vivaran, July, 1942 to June 1944. Published by Akhil Bharat Charkha Sangh, Sevagram, Wardha.*

This report is a concise survey of the production, distribution and sale of Khadi through the various centres and branches of the A. I. S. A. during the period under review. The facts and figures contained in the report, though insufficient and even incomplete in some cases for obvious reasons, are rather helpful in explaining as to how during the stormy days of August, 1942, scores of its centres were closed down by the authorities concerned and hundreds of its trained workers clapped behind prison-bars thereby causing unemployment to thousands of its skilled workers and thus rigidly cutting down the scope and growth of the development of Khadi in the face of a deepening cloth-crisis. Thus, the various figures of this report do not merit a favourable comparison with the previous biennial figures. But compared with the production-figures of 1942-43, the figures for 1943-44 clearly show that Khadi has made a steady headway towards recovery.

M. S. SENGAR

HINDI GITA: *By Haribhan Upadhyay. Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Price eight annas.*

SUBODH GITA: *By Dr. K. N. Dorley. Published by P. G. Mudki B.A., Nutan Vidyalaya, Hinganghat, C.P. Price six annas.*

Both are translations in Hindi of the *Bhagavad-Gita*,—the scripture which has held the centre of Hindu spiritual thought for centuries. The former is in verse, *shloka* by *shloka* and in *Anushtupa chhanda*. Each chapter is preceded by a short summary, in prose of its content. Certain commentaries in syntax have been adopted for the purpose of simplifying the recitation of the version so that it may be as pleasing to the ear, as it may be effective in impressing one easily with the "ideology", in question. *Hindi-Gita* is a unique metrical translation of the scripture and as such, is sure to appeal to a wider 'range' of the unsophisticated, eager and aspiring seeker of the essence of age-old faith and philosophy of the Hindus.

The latter is a prose translation of the same scripture. It is in bold print and the style is suited to the purpose of propagating the teaching thereof.

MARATHAS AND RAJPUTS (UNION) AIKYA, MARATHAS AND JATS (UNION) AIKYA, MARATHAS AND SIKHS (UNION) AIKYA: *By S. N.*

Supekar. Maratha-Rajput Union Office, Dewas Junior, C. I. Pp. 175, 68, 123 respectively. Price not mentioned.

About three years back a movement was set afoot to bring about unity among the various warlike sections of the Hindu community. For this purpose a Conference was held subsequently. And it is in connection with its work of implementing the above-mentioned objective that the present three books, under review, have been published. The spirit of the project, which is laudable in every respect, is evident from the following words: "There are times when people with common ideal, common history, common profession should flock together for the service of humanity at large and of the motherland."

The publications provide an interesting study of the growth of the various warlike communities among the Hindus that dwell in India. They suggest measures like interdining and intermarrying in order to break down the barriers which now separate them. They are incidentally an attack on the age-old citadel of caste and its undesirable isolationism. But will the fortress capitulate? Perhaps the war may hasten this.

G. M.

GUJARATI

RASHTRABHASHA BISHE VICHAR: *By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 136. 1945. Price twelve annas.*

Mahatma Gandhi has put forward the spread of Rashtrabhasha as an important item of national reconstruction, and the book under notice contains his pronouncements on the question of the national language for India. Even now the importance of the subject has not received the attention it deserves, and some confusion has been created already by people, no doubt well-meaning, who have tried and are still trying to equate the 'Rashtrabhasha' to Hindi only; whereas it is an amalgam, a living reality reflecting the national unity in terms of the language, and the nationalist worker has to learn the two scripts, the Nagri and the Urdu, so far as he may. Mahatmaji has been thinking aloud ever since 1917 on the subject, and the publisher has done well in bringing together all that he has written or said in this connection in one bunch. The volume has Gandhi's foreword, dated 21-5-1945 and an index, both of which will no doubt be appreciated by the reader. It is time that such a book was translated into the other languages of modern India.

P. R. SEN

JIVANNAN VAMAL: *By G. G. Dhru, B.A. Printed at the Navprabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-4.*

The title of this book means "Whirlpools of Life" and it contains a reprint of twenty articles from a fortnightly journal edited by Mr. Dhru and devoted to the uplift of society, "Truth is stranger than Fiction" is a hackneyed saying, but it loses none of its force when applied to the facts related in these stories. Taking advantage of the necessitous circumstances under which widows and unprotected women have to live in our society, unscrupulous men never fail first to ruin and then to desert them. Each tale narrated in this collection is vouchsafed to be true and the facts are stated to have happened and the Anathashram at Ahmedabad in charge of Mr. Dhru has, as a matter of fact, rescued and helped these unfortunates to be set on their feet again. It is a most heart-rending collection of facts and an indelible stigma on our social habits; the sooner it is removed the better.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Labour Wins

The Labour victory in Britain is a great event in this war-ridden world. K. M. Munshi writes in *The Social Welfare* :

It is a triumph of principles over personalities; of socialistic outlook against reactionary Imperialism. It is a triumph which the British alone of all peoples of the world are capable of achieving. In the midst of a great world war, with problems affecting the life and death of Britain remaining unsolved, the people decided to remove the one strong man who had led them to victory, from the helm of affairs. They were tired of his outlook on life and world affairs. They replaced him by a man very much smaller in stature but more devoted to democracy.

The Labour triumph is largely a triumph of the common man in England. It showed, more than anything else, that the Common Man in England has both the courage and the instincts of a free man.

The British people now face world problems with a clear conscience. They can be now relied upon to vindicate those principles for which Britain has claimed to stand but which during the last seven years have been considerably obscured.

One of the principal motives which worked on the collective mind of Britain was the fear that Churchill and his friends might adopt the methods of pre-war Imperialistic diplomacy and thus queer the pitch for a happy world reconstruction. There was also a fear, not unexpressed, that Churchill in power might undermine Anglo-Russian amity. Even in America there was a revulsion of feeling against the Churchill regime. Stalin was decidedly hostile. The English people, therefore, rightly chose to drop him.

The Labour group which has now come to power is an infinite improvement on Ramsay MacDonald's Labour Government of the past.

Attlee may not be very brilliant or very effective. But brilliance and effectiveness in a Prime Minister are handicaps in a democracy at peace. The average democratic party loves to see at its helm some sober man with whom the average member has more things in common than the dashing, the versatile or the effective man. Attlee, therefore, is likely to make a very successful Prime Minister.

Bevin, Morrison, Dalton, Jowitt, and Cripps are all first-rate men who have fought for their principles, for the liberty of England and for the Common Man. And behind them all is Laski the conscience keeper of the average democrat all the world over.

To the principal problem which faces the British Commonwealth, viz., its relations with Russia, the Labour Government will be able to bring to bear a more unbiassed attitude. In the world to come, a conflict between U.S.S.R. and the British Commonwealth in more spheres than one appears inevitable. But between men who understand each other's point of view the conflict is bound to be less acrimonious and not so destructive.

The Labour Government will be able to hit off well with the Truman administration in U.S.A.

The Labour victory has destroyed the Municheers and the Reactionaries hip and thigh. Mr. Amery was the very image of Tory Reactionaryism. And his fall has been greeted with jubilation half the world over.

The British statesmen are often inclined to be sanctimonious and are now delivering sympathetic funeral speeches over the burial of Mr. Amery's parliamentary career.

But India has with one voice expressed its gratification. Mr. Amery has been in office for five years now. During these five years again and again he opened his mouth either to hurl an insult at India, to defend the indefensible, or to sacrifice truth. He inaugurated a regime of persecution which has few parallels even in the annals of British Imperialism. His conduct at the time of Gandhiji's fast in 1943 was characterised by the callousness of Roman emperors two thousand years ago. Under his regime, millions were allowed to die of starvation. There are many other sins of omission and commission which one can catalogue against him. His disappearance, therefore, marks the end of an era which Britain cannot remember without shame and India without indignation.

The Labour Party is bound to be sympathetic towards nations aspiring to be free. It is not likely to rush into hysterical exhibitions of generosity; nor is it likely to drop Imperialism. Its capacity for translating its pledges into action is bound to be tempered by the vigour of Conservative opposition which is sure to see in every liberal move a fresh crack in its much loved empire. But Labour is bound to be more sympathetic and sympathy even in politics is known to work wonders.

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Is Nationalization Possible Without National Government ?

If Government took the initiative to get half a dozen key industries started and placed them on the road to successful operation, the confidence of the public in Government measures may be expected to revive. An ounce of practice is better than tons of investigation and promises. Sir M. Visvesvaraya observes in *The Hindustan Review* :

According to the statement on Industrial Policy issued by the Government of India on 22nd April, 1945, the Central Government have decided to avail themselves of the provisions of the (1935) Government of India Act and to take over 20 key industries from provincial control under their own direct supervision with a view "to encourage and promote the rapid industrialisation of the country to the fullest extent possible."

The transfer of responsibility for key industries to the Centre is not in itself an event to rouse enthusiasm. Experience shows that under present political conditions not much co-operation or sympathy can be expected from the Central Government.

To give one notable instance, during the early period of the war, the Bombay Provincial Government had guaranteed interest on the capital required for an automobile industry, but it was the Central Government which not only declined to grant facilities but actually killed the project. An immense number of motor trucks and cars were wanted for the war, and business leaders were keen on developing the industry. Had the Indian public been allowed to participate in the manufacture of trucks, the country would have made money, its engineers and technicians would have acquired experience and skill of special value for the country's industrial future. A rare opportunity for utilising the country's vast material resources and talent under the stimulus of war was lost, due to the disinclination of Government to encourage Indian industries.

This failure to get the Government order for motor trucks was not due to want of capacity either. An aeroplane factory, suggested by the same group of Indian businessmen that had sponsored the automobile scheme, was allowed to be proceeded with on account of war exigencies. It was successfully constructed and brought into operation by an Indian company with foreign technical aid. Later, when the particular exigency which necessitated the step had passed away the Company was relieved of its control and the factory converted into a jobbing shop. But that is, however, another story.

It was the Central Government again, which while discouraging an Indian firm from ship-building, cabled congratulations to an Australian firm for supplying ships to the Government of India.

Furthermore, the industrial picture in the Government statement is fragmentary and incomplete. No proper industrial structure is set up. There is no Department of Industries, no independent Member of the Viceroy's Council in charge, no statutory economic council or other corporated body to represent public opinion in the counsels of Government. No outlay of capital is mentioned in the Government statement.

A liberal expenditure, say, an annual grant of Rs. 6 crores for five years for associating both urban and rural populations with the investigation and prepara-

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A Czech or a Pole.
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tions required for starting industries would have roused tremendous interest and helped industrialisation such as no other measure could have done. This need also has been overlooked.

Government have suddenly awakened to the necessity of sending abroad large number of students for training in technical and professional subjects. If we are to profit by the experience and example of America and Russia, such training could be best arranged for in India itself by starting the large number of technical and vocational institutions required within the country itself.

The absence of attention to the maintenance of statistics is a grave blot on the administration. The only effect of the omission has been to keep out from public view the extraordinarily low production from industries and the abnormally great dependence of the population on agriculture.

No statistics of unemployment are kept. For lack of estimates of 'per capita' income, vast regions are shrouded in darkness.

If instead of bringing into existence 25 panels for the purpose of mere investigation, Government had appointed, say, even 5 panels each charged with the responsibility to work up estimates and make preparations for starting one key industry at least, they would have done something to put hope into the people.

Tennessee Valley Authority

India's future will depend in a large measure upon what will be done with its undeveloped river valleys. W. L. Voorduin, formerly Head Planning Engineer, T.V.A., writes in *Science and Culture* :

Fundamentally, the T.V.A. was set up as a "Pilot plant" to throw the light of actual experience on the development of all the resources in a river valley, and not just one or two of the resources, and the T.V.A. was to serve all the inhabitants of the valley and not just a few special interests.

Modern engineering methods are used as the means to obtain the end result, i.e., engineering skill is utilized to construct and operate the works which make an improvement in the general welfare of the people possible.

The management of all the interrelated tasks of the various departments is vested in a three-man Board of Directors assisted by a General Manager and General Counsel, a budget staff and an information service.

During the now almost exactly twelve years of its existence, the T.V.A. has completed the construction of seven dams on the main Tennessee River and nine dams on the tributaries as well as one large thermal electric station.

Together with two main river dams, four tributary dams and five thermal stations already in operation in the region at the time of the creation of the T.V.A., the system now consists of twenty-eight major plants and an additional thirteen small plants also owned and operated by the T.V.A. The largest single project of the T.V.A. is the Kentucky Dam at the mouth of the Tennessee River recently completed at a total cost of about 35 crores of rupees. This dam is about 8,500 ft. long and has a maximum height of 165 ft. The lake formed by the dam has a shore line of 2,200 miles, covers an area of approximately 160,000 acres, and has a total storage capacity of roughly 6,100,000 acre ft. The largest dam on the tributaries is the Fontana Dam on the Little Tennessee River now

practically completed at a cost of perhaps some 20 crores of rupees. The dam is 2,300 ft. long, its maximum height is 460 ft. The lake covers an area of about 11,000 acres and its total storage capacity is almost 1,500,000 acre ft.

The system of T.V.A. reservoirs, with a total storage capacity of 22,000,000 acre ft., controls the floods and regulates the flow of a large and turbulent river with a drainage area of 40,000 sq. miles. A navigable channel for river craft with a 9 ft. draught is provided for a distance of 650 miles from the mouth of the Tennessee River to Knoxville, Tennessee. The total generating capacity authorized for installation at the dams and thermal electric stations is about 2,850,000 KW of which more than 2,000,000 KW is now installed. The total length of transmission lines is about 6,000 miles of which more than 90 per cent carries a voltage of 44 kV or over. The highest transmission line voltage is 154 kV. The area covered by the transmission lines extends for a distance of 400 miles from east to west and about 200 miles from north to south. The generating stations are scattered throughout this area, the longest 154 kV line between stations is approximately 150 miles. The net generation has grown from 400,000,000 kilowatt-hours during the fiscal year ended June 30th, 1944 to more than 10,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours during the year ended June 30th 1944, a growth of twenty-five times the original load in 10 years.

The T.V.A. delivers energy to industries, neighbouring utilities, and to municipalities and co-operatives, who distribute the energy to residential and rural customers in the T.V.A. area.

In the operation of the system of power plants the guiding factor is the requirement of flood control, i.e.,

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prior to the winter season from December to March, when the major floods occur, the reservoirs are emptied to pre-determined levels and as the danger of floods becomes less during this season, they are partially refilled. After the danger of large floods has passed the refilling of the reservoirs is continued depending upon the amount of stream flow available for this purpose. During the following dry period of the year the amount stored in the reservoirs is released for minimum flow regulation for power and navigation purposes.

The T.V.A. obtains its funds for the construction of the works by appropriations from the Federal Treasury and it is expected that the total investment will be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 250 crores. I believe that it would be fair to say that the financial returns of the undertaking are quite favourable. At the end of the fiscal year 1943 when the program was roughly two-thirds completed, the total investment in completed plant amounted to approximately 165 crores of rupees. Of this amount roughly Rs. 25 crores were allocated to navigation, Rs. 13 crores to flood control, Rs. 7 crores to fertilizer and general plant, and the remainder of Rs. 120 crores to the power development. The gross power revenue for this fiscal year amounted to Rs. 10½ crores. After deduction for operating expenses, depreciation and amortization, the net revenue amounted to approximately Rs. 4.4 crores and this corresponds roughly to a return of 5 per cent on the average net book value of the power plant during the fiscal year. If the computations were to be based on the net book value of the entire plant at the end of the fiscal year (including investment in navigation and flood control facilities) the computed return would be approximately 3 per cent.

In taking a broad view of the possibilities of development of this nature in India, there are two points which stand out.

These are the requirements for irrigation, and the greater density of population in this country. In the T.V.A. area no irrigation is required, while in this country irrigation would be one of the major purposes of water control projects. This added function would make a multi-purpose development much more valuable. The density of population is many times greater in this country than it is in the United States and this generally also holds true for the river valleys in each country.

Edward Carpenter

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Hugh Harris writes of a bridge-builder in a figurative but very real sense; of Edward Carpenter, whose individual efforts have contributed significantly to democracy, to human brotherhood and especially to better mutual understanding between East and West.

On the Sussex coast, within easy access of London, is the pleasant seaside resort of Brighton. It was here that on August 29, 1844, Edward Carpenter was born in a family of wealth and social influence. In his parents' home at Brighton the boy was brought up in an atmosphere of ease and comfort. But he early revolted against the narrow conventions and artificialities of Victorian society. One of the liberating influences that helped to extend his horizon was his discovery of the poetry of Shelley—another native of Sussex who renounced home and worldly position in his search for the ideal. His vision was also enlarged by spiritual communion with Nature on the Downs outside the town. He wrote

his earliest poems among those open grassy slopes strewn with "that sweet yellow lotus or bird's-foot trefoil, which runs all over the world, in Siberia and Alps and Himalayas the same, one of the commonest and friendliest of all the flowers that grow." When he moved among the elegant promenaders on the fashionable esplanade, his thoughts turned more and more to the poor and the lonely who dwelt throughout the earth.

At the age of twenty Carpenter went from Brighton to Cambridge University, where he had a distinguished academic career. He became a Fellow and lecturer of his College and a priest and curate of the Church of England. But he felt ever-increasing dissatisfaction with an environment that seemed to him remote from the life of the masses.

After much spiritual conflict, Carpenter resigned his Orders and Fellowship, and left Cambridge in 1874.

For the next few years Carpenter devoted himself to lecturing for the newly-established University Extension Movement, sharing his knowledge with the inhabitants of the industrial towns of Northern England. Then he found final contentment by closer association with Nature and the working masses. At Millthorpe in Derbyshire, he combined the open-air manual work of a market-gardener with the literary activities of a social reformer. For over forty years—until his death in 1929—he published books and pamphlets (many of them translated into foreign languages) which carried his message far and wide.

The most famous of Carpenter's books, the one which contains the essence of his teaching, is his volume of poems in free verse entitled *Towards Democracy*. Perhaps his most notable prose work is *Civilization*:

IN THE BEST CIRCLES—

where the dainty aids
to Beauty are most ap-
preciated, there you
find the fragrant, excel-
lent preserver and in-
vigorator of the hair



"KUNTALINE"

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which for the last 65 years has been recommended as the sovereign remedy for all affections of the hair. It is the nearest approach to natural oil in the scalp. So why not—

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SWEET, LILY, ROSE, JASMIN, CHANDAN.

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Its Cause and Cure, a chapter of which on "Modern Science" was published in Russian with a preface by Leo Tolstoy. His autobiography, *My Days and Dreams*, is a fascinating account of his spiritual pilgrimage.

Carpenter wrote with insight and authority on a great variety of questions, including art and music, religion and socialism, sex and marriage, animal welfare, prison reform, and many other subjects.

Carpenter's interest in Eastern thought was first aroused by a fellow-student at Cambridge University, P. Arunachalam of Colombo.

At College the young men had many long and intimate discussions about the philosophy of the East. Some years later, about 1880, Carpenter received from his friend a translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita*, which was then little known in England. The reading of this book induced Carpenter to write his masterpiece. "So it was that *Towards Democracy* came to birth."

In 1890 Carpenter accepted an invitation from his Tamil friend to visit Ceylon and meet a saintly representative of the ancient Wisdom-Religion of India, the Gnanī Ramaswamy. His impressions were published in a notable book *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta*, and part of this work was later reissued separately as *A Visit to a Gnanī, or Wise Man of the East*.

The impression made on Carpenter by this visit to the Eastern Sage in Ceylon was never forgotten.

Thirty years later, in his *Pagan and Christian Creeds* he again referred to the conviction which had then seized him that East and West were both destined to make their own distinctive—and complementary—contributions to the World-Religion of the future. He included in this book two lectures on "The Teaching of the Upanishads" (later reprinted separately under that title).

In 1927, at the age of eighty-three, Carpenter published his last work *Light from the East: Being Letters on Gnanam, the Divine Knowledge*. This contained extracts from the correspondence of his deceased friend, P. Arunachalam, together with several essays and articles by Carpenter on cognate subjects.

The centenary of Carpenter's birth has recently called forth several notable tributes to his life's work and teaching. A proposal has now been made by some of his friends and admirers for a public commemoration.

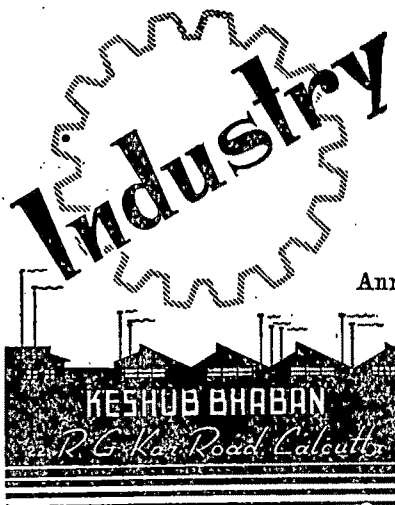
The Unconscious

The concept of the unconscious mind plays a peculiarly important part in the development of modern psychology. Prof. M. S. Srinivasa Sarma writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

The mind of a man is a highly complicated thing. It has rightly been compared to a vast sea in which the glittering surface represents what we commonly call the conscious mind, while the unseen and much larger body of water beneath represents the unconscious. As the under-layers of water are constantly mingling with the surface water, and changing its content and temperature, so the under-layers of the unconscious are for ever altering and modifying our conscious thoughts and actions.

Psycho-analysis is the study of man's unconscious motives and drives as shown in various nervous disturbances, and in certain manifestations of everyday life in normal individuals. It has been demonstrated that the manifold symptoms of the neurosis result from unfulfilled desires often extending back to the earliest years of childhood. These desires not only influence the formation of character-traits, but likewise are responsible for many forms of nervous illness. Psycho-analysis as a psychological theory originated with Sigmund Freud, a doctor of Vienna, whose classic investigations were first published in 1895. The greatest service rendered by Freud has been to demonstrate irrefutably the unity and continuity of all mental life. Psychic life is a continuity in the sense that at any given moment it is determined by all that has previously happened and all that is happening. Nothing is accidental in the psychic realm. 'There is no chance', says Freud, 'in the psychic world any more than in the

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physical'. The human mind is a single, organic, unitary entity. The unconscious and the conscious are but its two aspects both acting and reacting uninterruptedly throughout life.

That all conduct is motivated is the fundamental principle of psychology.

A cause in psychology must be a psychic cause; and a psychic cause must be a wish or motive. For us to live means a vast range of activity. We wish to do a thousand things that we can never do. Physical incapacity, mental incapacity, limitations of our environment, mutual conflict between one wish and another, opposition from other people, incompatibility with the prevailing moral standards—all these compel us to give up many of our wishes. Consequently innumerable wishes must be laid aside; and some, resisting, have to be suppressed. Renunciation thus becomes the order of the day! But what becomes of the unfulfilled wishes and rejected motives? Do they tamely submit to the decision and efface themselves altogether? How happy man would be if that were the case!

The mind attempts to find a refuge and free itself from mental conflicts through repression. Experiences which are distasteful to the individual are often put out of the mind. Refusal to consider rejected wishes and attitudes, and openly to face humiliating experiences leads to a kind of forgetting in which conscious recall becomes impossible. The repressed system of experiences, or *complex*, continues to exist and manifest itself in various ways. Since the sex instinct, and, to a less extent, others also are repressed by the customs and conventionalities of civilization, these unconscious forces find expression in subtle and symbolic ways. Oddities of behaviour, automatisms of action, unexpected slips and turns of speech, misplacements of objects, forgetting of names, places, and obligations, hallucinations, phobias, and especially dreams have an indubitable significance as evidence of repressed wishes. These 'Freudian wishes' constantly strive to thrust themselves up above the threshold and to obtain normal satisfaction; but the effort fails because in the crude form they run counter to the normal standards of social life and civilization. Social disapproval, moral teaching, religion, and other environmental forces produce in the individual a censorship which is ever alert to prevent the wish from manifesting itself.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



India at San Francisco

India Today published monthly by the India League of America sends the following note :

The four hundred million people of India, one-fifth of the human race have no official representation at San Francisco. The official delegation consisting of three Indians with British titles, represents only the British Government of India. But the voice of the people of India, though not heard in the meetings of the Conference, has not been silent in San Francisco.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit has acted as spokesman for the people of India, and for two organizations in this country, The India League of America, New York City, and the National Committee for India's Freedom, Washington, D.C. At every opportune moment Mrs. Pandit has warned the delegates to the Conference that India will not be bound by any agreements that the official Indian delegation may enter into. She has stressed that the Conference cannot achieve its avowed purpose of establishing peace and security while India and other colonial areas continue in subjection to Imperialist powers. Indian freedom, she said, is the acid test of the Conference for the six hundred million subject peoples of Asia.

On behalf of the people of India, the India League of America, and the National Committee for India's Freedom, Mrs. Pandit submitted a memorandum to the Secretary-General of the Conference, setting forth India's case.

The occasion for issuing the memorandum was a reference to "the voice of independent India" by Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Foreign Commissar of the U.S.S.R. Opposing the admission of Argentina to the Conference, Mr. Molotov said : "We have among us the Indian delegation. As it is well-known, India is not an independent nation. But we all know that the time will come when the voice of independent India will be heard, too. Nevertheless we share the view held by the British Government which suggested that representatives of India should be granted a seat at this conference, imperfect though her status is."

At the reference to the voice of an "independent India," there was loud applause according to Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, who has been at San Francisco as the representative of three Indian newspapers, among them the influential *Hindustan Times* of New Delhi. "Eden who was presiding, looked most uncomfortable and his face flushed," Mr. Singh said in a dispatch to the *Hindusthan Standard*, Calcutta.

The memorandum submitted by Mrs. Pandit after referring to Commissar Molotov's words, said that because of her size, population, and civilization, India had a right to her freedom. India was a geographical, cultural and economic unit. Yet India was represented by agents of her Imperial rulers. The memorandum asserted that "such a state of affairs is not only a grave moral and political wrong to India but a travesty of the claims that the United Nations Conference consists of the representatives of sovereign nations." Why, Mrs. Pandit demanded, was not the voice of an Independent India not heard now instead of at some future date ? She concluded by asserting that the Indian National Congress had always been opposed to

Nazism, Fascism, and Imperialism, of which the last mentioned still survived, and which should be liquidated all over the world, not only in India. As evidence of the "dawn of a new and better day for an all but crucified humanity," the recognition of India's independence now was urged in the memorandum.

According to Sirdar J. J. Singh, the Secretary-General of the Conference, will probably reply to the memorandum that the question of India's freedom does not come within the terms of reference of the Conference.

In a statement issued on May 10, Mrs. Pandit denied the validity of two statements made by British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, leader of the British delegation, in a press conference given by him that day at the Mark Hopkins Hotel.

Mr. Eden said : "Great Britain believes in national independence for dependent countries. So far as India is concerned we have already made the Cripps offer, and I don't stand here in a white sheet." Commenting on this Mrs. Pandit declared that it was "a repetition of the standard British alibi which we have heard *ad nauseam*." She said that there must have been something radically wrong with the Cripps offer since all parties in India, including the Moslem League had refused it. She charged that the British Government by its policy of arresting and holding thousands of Indian leaders in jail made any agreement among the Indians impossible. This was in reference to Mr. Eden's statement that Indian disagreement stood in the way of the implementation of the Cripps offer.

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Better Economic Condition Will Guarantee Future World Peace

Henry A. Wallace, U. S. Secretary of Commerce, observes in a Newsfeature of the USOWI:

The War from which we are now emerging might also be called a 30 years' war. It began in 1914 and has, in the main, continued in one form or another for more than 30 years. Only for a brief time in the 1920's was the world really at peace. When we dip deeply into the economic and scientific causes of these 30 years of terrible struggle we find the outstanding factor to be the unequal rate of industrialisation and the consequent unequal growth of population and political power among the nations. England, the first to industrialize, dominated world commerce from 1830 to 1900. Germany, beginning in 1870 overtook and challenged England. Animated by Feudal warlike tradition and a false philosophy, she decided she could out-compete England faster on the field of battle than in peaceful, commercial competition. Japan emulated the German example and, beginning in 1895, determined to use every effort of a docile, low-wage, well-educated, highly industrialized people to dominate first the Orient and finally the world.

The differing speed in industrialization and population growth produced tensions which were used by ambitious, ruthless nations to create international earthquakes. As a result of these earthquakes the United States and Russia now emerge as the two most powerful nations in the world. The United States has nearly half the world's industry and Russia is on the way to developing a large share of the remainder. Since 1928 Russia has changed from an overwhelmingly agricultural nation to a powerful industrial nation. Moreover, her population is growing faster than that of any other great industrial nation.

Technology and war have destroyed western Europe as the centre of world power: The two powers which now come to the top have no colonies and do not believe in colonies. They both claim to have great respect for the rights of small peoples but both have occasionally stepped over the line when the principle of national defense is involved. The two nations are so geographically placed that they have never had conflicting basic interests. The Russian and the American people instinctively like each other. Neither the Russian nor the American people wishes to use modern technology as an instrument of war. We want to raise the standard of living of our peoples and we do not want to exploit other people.

Both the Russians and Americans in their different ways are groping for a way of life which will enable the common man everywhere in the world to get the most good out of modern technology.

This does not mean there is anything irreconcilable in our aims and purposes. Those who so proclaim are wittingly or unwittingly looking for war and that, in my opinion, is criminal. We in the United States are certain our methods will bring more liberty and a higher standard of living. The Russians are equally certain that if they are given the opportunity of peaceful development, their system will eventually deliver the most satisfaction to their people. Both of us believe in the maximum use of technology and both of us believe in peace. Both of us want to see the so-called backward nations industrialized so that the standard of living may be more uniform over the entire world.

Recent developments in electronics and chemistry tend more and more to free all nations from dependence on specific resources. Idealistic reformers who have long tried to raise the standard of living of the

poor and the backward peoples now receive unexpected help from a technology which in the lifetime of some in this room will make it possible for nearly every industrious people in the world to enjoy a good standard of living. The irresistible trend of the modern industrial system is toward world-wide equalization of techniques.

This trend toward equalization reverses the order of world trade which grew up in the 19th century. Sixty years ago a few hundred million people in western Europe and eastern United States owned the world's workshop. Out of it they drew great profits and the egotism to proclaim cultural and political leadership. This overlordship of the western nations has passed. We now know that no one world region can long claim exclusive economic leadership. In the years immediately ahead we see the United States, Russia, and the British Empire producing perhaps 85 per cent of the world's industrial output. But we also see the stirrings of a rapidly expanding industrial consciousness in Latin America, China, India, and the Near East. Shall we minister to that consciousness with the service of experts and the sale of goods? Or should we consciously endeavor to prevent the industrialization of the so-called backward nations by withdrawing from the world market?

Everywhere, for our own sake and the world's sake, we must do our utmost to help the devastated and so-called backward nations to produce, transport and distribute goods in an ever-increasing flow to their starving, sick and underprivileged people. We cannot do the work for these peoples but we can point the way and we can furnish the "seed" capital and the knowledge of how to use "seed" capital to produce a "high standard of living" crop.

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probably will be impossible for these areas rapidly to bring about widespread education, the building of dams, the construction of highways and airports, and the building of factories without help from the United States or England. In some cases, the smaller nations of western Europe may be able to help. As we look back over the history of the world, we see only three nations which were able suddenly without extensive foreign capital to change from a primitive to an industrialized economy. These three were Germany after 1870, Japan after 1890, and Russia after 1920. The most spectacular of the three was Russia's progress especially after 1928.

Islam Led the World in Science and Art

Emeric Sala writes in *World Order* :

Six centuries before Columbus could prove the earth to be round, Muslim mathematicians of Kufa established its circumference at twenty-four thousand miles. It can no longer be disputed that the Crusaders who went East to punish the "heathen" Muslims returned with a course of instruction in civilization. The first university of Europe was established by the Muslims. Indeed, how often do we recall the origin of our university professors' black gown in the Arabic Kaftan? From the eighth to the tenth century Baghdad was the world's most civilized city. Its streets were paved and illuminated, and owned elaborate water-works; while pigs were still roaming the dark and muddy streets of London and Paris. The university of Baghdad was endowed with over three million dollars and had an attendance of six thousand students.

For four centuries Arabic was the international language of knowledge. Many Christians studied this language between the eighth and eleventh centuries and attended Muslim universities. Aristotle and Plato were re-discovered by Muslim scholars who translated many Greek manuscripts into Arabic. Algebra and astronomy were expanded by the Muslims. They are the originators of modern chemistry, meteorology and geography. One Muslim travelled for forty years collecting mineralogical specimens, while another scholar made botanical observations over the entire Muslim world. They had a passion for intellectual pursuits. The first known telescope was built for a Muslim caliph. Without the Arabic decimal system modern science and business would be impossible. Muslim surgeons were the first to dissect the human body, which was forbidden to Christians by the Church.

Many of our finest cotton fabrics like muslin, damask, and cambric were originated by the Muslims. Damascus swords and Toledo blades are still renowned. Sugar, coffee, rice, cherries and other fruits, reached the European table because of the Arabs. One of the greatest contributions of Islam to the Western World is the art of papermaking, which they transmitted from China, and without which printing and universal education would have been impossible.

"The ninth century was essentially a Muslim century. To be sure, intellectual work did not cease in other countries; far from it; but the activity of the Muslim scholars and men of science was overwhelmingly superior. They were the real standard bearers of civilization in those days. . . . The overwhelming superiority of Muslim culture continued to be felt throughout the tenth century. Indeed, it was felt more strongly than ever, not only because the foremost men of science were Muslims, but also because cultural influences are essentially cumulative. . . . To be sure, other languages, such as Latin, Greek, or Hebrew were also used by scholars, but the works written in those languages contained nothing new. . . . All the new

discoveries and the new thoughts were published in Arabic. Strangely enough, the language of the Qur'an had thus become the international vehicle of scientific progress." (George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. I.) Arabic, which before Muhammad had only a tribal significance, became a world language. The desire of every Muslim to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca brought together scholars from the most distant countries, and thus scientific knowledge rapidly spread and new discoveries were easily exchanged in all parts of Islam.

While Christian Europe was enveloped in darkness and gloom, overshadowed by ecclesiastical intolerance, Muhammad, the founder of an independent religion, established a civilization which our historians have as yet not satisfactorily explained. Sarton, referring to Islam, admits that "The creation of a new civilization of international and encyclopaedic magnitude within less than two centuries is something that we can describe, but not completely explain. . . . It was the most creative movement of the Middle Ages down to the thirteenth century." While the Christian world was burning alive those who dared to question established dogmas, Islam encouraged free thought and developed the experimental method, which is the foundation of modern science. Before Muhammad men dared not experiment, for fear of "evil" spirits. By destroying the ikons Muhammad dealt a mortal blow to many superstitions and elemental fears of his time, and prepared the field for scientific inquiry. He said: "Science is the remedy for the infirmities of ignorance, a comforting beacon in the light of injustice." Further historians might, by implication, recognize as an essential foundation stone of our modern world the famous statement of Muhammad: "The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the martyr". Knowledge of reading

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and writing became a universal accomplishment. All Muhammadans read in the Qur'an that ignorance is the greatest poverty, that a mind without education is like a brave man without arms, and that knowledge increases the honor of princes and brings men of low degree into the palaces of kings. "The day on which I have learned nothing is no part of my life" is an oft-quoted Arab saying.

The Muslims were kind and tolerant to their non-Muslim subjects. Under their patronage many important works in Arabic were published by Christians, Jews and Sabaeans. Down to the twelfth century Arabic was the philosophic and scientific language of the Jews. The greatest Jewish treatise of the Middle Ages was written by Maimonides in Arabic.

Christianity was slow in recognizing Islam as the source of the Renaissance. Through the impact of Islamic scholarship, mainly in Sicily and in Spain, Europe became civilized. "Let us compare the two civilizations," said Seignobos in his *Histoire de la Civilisation au Moyen Age*, which in the eleventh century divided the Ancient World. "In the West—miserable little cities, peasants' huts and great fortresses—a country always troubled by war, where one could not travel ten leagues without running the risk of being robbed; and in the Orient—Constantinople, Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad—all cities of the 'Arabian Nights,' with their marble palaces, their workshops, their schools, their bazaars, their villages and with the incessant movement of merchants who travelled in peace from Spain to Persia. There is no doubt that the Mussulman and Byzantine worlds were richer, better policed, better lighted than the western world. In the eleventh century these two worlds began to become acquainted; the barbarous Christians came into contact with the civilized Mussalmans in two ways—by war and by commerce. And by contact with the Orientals the Occidentals became civilized."

The Havoc of War

In the editorial comments in *Unity* our attention is drawn to the mockery of the devil that war is:

It is curious that we know more about the destruction of Cologne than we do about the devastation of London. We know that English capital has been horribly

hurt, but the details that we have had of the German cathedral town are lacking. And the amazing thing is that as the story has come to us of the ruin of German cities and even villages, together with the wholesale death or scattering of their populations, we Americans seem not to be in any way disturbed. A kind of anaesthesia has seized us, or, worse still, a moral complacency. We can actually witness the destruction of all that is precious in Europe, and go easily and happily about our business. This is partly because, of course, our enemies are suffering. It is startling to realize how atrocities committed upon the enemy stir up no such emotional reaction as atrocities committed by the enemy. When Plymouth was wiped out, and a large part of Rotterdam, a shudder went through our bones and a wild cry of protest leaped from our lips. But we stood the annihilation of Cologne and Aachen and Berlin very well, thank you. After all, the enemy was only getting what he deserved—the women rushing madly about the streets, for example, and the little babies lying dead in the bombed-out shelters! But there is a second and more terrible reason why this destruction of Germany has not upset us. I refer to the fact that we have gotten used to this sort of thing. At the beginning of the war, the thought of wholesale bombing anywhere was intolerable. The Nazis proved themselves utter barbarians by doing what was simply not done by civilized human beings. They had put themselves beyond the pale by dropping bombs on London piers and warehouses. Then the English took it up—from "necessity" of course! The great port of Hamburg was bombed as the great port of London had been bombed. Then began "precision" bombing—factories and railroad terminals and bridges, picked out of crowded areas and selectively destroyed. This was followed by "obliteration" bombing—whole neighborhoods wiped out in a single assault. Now anything goes—whole cities are doomed to destruction, and all the people who may be in them. And we never turn a hair! We hear of flaming Tokyo or shattered Munich as though some little anthill had been overturned. Nay, we would probably pity the ants! Thus have we deteriorated morally, become ourselves barbarians, under the impact of war. Thus does war work its havoc. Victory ravages the victor inwardly as it ravages the vanquished outwardly. Which is the more dire evil? It might be well to estimate before we go to war again.

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NOTES

Freedom or Slavery for Asia

Under the caption "American Imperialism in the Making", Pearl Buck writes in *Asia*, August:

A free world means simply a world whose atmosphere is congenial to the development of free peoples. A free people is simply a group of people who, having been bound together by history and geography and association until they have developed their own way of living, can go on living in their own way within the circle of the world's life, without being dominated by others.

Some will say that exactly such a plan for a free world was made at San Francisco. But to that we must reply, if we want to face the truth, that what went on at San Francisco was a struggle between two plans, one certainly for a world in which peoples can be free, but the other a world in which our victorious powers will rule.

The young dead of our nation, the many dead of other nations, are scarcely cold upon the earth of Europe. But we know already that even their death has not won the victory. Only a military war has been won in Europe. The great victory lies ahead.

The inexorable truth now faces us—it is upon the earth of Asia that our future is to be decided. That we shall most certainly win the military war there, too, has nothing to do with our future. Everything depends upon what we are planning to do with that military victory.

This was written before the surrender of Japan. The events in Asia, particularly the struggle in Indonesia against Dutch Imperialism and in Annam against the French, unmistakably shows what was really agreed upon at San Francisco. The corpses of the dead millions in Europe and Asia were hardly cold when the scramble for the re-establishment of old Imperialism in Asia has begun. All the talk about abolition of war and of war weapons like the atom bombs seem not only futile but cynical when judged in the light of reality. Every lover of peace and freedom will agree with Miss Buck when she says, "If we are planning to use our power to compel subject peoples to remain subject, in order to compel them to yield us their territory for military bases, or for any other reason, we must prepare indeed for yet more terrible wars to come, and to come quickly." Unless this inexorable truth—that it is upon

the earth of Asia that world's future is to be decided—enters the head of the leaders of the nations who have earned the military victory, and the selling of the peoples of Asia into slavery is immediately halted, a third and a far more devastating world war will soon be upon us.

New Wavell Proposals

On his return to India, Lord Wavell has announced the second instalment of his proposals. As expected earlier, the Cripps proposals in a modified form have been repeated. The gist is this:

It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body and as a preliminary step they have authorised me to undertake, immediately after the elections, discussions with representatives of the Legislative assemblies in the provinces, to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable. Discussions will also be undertaken with the representatives of the Indian states with a view to ascertaining in what way they can best take their part in the constitution-making body.

His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of the treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India.

During these preparatory stages the Government of India must be carried and urgent economic and social problems must be dealt with. Furthermore, India has to play her full part in working out the new world order. His Majesty's Government have, therefore, further authorised me as soon as the results of the provincial elections are published, to take steps to bring into being an Executive which will have the support of the main Indian parties.

The task of making and implementing a new constitution for India is a complex and difficult one, which will require goodwill, co-operation and patience on the part of all concerned. We must first hold elections so that the will of the Indian electorate may be known. After the elections, I propose to hold discussions with representatives of those elected, and of the Indian States to determine the form of the constitution-making body but His Majesty's Government recognise that, in view of the great issues involved and the delicacy of the minority problems,

consultation with the people's representatives is necessary before the form of the constitution-making body is finally determined.

The Congress reaction to the proposals has been prompt. The A.I.C.C. has passed the following resolution on it :

The A.I.C.C. has carefully considered Lord Wavell's and the British Prime Minister's broadcasts on the steps proposed to be taken by British authority in India. These proposals repeat, with unimportant variations, the offer made in March, 1942, by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government, an offer which was not accepted by the Congress.

Neither the end of the war nor the change of Government in Great Britain appears to have resulted in any real change in British policy towards India, which seems to be based on delaying every advance and attempting to create new problems and fresh complications.

It is significant that there is no mention in these broadcasts of the Independence of India. Nothing short of Independence can be acceptable to the Congress and the country. The proposals now made are, in the opinion of the A.I.C.C. vague, inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The proposals are certainly vague and inadequate. Three important features are noticeable, first, the whole thing has been left purposely vague. They may be acted upon or avoided according to the situation prevailing at the time of the proposed new conference. Second, for the first time the British Government has said that the Indian constitution will be drawn up on the basis of an Indo-British Treaty. The use of the word "Independence" has however been carefully avoided. Third, Lord Wavell says that the proposed Central Executive will be composed in such a manner that it will have the support of the main Indian parties. He has not mentioned communities. This omission has however been rectified by Mr. Attlee in his simultaneous broadcast in which he said, "I would ask all Indians to join together in a united effort to work out a constitution which the majority and minority communities will accept as just and fair."

With Indian experience of British politics and professions, these three features are sufficient to damp all enthusiasm to accept the fresh proposals as basis for future discussions. Nowhere in this world, in any age has there been agreement among different elements in a nation, where that difference has been founded on religion. The British politicians were clever enough to perceive this and to work out this canker of religious schism for dividing political parties. Protection of religious or social minority groups has no doubt been an important feature in modern democratic constitutions, but such protection has always been accorded where such minorities have acted in a manner consistent with the safety and integrity of the nation. In their minority protection matters, the League of Nations had always followed the sound principle that no minority can claim protection which acts against the larger interests of the country within whose borders they live. In India, under "democratic" British rule, the contrary has been the case, and a bolstered up minority group has been given the power to veto all proposals of constitutional advance. Lord Wavell has mentioned parties and not communities. The significance of this change in phraseology will be known before long.

The sincerity of Labour Party's proposals will be tested only after the elections. We refrain from making any comment in the mean time, but we cannot help noticing a very significant omission. After the Simla debacle, the people had a right to expect a clear unequivocal statement that no veto to any party or community would in future be given and failing general agreement, action will be taken on majority decisions. This vital omission together with Mr. Attlee's innocent looking Churchillian proviso will certainly make people suspect Britain's latest move. Complete agreement of major parties or communities have never been demanded by Britain in any other case.

Congress And The Elections

The Congress has decided to contest the coming elections. This is a wise decision. The A.I.C.C. resolutions on elections state :

The announcement that general elections will be held for the Central and Provincial Assemblies has been made in a manner and in circumstances which arouse suspicion. The sudden dissolution of the legislatures in some provinces has emphasised the hostility of the present governmental authorities to even the possibility of popular government in the mean time, and is totally indefensible. The Central Assembly is still governed by the Act of 1919. To continue such an impotent and undemocratic Central Legislature, constituted on a franchise of less than one per cent of the population, can have no justification in the context of Indian freedom.

If elections for the Central Legislature are to be held they must at least be on a properly revised register, even though this might involve some little delay. In spite of assurances, the electoral rolls for the Central and Provincial Assemblies are not being properly revised.

Further, free and fair elections are hardly possible when several organisations, like the Congress Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc and Kisan organisations are still under ban, when thousands are still held in detention without trial, or are undergoing sentences of imprisonment in connection with political activities ; when in places public meetings cannot be held without previous permission of the authorities, and when many persons are labouring under disqualifications arising out of their convictions for political offences.

It has become notorious that the present Government in India is responsible for the widespread corruption that prevails in the country, for the gross mismanagement of the food and cloth problem and for the supreme tragedy of the Bengal famine. Yet it is declared that, pending elections, and for many months at least, this incompetent and corrupt administration shall continue its misrule. The proposals of the British Government become in this context still more significant indications of their desire to hold on to power in India as long as they possibly can with all the means and methods at their disposal.

In spite of the handicaps that the Congress will labour under as related above, and in order to demonstrate the will of the people, especially on the issue of the immediate transfer of power, the A.I.C.C. resolves that the forthcoming elections be contested, and directs the Working Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

The Committee is confident not only that the people will respond to the call of the Congress on this vital and urgent issue, but will also, with the added strength and assurance that the past years

have given them, carry the struggle for the Independence of India to a successful issue in the near future.

Government's part in the coming elections has been the subject of strong criticism all over the country. The Provincial Legislatures have been hurriedly dissolved, preventing the formation of any progressive Ministry at this crucial period. Sardar Patel, moving the resolution in the A.I.C.C. said that the Bombay Governor, Sir John Colville was anxious for the resumption of responsible Ministry in the province but the powers that be had willed otherwise. The Sardar's only explanation for this was that the authorities did not want the Congress in power in the provinces during this vital period. The precipitate dissolution of the Legislatures, the refusal to revise the electoral rolls, the continuation of Sec. 93 rule in the provinces are all indicative of this. Explaining the Congress stand, Sardar Patel said, "But because of this, the Congress could not sit idle. If they kept back from the elections—unsatisfactory as the conditions were—opportunists would get in and entrench themselves in places of power. There are sufficient number of Fifth Columnists to fill these places if the Congress stays away." We are glad to find wisdom dawning upon this leader who had done incalculable harm to the country by advising a boycott of the Census of 1931.

Sardar Patel has assured the country that the Congress would pursue its own programme and policy and at the same time participate in the election. The two programmes should go parallel to each other. He was confident that the Congress would capture every one of the general constituency seats. With regard to the communal constituencies—a plan devised by the British to entrench themselves in India—the Sardar hoped the influence of the Congress would be increasingly felt here also. The Congress had made one of their greatest blunders during the last elections by not setting up Congress candidates in each one of the Muslim constituencies. Neither had they allied themselves seriously with progressive Muslim parties. The same blunder was repeated after the elections at the time of the formation of Ministries. Refusal to permit all progressive elements in a Legislature, where the Congress was not in absolute majority, to form coalitions against the reactionaries and communalists, had disrupted progressive forces and entrenched communalists in power, the very thing that Sardar Patel now laments. We hope such shortsightedness will no longer misguide the leaders.

There is no doubt that the Congress will sweep the polls at the general constituencies in spite of severe difficulties placed in its way by the present provincial governments run by the Civil Service. We consider it the duty of every Indian to let the Congress candidates go uncontested even if there be a few bad selections. No attempt should be made to keep the Congress busy in general constituencies. Let the Congress throw all its strength in fighting the Muslim seats. The progressive Muslim parties have all rallied themselves against the League. Congress must do everything in its power to help them to fight the League. The Congress must not forget that the present strength of the League is mainly—we may even say solely—due to Congress folly. And the Congress must see that its candidates, in all constituencies are real Congressmen and not

merely "yes-men" of the leaders, or careerists in disguise.

Special attention must be paid to Bengal. Attention of the leaders must have been drawn to a statement made by Sj. Kiran Sankar Roy to the special correspondent of the *Bharat Jyoti*. This is not his personal view but he has given expression to the general sentiment prevailing in his home province. He said that in the last elections Congress secured 90 per cent of the Hindu votes and this time might get many more seats from Muslim and Scheduled Caste constituencies. But he warned that if the policy of appeasement were not changed, Congress might find it difficult to secure candidates to contest the elections in Bengal, and even he himself might not be willing to accept Congress ticket. Bengal might even desert the Congress, said Mr. Roy.

Bengal can never forget that the shortsightedness of the Congress High Command had prevented her from forming a progressive Ministry with the inevitable result that power was handed over to the League under whose misrule half a crore of people died of famine and pestilence. Just as we condemn all attempts to divide and weaken the Congress, we consider it our duty to offer constructive criticism of their policy specially when that body is going to take vital decisions.

Congress Protests Against Scaling Down

The A.I.C.C. has passed a resolution protesting against any attempt to scale down sterling balances and demanding an early settlement of the question so that these funds may be utilised for the planned economic development of the country. The text of the resolution reads :

The A.I.C.C. has noted that enormous credit balances due to India have accumulated and are kept in London in sterling. These balances are not available for utilisation for India's own immediate needs of industrialisation and general economic development. They have arisen out of the supply of goods and services provided by this country for Britain's war effort. The goods and services, which these balances represent, were obtained from India mostly at controlled prices and the suggestions made in certain British quarters, that the amount of these balances is inflated, is contradicted by the actual facts, as recorded and admitted by a British Parliamentary Committee which recently investigated the subject. The British demand, therefore, for a scaling down of the amount is wholly unwarranted, and India cannot submit to any settlement of this problem which involves a sacrifice of her just claims and great injury to the future development. The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that every effort must be made for an early settlement of the question of India's sterling balances so that they may be utilised for the planned economic development of the country.

Various proposals for scaling down the sterling debts have been mooted. The main argument put forward as a justification for such action is that the war-time purchases had been made at enormously high rates which are claimed to have been far in excess of value received. Some British financial experts have expressed the opinion that it would not be unjust to India if these debts are reduced by half. But the fact is just the reverse. All Government purchases in India, which have led to the accumulation of sterling balances had been

made at controlled rates. These rates were always below the prevailing market price and in many cases just exceeded the cost of production. The producers and dealers supplying Government orders were indirectly encouraged to make their war-time profit by fleecing the people. The controlled rates were always enforced at the time of Government purchases but where the public were concerned they failed to function. The sterling balances represent an enormous amount of suffering undergone by the Indian peasant. They had to die of starvation and go without clothing and medicine in order to supply them. Scaling down of the sterling balances will be greatly resented in India. The most mysterious and inexplicable problem in this controversy is the American support in Britain's suggestions for a scaling down of the balances. These U.S.A. proponents of "scaling down" should be asked for a definition of the U.S.A. term "double-cross".

Nehru's Blue Print for Free India

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru unfolded his blue print for a free and independent India at a conference of Indian and foreign editors at Bombay. His plan includes State ownership of key industries, State control of other important industries, reorganisation of the land system by the abolition of zamindars and introduction of large-scale co-operative farms. Pandit Nehru said that there was no conflict between large-scale industrialisation and cottage industries. If the wealth of India is to be raised, large-scale industrialisation is necessary but there will be sufficient scope for the full development of India's village industries. State control of the textile industry, in his opinion, would be necessary in the interests of the handloom industry. These were the subjects raised and the Pandit's observations:

In India we want rapid progress. I do not know what will happen to India unless there is rapid progress in her economic development. There must be a planned development. I have come to the conclusion that there must be socialistic planning. It seems to me that there will be a socialistic tendency in any programme.

They have been referred to as the key industries—together with mineral resources should be owned by the State. In regard to other industries, it was likely that they would be left to private enterprise but there could be a measure of control to prevent any excess. The only problem of conflict would be between heavy industries and cottage industries. It is true to say there is a difference in the philosophical attitude between the view-points of the cottage and the heavy industries. I do not see how we can raise the standard of life on a big scale and big-scale industrialisation is necessary—without control to avoid over-lapping of these two industries and a conflict of industries. I think, for example, that the textile industry should be controlled by the State to prevent it coming into conflict with the policy of the State in relation to cottage industries. I should certainly have the textile industry controlled for that purpose.

The abolition of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Zamindari system is necessary. Compensation in some form will have to be paid. It is going to be difficult for us in one sense to have co-operative farms all over India as they are necessary but the problem is very different from that of establishment of such farms in Russia as the conditions are absolutely different. We shall naturally have to use a great deal of persuasion to establish

such farms. Remember that one-third of India's land is not cultivated and while some of it cannot be cultivated, a great deal of it can be. We can have co-operative farms and cultivation of much land that is at present waste with a little effort.

Any Indian large-scale plan, in order to be successful, must be based on the village. Industrialisation should only be a secondary factor in the general plan for the provision of employment for every able-bodied man at his hearth as far as possible.

Import of Capital Goods into India

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning and Development Member of the Government of India, who recently returned from a mission to the United Kingdom and United States mainly for securing capital goods and expert assistance and to have talks with the British Government on the question of elimination of the commercial safeguard clauses in the Government of India Act, 1935, told Press correspondents at New Delhi, on August 21, that it would take ten years more before India could get imports of capital goods from the United Kingdom. In regard to commercial safeguards, Sir Ardeshir said that organised bodies of British imperialists were not prepared for any radical change in the safeguards provided for in the Act at present. He said that his visit to those countries had four objects, viz., (1) to inquire into the possibility of getting capital goods from these countries for our industrial development, (2) to see if it was possible to get any modifications at least such as to allow Indian control over basic industries, (3) to consider what facilities were available in those countries for our students in various educational institutions and for our technicians in factories abroad, and (4) to inquire into the availability of experts who are required for industrial development. Needless to mention that this mission in all its objects has been a complete failure. As regards the supply of experts from foreign lands, Mr. Birla has suggested the import of German technicians. Germany is now politically and militarily crushed, and there is no reason to stand against this suggestion.

Sir Ardeshir Dalal said:

In regard to the import of capital goods Great Britain was very anxious to help India as it was very important for her to have exports in the post-war period. But first she had to place her own economy on post-war footing and rehabilitate her own industries. Naturally, it would take sometime before capital goods were available from that country. There might be exceptions, such as machine tools, but in the case of major capital goods, two years and sometimes even longer might be required. Nearly one-third of India's requirements in capital goods was for textile machinery, the delivery of which would take considerable time. There was the question of prices and a good many of Indian industrialists were inclined to hold back in view the high prices. Sir Ardeshir said he discussed the question in England but the British authorities were not prepared to control or regulate their export prices in the post-war period. In fact they were inclined to relax control so as to secure maximum exports. Sir Ardeshir pressed for some kind of formal price control because at the present moment there was so much of fluctuation and orders were booked without any fixed price. They were now discussing a formula but no decision had been arrived at.

Sir Ardeshir said that question of priorities for sending goods to India was also raised but His

Majesty's Government *were not prepared to agree to any special priority* but assured that if India experienced any actual difficulties and if it was brought to their notice they would take suitable action.

Conditions were similar in the United States but Sir Ardeshir said it was likely in the case of U.S.A. deliveries might be earlier. At the same time prices were likely to be higher except in case of goods produced on mass scale such as automobiles. Now that the war was over there was likely to be considerable amount of material which was *surplus* in the United States. *The value of such materials was computed to be 90 billion dollars of which industrial plants alone would be ten billion dollars.* How much of that was suitable for India remained to be considered.

Sir Ardeshir's statement shows that neither Britain nor America is going to do anything in the near future to help Indian industrial development. Full advantage of the present vacuum in the consumer goods market is sought to be taken by them. He points out that there will be a huge surplus of industrial machinery in the United States, but Britain is not going to permit their import into this country. Sir Ardeshir definitely says that the British Government is not going to control or regulate their export prices in the post-war period. It is quite likely that exorbitantly high prices will be extracted from India, taking full advantage of her inability to make purchases in alternative markets.

We must not forget that a Labour Government has come into power in England. It is a pity that this Labour Government will permit itself to be utilised by the Tory reactionaries in this most shameful exploitation of the Indian people. Throughout the six years of war, rigid price controls were maintained in India in respect of Government purchases and that at a tremendous cost to the people in blood and money. After the war, when India asks for a reciprocal courtesy, it is this Labour Cabinet which has flatly refused to regulate export prices to India.

About dollar exchange difficulties, Sir Ardeshir discussed the question with the surplus disposal board and had requested them to send us catalogues from time to time of the goods. He had also asked the Indian supply mission there to keep in touch with the board and it was proposed to strengthen the Indian mission there. Dollar exchange was a difficulty but he thinks it was likely that it would be removed later on. Certain negotiations were now taking place between Britain and America and the negotiations were expected to result in easing the dollar situation and enable international trade flow more easily. He thinks dollar difficulties are not formidable and there was the possibility of our industrialists getting credits from the export and import banks in the United States of America.

We do not share Sir Ardeshir's optimism regarding dollar exchange difficulties which may well prove insurmountable at least for the next two years because it will clash directly with British vested interests. Sir Sultan Chinoy, a member of the Industrial mission to U.K. and U.S.A., after his return remarked about the dollar exchange that from what he had gathered in Washington, trade balance even during the war was 50 million dollars per year in favour of India, but this credit balance in favour of India went to the British pool with the result that India could not take advantage of this favourable balance of trade without getting sanction from Britain. This sanction has so far been

persistently refused. We are unable to forecast as Sir Ardeshir does, that good sense will soon dawn on Britain and this most shameful exploitation of Indian credit for the benefit of Britain will stop in the near future.

No Capital Equipment from U.K. and U.S.A.

The Indian Industrialists Mission, in a report on their visit to U.K. and U.S.A., say that prospects are anything but bright about the availability of capital equipment in the immediate future. In both the countries the market is primarily a sellers' market and buyers will have to take their turn. The position, they say, is probably the least satisfactory in regard to textile machinery for which India's need is perhaps the most urgent. There appears to be no near prospect of imports from America while deliveries from England cannot be expected under two years. The report says :

The position is probably the least satisfactory in regard to textile machinery, for which India's need is perhaps the most urgent. There appears to be no chance of getting any for a long time from America, while deliveries from England cannot be expected under two years.

American prices are generally higher than British prices. American manufacturers, however, are prepared to quote firm prices, whereas British quotations are usually subject to changes in costs of material and labour between the time the order is placed and the date of delivery.

We believe that in a couple of years or so prices as well as deliveries will become easier and that machinery then available will be of a more advanced type. If our judgment is correct, it would be inadvisable for industrialists in India to be in a hurry to purchase capital equipment under present conditions except, of course, where requirements are so urgent.

In this connection we should like to impress upon Government and the business community in India the necessity and urgency of constituting in both countries an organization which would locate available equipment, inspect and report on it when necessary, canalize all enquiries from India, and furnish machinery for their procurement from surplus disposal boards.

Whatever may be the views of the delegates to the Mission, the fact remains that both U.K. and U.S.A. are taking their chance to sell consumer goods in India. Supply of capital goods runs directly counter to this immediate interest and thus may naturally be discountenanced. The cloth market is the best example. A vacuum in this market has been carefully created and maintained with the help of the Defence of India Rules. Now that the war is over and the godowns of the Mills bulging with stocks, rationing of cloth has been introduced. With the war demands off, the Indian mills are in a position to supply normal market demands as they have so far done. Instead of allowing them to resume normal activities with the return of normal times, they have been chained up with the rationing orders, the most significant portion of which is that rationing applies only to the Indian mill-made and not imported cloth. The vacuum in the cloth market is thus still maintained for the reception of imported cloth. The following report by the special New Delhi correspondent of the *Tribune* (Sept. 11) is extremely significant :

Cotton cloth and yarn control order was promulgated in June, 1943. There seems to be no prospect of removing this order for at least two years. Though the war is over the shortage of textile is still world-wide. In India people flushing with paper currency want to buy superior quality cloth. During the last two years and more as a result of the control order, prices were fixed for about 20,000 varieties produced in 400 mills. These prices and varieties may undergo some change but the control, it is said, could not be relaxed until India not only clothes herself but is able to capture the market in the neighbouring countries. Already rationing of cloth has begun in about forty towns of the Punjab, a province which is usually against rationing of any commodity.

Indian National Army ?

Reuter reported from Singapore on 25th September :

Major-General Kiani, who was in charge of I.N.A. men in Singapore, has been arrested and lodged in Pearl Hill prison, while over 29,000 I.N.A. men have been segregated at Bidadari camp. Reports from Penang state that Mr. N. Raghavan, stated to be one of the original founders of the movement, has also been arrested.

Again, on 27th September :

About 2,000 men of the Japanese-raised Indian National Army are now in Bangkok, awaiting orders from the Government of India. They are remnants of the two divisions, which fought in Burma against the British and made their trek from Burma to Siam and have now disarmed themselves under Allied orders. Also under arrest here is Major-General J. K. Bhonsle, formerly Chief of Staff, I.N.A.

What do H. M.'s Government at Whitehall intend to do with these Indian sepoys and their shepherds ? It is unnecessary to discuss their strictly *legal position* under the ancient law of treason, as every schoolboy knows it,—but what *policy* will Britain see fit to follow in India is our concern. Here past history may give us some help.

For treason under arms against the Sovereign the legal penalty was to "draw, hang and quarter" the offender. The law remained on the Statute book till 1828. Readers of Scott's *Waverley* know that the chivalrous Scottish chief in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 expected this barbarous punishment after his failure and capture. Only thirty years afterwards, on 19th April, 1775, colonial subjects of His Britannic Majesty fired on the royal troops at Lexington. No question it was treason under arms. But suppose that the American rising had failed, as the I.N.A. has failed, and the British colonial who had fired the first shot at Lexington had been captured by General Gage and "drawn, hanged and quartered,"—would a British-U.S.A. entente have been possible for four centuries afterwards, and the comradeship in arms in the struggles of 1914 and 1940, as well as the economic co-operation regardless of cost by the U.S.A., which alone made British victory possible in World War No. II ?

In Ireland, in the upheaval of 1948, a rebel leader, named, O'Connor was captured, tried, and sentenced to death ; but he was reprieved and sent to Australia, where as a free man he worked his way up to eminence in the local legislature and was finally made a Privy Councillor of Great Britain !!! Contrast this act of Liberal statesmanship with Tory vindictiveness only 45 years before. In July, 1803, Robert Emmett of the United Irishmen party caused an abortive rising in

Dublin ; he was caught and hanged. What has been the result of it ? The "traitor" has been canonized as a national martyr all over Ireland and his name draws tears wherever the English language is understood and Thomas Moore's *Pro Patria Mori* is read :

*However my foes may condemn,
Thy tears shall efface their decree,
For heaven can witness, though guilty to them,
I have been but too faithful to thee.
... O, blest are the friends and lovers who shall live
The days of thy glory to see,
But the next dearest blessing that heaven can give
Is the pride of thus dying for thee.*

A Statesmanly Approach

Therefore, the question should be settled not by yielding to the howlings of the white Jingoists in the columns of the *Statesman*, nor to the counter-slogans of their counter-parts in our streets and popular press, but by an act of far-sighted statesmanship,—not by the strict rules of military discipline, nor by the rigid code of legality, but with coolness of head and wise vision as to the future of the British Federation of Free Communities, in which India will be enrolled some day, unless the two centuries of England's venture in India is to prove an unrelieved failure.

Need it be pointed out that after the last six years of death devastation and financial exhaustion in England, the props of the British Federation require some *moral* strengthening ? As the London *Times* has again and again remarked, the Japanese advance in the Far East in 1942 has destroyed the prestige of the European races for generations to come. Is it the surest means of restoring that prestige to wreak vengeance on the prisoners after the scales had been turned by the atom bomb ?

Suppose for the sake of argument, that India is turned into another Ireland. Mark the points of difference. Eire has a population of less than four millions, India has a hundred times as large a population. The Irish are kin to the English in language, religion, and race, the Indians (even in Pakistan) will be aliens to the Britishers in all these respects. What then will the future be ? The fighting is over ; the threat to England's life by bombs is over. But how quickly to restore her war-exhausted soil, the depleted treasury, the silent factories, the utter alienation of all sterling and dollar assets ? Here a responsive India will prove of inestimable help.

Lord Wavell rules India not as a soldier, not as a jurist, but as a statesman. He has in his writings, no less than in his famous campaigns, given proof of his supreme common sense and far-seeing statesmanly vision. Let us see whether these great gifts bear any fruit in India.

Police Partisanship in Criminal Investigation

Dismissing the criminal appeal filed by the United Provinces Government against the order of the Additional Sessions Judge, Benares, who acquitted Kumar Ahir and 20 others charged with murder and other crimes, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Sinha of the Allahabad High Court observed, "This case unfortunately furnishes a sad comment on the conduct of the police, the manner in which the investigation was conducted, on the utter lack of all sense of

responsibility and veracity—of responsibility on the part of the superior staff and of both on the part of those in immediate charge of the case.”

The incident which gave rise to the case, took place in March, 1943. According to the first information report made by Kalka Pathak, 44 Ahirs were mentioned for having killed Ramnaresh Pathak and Narain Pathak and also having fatally wounded Kalka Pathak who later succumbed to his injuries. On the other side, three Ahirs were killed as a result of gunshots fired by the Pathaks.

There was a Kisan Sangh in the village, the object of which according to the caste Hindus, was to incite the tenantry against the zemindars, but according to the other party it existed for the uplift of the depressed classes. The case for the Pathaks, who were the complainants in this case, was that this Kisan Sangh created a great deal of bad blood between the two classes.

In their judgment, their Lordships remarked that a pronounced bias was displayed by the police in favour of the Brahmins and against the Ahirs and others as disclosed by the evidence. Their Lordships treated the first information report as a piece of forgery by which the prosecution had sought to reinforce their tainted case and consequently dismissed the appeal.

“Before parting the case”, their Lordships said, “we must express our strong disapproval of the conduct of Thakur Bhagirathi Singh and Thakur Sirtaj Singh, Sub-Inspectors of Police who investigated the case. Instead of maintaining an attitude of strict impartiality, they were guilty of a most unfair and pronounced leaning in favour of the Pathaks and to the detriment of the Ahirs and Korees. Bhagirathi Singh is also responsible for disfiguring the prosecution by introducing into the case documents which have been found forged.

“We confess we feel astonished that the Head of the Police in the District did not visit the spot even though it was the scene of six murders and so many unfortunate accidents.”

“We hope the Government will order a refund to the accused of the sum realised from them on account of punitive tax.”

The tacit support which the present Provincial administrations persistently provide towards all sorts of derelictions of duty of the police, even in such cases of harassment and oppression of the people, has become alarming and widespread. In the present case, one wonders how the provincial authorities went forward to the High Court with such a palpably illegal case even after the judgment of the Additional Sessions Judge of Benares. The entire police machinery is becoming more and more corrupt due to the refusal of the Government even to investigate allegations of oppression levelled against them. Whitewashing of a palpable case of police excess is not infrequent. It is a pity that even hard remarks by High Court Judges have failed to make the Government understand the supreme need for the maintenance of discipline in the police force.

Liquidation of Bengal Zemindaries

The Civil Service plan for Bengal, mentioned above, envisages liquidation of the Bengal zemindaries. This has drawn forth a vehement reply from the Maharaja of Burdwan. In a statement to the press, the Maharaja says:

The decision of the Government to liquidate the Permanent Settlement of Bengal is unaccompanied by any scheme to improve the land-tenure policy in the interests of agricultural development. Maharajadhiraj also wonders what credentials the Government of Bengal, unaided by a popular Ministry, possess in coming to a decision of such momentous significance which seeks to transform the given class relations and rural economy of the province. The announcement of the decision to extirpate the large body of rent-receivers based on the Permanent Settlement without “the advice of the Ministry” and without “the approval” of the British Cabinet is against the very spirit of the Constitution Act, he adds.

Proceeding the Maharajadhiraj says: “In Bengal the land-owning community includes not a few big zemindars but practically the entire middle classes of the province. The Permanent Settlement has for social and historical reasons led to the broadening of the base of ownership. If it goes, it prejudices the middle classes of Bengal who are to-day in the vanguard of political, cultural and social movements. It should not have been declared without evaluation of the alternative scheme which will be fruitful for the entire nation.

At present, we do not propose to discuss the social and economic implications of the liquidation of the Permanent Settlement. If it is the desire of the nation in its collective wisdom to scrap the Permanent Settlement and to substitute an alternative system, that is a different matter. We urge that the picture must be drawn up by our National Government and that the Plan must be laid before the country in its complete and organic unity.

The Maharaja’s stand, we have to remark, is on wrong premises. The momentous decision to liquidate the permanent settlement was taken by the first popular Ministry in Bengal. It has been one of the election promises of the Krishak Proja Party and one of the main items of the programmes of the coalition parties which have come into power in the province. The Floud Commission, which has given its verdict in favour of the liquidation of the permanent settlement, was the product of a sustained popular agitation. There may be some alterations in details as regards the process of liquidation of the zemindaries or the amount of compensation to be paid, but there is no escape from the inevitable decision. All the progressive parties in the country, including the Congress, have declared their unmistakable opinion on this question.

India’s Historical Archives

A post-war plan for the reorganisation of historical archives in India has been drawn up and approved by the Indian Historical Records Commission. The Commission have recommended that the plan should be forwarded to the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and the Indian States for necessary action.

The Imperial Record Department has a five-year publication programme. While no printing work could be undertaken owing to paper scarcity, the typescripts were made ready according to the schedule. It is proposed to publish in extenso the correspondence of the East Indian Company with their servants in Bengal between 1748 and 1800. The series is being edited under the general supervision of the Director of Archives, Dr. S. N. Sen, and the progress of the work has been satisfactory. Many other important historical docu-

ments are expected to be published. A number of universities and other learned bodies have undertaken to publish records in Oriental languages.

An *ad hoc* Regional Committee was set up for the province of Delhi to conduct a survey at the historical records in private possession with the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission in Delhi. The University of Delhi has informally agreed to take custody of such manuscripts as private owners may like to part with.

The move no doubt is in the right direction. We think that a much better utilisation of the archives may be made if the Central Archives be located in Calcutta.

Indian Christians Condemn Communalism

At a joint meeting of representative Indian Christians of Nagpur both Protestant and Catholic, certain conclusions were reached on what should be the attitude of the Christian community towards the communal problem in special relation to itself. It was felt that everything was to be gained by facing the issue squarely and giving publicity to what should be the clear-cut attitude of the Christian community in regard to this very important matter. After deliberations, a statement was issued from which the salient points are given below :

We believe in the destiny of the Indian people and the goal of India is *Purna Swaraj*, and the emergence of a strong and united people who will take their rightful place in the comity of nations.

All separatist and fissiparous tendencies, unfortunately too prevalent in Indian political life today, deserve our strongest condemnation. Any compromise in this regard, such as entering into pacts with other communities and parties, or political bargaining of any kind will be fatal to the achievement of the goal set before us for our country.

We believe that the future Indian state must necessarily be one which will allow the fullest freedom to all its subjects in matters of conscience and religious observance, subject only to public order and morality.

The Indian National Congress by its programme and authoritative pronouncements is irrevocably committed to the ideals enunciated above. As the largest and most representative national organization in the country which places the national good above all communal considerations, it merits the whole-hearted sympathy and full support of all nationally-minded Indian Christians.

Except for the right to worship and the right to propagate our faith as we like—a privilege we claim not only for ourselves but for all other communities which go to make up the Indian Nation—we should ask for no special favours, nor desire any preferential treatment on the ground that we are a minority, but should be prepared to merge our interests in the larger interests of our motherland. To that extent any demand or agitation launched on mere communal grounds should be openly condemned and disavowed by Indian Christians everywhere.

Whatever political reasons might have necessitated the system of communal electorates and representation, we are emphatically of opinion that it is an unmitigated evil and as such a negation of all true nationalism. The recent history of India provides overwhelming evidence of the disastrous consequences that have followed in the wake of the communal award. We therefore unhesitatingly condemn and oppose the system of communal electorates

and all that pertains to them. We suggest that our policy should be one of complete lining up with the forces of Indian Nationalism as envisaged in the Congress programme in the cause of the country's freedom.

The statement concludes by saying that the Indian Christians as a community should not arrogate to themselves any special political rights except the right to serve the motherland, and that their claim to take their proper place in the affairs of the nation must be based solely and entirely on the ground of their merit and efficiency. The Nagpur Christians have taken the right course. They have brought India a step nearer to freedom.

Jinnah—A Creation of Congress Shortsightedness

Mr. D. F. Karaka, special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* and former President of the Oxford Union, in a letter to the *New York Times*, says :

My countrymen pleading India's cause in this country, have harped on the theme that India has a right to freedom. The issue to-day is no longer whether India is entitled to independence.

The point is rather, should this transference of power take effect subject to Mr. Jinnah's demands, which would mean that India would cease to exist as anything more than her geographical expression being replaced under the Jinnah scheme by two new units—Hindustan and Pakistan, Hindu India and Moslem India.

Mr. Jinnah's demand is not one which can be accepted by any thinking Indian, but the fact remains that because of Britain's India policy since the days of the Round Table Conferences, Mr. Jinnah to-day is in the position of calling the trumps. Mr. Jinnah has come to the present position in India partly because Britain built him up as a foil to the growing power of the Indian National Congress and partly because of the shortsightedness of the Congress in India which underestimated his strength and his danger.

The result is that while Britain is still, dejected, the paramount power, ironically because of their own Indian policy, Mr. Jinnah has the *de facto* control of India's destiny. Britain always said that no transference of power could take place in India without the consensus of opinion in India.

Mr. Karaka, in conclusion, says :

Like Nelson the Congress have looked for Mr. Jinnah's rise to power with their blind eye. Therefore, I feel it pointless to speak in this country about our right to our freedom without telling the American people of the mistakes our own Indian leaders have made in making this freedom difficult to achieve.

Hitherto the fact could never be proved that there was a Hindu-Moslem problem. The Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, however, provided exhibit "A" for Britain and provided British imperialism with a new lease of life in India.

The deadlock in India is the triumph of British Tory policy and will continue until the influence of Mr. Jinnah is obliterated and there is a reorientation of the Congress policy.

Congress attitude towards Mr. Jinnah and his League has been fully clarified during the last A.I.C.C. session. Sardar Patel admitted the folly of the Congress in attempting to bring Mr. Jinnah to his senses and Pandit Jawaharlal has plainly told the country that no further endeavour to appease Mr. Jinnah will ever be made.

Lying Propaganda about India

The kind and amount of lies indulged in anti-Indian propaganda in Britain has just been revealed in an article published in the Tory monthly *National Review*, July, 1945. In an article, *Shifting Indian Sands*, Mr. J. C. French, an ex-I.C.S., "proves" that Hindu Congress administration is rotten to the core, Moslem administration is good and direct Civil Service rule is heaven. Here are some samples—

Let us see what some of the Indians do when they practise self-government, and let us start with Bengal and the Calcutta Corporation whose collapse during the famine was so vividly portrayed by the *National Review*. In December, Mr. Casey, Governor of Bengal, inspected the extensive Calcutta slums. He said, "I have been horrified by what I have seen. Human beings cannot allow other human beings to exist under these conditions." In February a Government inspection of the Calcutta Corporation's vaccine laboratory showed that the lymph produced was not safe for vaccination, and this while small-pox was prevalent. In March, the Moslem Ministry of Bengal threatened the Calcutta Corporation with supersession unless they aimed out some urgent sanitary improvements. The immediate reaction of the Corporation, while protesting at being "held at bay" was to hold (in the words of the Congress Press) "an animated debate" objecting to the Government's acquisition of some houses containing brothels. The Corporation objected to the brothels being removed. At the next meeting "City Fathers Make a Firm Stand, Government Ultimatum Thrown Out." (Congress Press headlines). The Corporation flatly refused the Government's demands for improvements in sanitation. But an outbreak of cholera added itself to the prevailing small-pox. The Corporation gave way and agreed "under protest" to carry out the Government measures. In the province of Bengal there is a Moslem majority, and therefore a Moslem Ministry governs it. But in its capital, Calcutta, Hindus predominate, and so the Calcutta Corporation is a Hindu Congress stronghold. Bitterly it felt its defeat at the hands of the Moslem Ministry. But the revenge came soon.

We make no apology quoting this fairly long extract. This clearly shows how British lies have stuck to Calcutta dirt in order to pick up propaganda material. The whole thing is a tissue of lies. During the famine, not only the Corporation, but the whole Civil Administration had collapsed. There are slums not only in Calcutta under the Corporation, but in every village all over Bengal under the Civil Administration. Horrified Mr. Casey had promised improvement of the Calcutta slums within six months. Those six months have expired and nothing has yet been done. Mr. Casey most certainly is not a Hindu Congressman at the helm of the Calcutta Corporation. Why, pray, did he fail in his duty to fulfil his promise? The brothel question is a deliberate and unmitigated lie. When the soldiers of Mr. French's race began to pour into India at the beginning of the war, the Government had turned out civilians from their homes to make room for brothels. The Calcutta Corporation had objected to the removal of brothels from the age-old areas without providing for alternative places. Nobody in Calcutta liked that the segregated brothel areas should be hastily dispersed so that the public women mix themselves up in residential quarters spreading disease and immorality there. The vaccine controversy had brought out at least one thing—that the main issue involved was politics and not sanitation.

Mr. French on Bengal Politics

Mr. French then proceeds to depict Bengal politics in his own light. He says:

The Moslems, who are the main support of the Ministry in Bengal, are mostly poor peasants. Big business, and therefore money, is in the hands of Hindus, chiefly Congress men. . . . While the Moslems have numbers, the Hindus have wealth, a precarious situation in Indian politics. In 1943, there was a food famine in Bengal. This year opened with a cloth famine. The Central Government gave Bengal its allotted share, but it disappeared, no one knew where. The Congress *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a cartoon of a Bengali lady being stripped by a blackhand marked "Profiteer". On March 25, the Government started a sudden drive against stocks of hoarded cloth. Much was discovered. "The wolf at last" cried the press. The cloth business of Calcutta is in the hands of Hindus, mostly Marwaris, as the *baniyas* (traders and money-lenders, Gandhi belongs to this class) of Rajputana are called. The Government drive hurt them. The return blow was prompt.

The ex-Civilian then narrates the events that led to the breakdown of the constitution on the ruling of the Speaker and the assumption of direct administration by the Governor under Sec. 93. He next piles up further lies to support his original and sinister interpretation. Here are samples:

Sir Nazimuddin charged the Speaker with forcing it (Sec. 93) on the Province, and indeed the Speaker in his ruling mentioned the Governor's assumption of power as a likely contingency, a most peculiar reversal of English constitutional history. The Hindu Congress Press accepted it with alacrity. No one suggested the Opposition taking office, for this would have meant a Hindu Cabinet, which would have united the Moslem majority against it. So if the Hindu minority cannot control parliament, then get on without one. Such are the sentiments in Bengal, the richest and best educated province in India. For long envious glances have been cast at provinces as Bombay, which, under the direct administration of the Governor and the Indian Civil Service, and free from the "privilege" of such "parliamentary" government as Bengal has possessed, has enjoyed a singular immunity from the food and cloth famines which have afflicted Bengal.

We have seldom come across such a brazen and deliberate tissue of lies. In the Bengal Legislature, Moslems and Hindus have never divided on a community basis. Every Government Party and every Opposition had Hindu and Moslem members in it. The Opposition which had thrown out the Nazimuddin Ministry, had a large number of Moslems within its fold and the entire Opposition Party was led by a Moslem, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq. The Opposition leader had expressed on several occasions his readiness to form a Government and had actually submitted a list of names of members on his side which clearly showed that he commanded a comfortable majority irrespective of the support of the European Group and the Muslim League. Mr. Casey, apparently acting on the advice of his Civil Service who were mortally afraid of any progressive Ministry being formed in Bengal, refused to give Mr. Huq any chance to form an alternative Ministry.

Mr. French on Congress

At the end of his article, Mr. French has poured all his venom on the Congress. He writes:

Congress leaders are still in detention and so the party is quiet. But in the outrages of 1942, which were also a threat to military communications in the war, it had a full-dress rehearsal for the part it may play in the future. Jai Prakash Narain, Secretary of the Socialist Branch of the Congress Party, had advised the adoption of Terrorist Revolutionary methods. This is exactly what was done by Congress in August, 1942. The point of the advice was that since the secret Terrorist Revolutionary Murder Societies, such as the Yugantar and Anusilan in Bengal, were being kept down during the war with an iron hand, their work had to be done by other branches of Congress. Congress-Socialists were suspected of the Punjab mail train disaster in Bihar last November. There is a vague dividing line between the ordinary Congressman and the Terrorist, it is a question of degree and timing. They tend to shade and merge. Where all this may lead, the warning is Japan, where terrorism is systematised into government by assassination.

Mr. French then invokes his own authority for supporting these falsehoods and writes: "Sir Feroz Khan Noon, an Indian delegate at the San Francisco Conference has said, *If the Indian National Congress is represented at San Francisco, Japan may as well be represented.*"

Here again we come across another tissue of lies. The Congress has no Socialist branch. Jai Prakash Narain's party is a separate organisation whose members are also members of the Congress and for that matter they call themselves Congress-Socialist Party. There are other similar parties, for example, the Congress Nationalist Party. The allegation that Jai Prakash Narain had advised Revolutionary methods in August, 1942 movement has not yet been proved. It has been alleged by the Government on the strength of a secret letter purported to have been seized by the police from the person of Jai Prakash Narain under circumstances which appear to be very unreal. This letter was printed and extensively circulated by the Government without giving Jai Prakash Narain any opportunity to reply. The dividing line between the Congressman and the Revolutionary worker is perfectly clear, and not a vague one as Mr. French suggests. The Congressman takes his stand on perfect nonviolence abjuring anything that may lead to violence. As regards the position of Congress *vis-a-vis* Japan, its leaders like Gandhiji, Nehru and Patel have made the position absolutely clear. The lying propaganda of the British Imperialists to paint the Congress as pro-Japanese now stands fully exposed. It does not suit Mr. French to tell the truth in this matter, as in everything else, and that is all there is to it.

We take such a serious view of this article for the fact that it appears in the *National Review* which is the monthly organ of the Conservative Party in Britain and specially because of the editorial note appended to it. We quote this note without comment:

Since Mr. French wrote this article on the hopeless misgovernment of Calcutta, which is entirely under Indian rule, Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, has announced that Indians may have their independence for the asking and may leave the Empire altogether if they wish.

We are sorry to see the great name of Field-Marshal Wavell used as a cover for this sorry business which, if it is carried through, puts an end to our influence in India and at once plunges that country into chaos and misery. The announcement

was made in all the hurly-burly of the beginning of the election. Only the enemies of India, of Britain and of order will rejoice.

British Officers Prefer to Quit India?

The special correspondent of the *Leader* understands that the U.P. Government recently inquired from each of the British officials of the I.C.S. and the I.P.S. in the province, if, in view of the changed political environment in the province in the near future with the possible coming into office of the Congress Ministries, they intended to avail themselves of the option of premature retirement from the date from which the change in regime takes place. The correspondent writes:

I understand, replies to this inquiry indicated that about 50 per cent of the British officers would rather retire than adapt themselves to the new popular regime. I gather, the Chief Secretaries of the various provinces had this disturbing information in hand when they last met at New Delhi in Conference and one of the questions which the Conference was called to thrash out was as to how the provincial Government should reinforce their depleted cadres in the event of that contingency arising. Finally, it is reported to have been agreed upon that the situation would be met by increasing the number of the so-called listed posts by which senior officers of the provincial services are promoted to posts normally held by members of the Imperial services, and letting many of the provincial service officers at present officiating on superior posts continue to officiate on them. It is also reported to have been decided to speed up release of officers from the Army to fill vacancies in the I.C.S. and the I.P.S. which have been reserved for war service candidates during the war years. But even after the Provincial Governments get all the officers they want from that quarter, the deterioration in the efficiency and competence of the Imperial services will be unavoidable and the Chief Secretaries Conference is reported to have been keenly conscious of this danger. It is reported to have been pointed out that while they needed experienced officers fit to hold charge of districts in place of those who would be quitting India with the coming of the Congress Ministries, most of the officers they would be getting would be young and inexperienced and only fit for appointment as joint magistrates and assistant superintendents of police.

The problem of grafting 'war babies' to the steel frame is also baffling solution. Two likely results of such a development have been perceived. Firstly, the 'war babies' in the I.C.S. and the I.P.S. are recruited on lower standards from the Army and they will further lower the efficiency of the service. Such a deterioration will have its unwholesome repercussions for decades. In any case, the service in its entirety has proved its hopeless inability to cope with any abnormal situation, and we do not see any reason to believe that those who floundered and muddled during the War period would prove any better during the strenuous times of the Post-War. Indeed the quitting of India by "stuffed shirts" might be a blessing in disguise.

Pakistan Propaganda in London Press

Conservative Sunday newspaper, *Observer*, London, has featured its New Delhi correspondent's observation that, "India is coming round to Mr. Jinnah's plan." The correspondent writes, "Whatever plan Lord Wavell

produces will have to tackle boldly the communal bugbear or it will fail as dismally as did its forerunners. More and more is the conviction taking root that vivisection is the only remedy for the country's communal malady. This view is now being openly if rather fearfully expressed for the first time even by many of those who have been the most persistent critics of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan policy since its inception. There is no doubt many in the Congress rank and file are beginning to despair of the prospects of attaining the Congress ideal of a united free India."

We would like to know the reaction of die-hard Tories now that the Congress has officially declared its considered views on Pakistan. The correspondent says, "As Mr. Jinnah's Muslim League following appears to have increased rather than decreased after the breakdown of the Simla parleys, realists in Congress inner cabinet are, it is believed, endeavouring to convert their colleagues to the idea of accepting Mr. Jinnah's demand repugnant and distasteful though it is in the hope that Britain will sooner be disposed to give India independence." We do not know through what source this precious piece of information about the inner Congress Cabinet's views has been gathered. The country, on the contrary, has seen two of the foremost leaders of the Congress declare openly that no further approach to Jinnah will be made and that the Congress stands for a United India.

Muslim Nationalists to Fight League

Muslim Nationalists have decided to contest the forthcoming general elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The decision was taken at a joint meeting of the various nationalist Muslim parties which held its deliberations at New Delhi under the presidency of Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. The representatives of the All-India Muslim Majlis, All-India Momin Conference, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Khudai Khidmatgars, Bihar Independent Party and Krishak Praja Party were present.

A section of the Muslim Nationalists, while willing to contest the elections to the Provincial Legislatures, was violently opposed to fighting the elections to the Central Legislature. The supporters of this view argued that, firstly, the election to the Central Legislatures would be a farce as they would be fought on the franchise conceded in 1919, and secondly, the limited resources of Nationalists, in men and money did not permit any divergence from the Provincial Elections. They believed that Provincial Elections were more important than elections to the Central Legislature because the Constituent Assembly would consist of the representatives of the provinces. But this view was not shared by the majority of the Muslim Nationalist leaders, and it was decided by an overwhelming majority to contest the elections to the Central Legislature. Those who wanted to contest the elections argued that it would be bad strategy to allow the League to have a walk over in the first round of the elections. They agreed that a majority of voters would be robbed of their right to vote but circumstances demanded that they should make the best of the present opportunity. They feared that if they abstained from participating in the elections to the Central Legislature, Mr. Jinnah would persuade the world to believe in the sole representative capacity of the Muslim League.

Usually well-informed quarters suggest that this anti-League fight will be fought jointly by these nationalist Muslim organisations: A Board consisting of the representatives of the five Nationalist organisations, viz., Muslim Majlis, Jamiat-ul-Ulema, Momin Conference, Khudai Khidmatgars and Krishak Praja Party—will be formed to select the candidates and conduct the elections. We consider both these decisions, i.e., to set up a United Parliamentary Board and to fight the League on the Central as well as Provincial fronts, wise.

It is understood that this election will be contested on two main issues, firstly, the immediate attainment of freedom for India, which they contend is indispensable not only to the welfare of the Indian Muslims but also the happiness and freedom of the Islamic countries, and secondly, on the claim of the League to be the sole representative organisation of the Muslims, which the Nationalist organisations consider to be false.

The decision of the Ahrars, taken after a four-day session of their Working Committee held at Lahore, has also been announced. They have decided to fight the elections against the League but without entering into alliance with any other political party. Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, General Secretary of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar, has already started the election campaign in the Punjab and in a public meeting at Lahore severely criticised the Muslim League leadership.

The Khaksars are also trying to form an anti-League combine. The Ahrars have accepted the Khaksars' offer of help during the election to form an anti-League front. Maulana Mazhar Ali accused (as reported in *Bombay Chronicle*, Sept. 19) Mr. Jinnah of being guilty of committing "un-Islamic acts" and said that as Mr. Jinnah himself had declared at the time of his marriage in 1918 that he was not a Muslim he could not be accepted as a leader for the Mussalmans. He also declared that the Ahrars were putting up candidates against the President of the Punjab Muslim League and many other prominent League leaders.

Muslim Rights in Minority Areas

The rights and privileges of the Muslims would not in any way be affected if they remained in a united India, said Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahaman, former President of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, addressing a largely attended public meeting near Calicut. He said that the Muslims living in minority provinces need not be afraid that their rights and privileges would be affected in the future. He cited the example of the Cochin State, ruled by a Hindu Prince, where the Muslims, who formed a minority, enjoyed more rights and privileges than even under the British Government in India. As the Muslims of Malabar formed one-third of the total population in the district, they need not at all be afraid that their rights and privileges would be affected. Those who were now fighting for freedom from British domination would certainly be capable of fighting to preserve their own rights and privileges. It would not be in the interests of the Muslim community, to entertain that fear complex as it would lead to hatred.

Mr. Abdur Rahaman then referred to the hint recently given by Mr. Jinnah stating that the minority community in Sind would have to migrate and go to Hindustan areas after Pakistan was established. But the Muslims who formed a minority in the Madras

Presidency were not prepared to leave this province to go and settle in the Pakistan areas. There would therefore be no meaning in their associating themselves with the demand for Pakistan made by the League. He would request them not to be carried away by the cries that their interests were in danger at the hands of the Hindus, but to remain united and work for the freedom of Hindustan.

No minority has anything to fear from a majority where that majority act in the interest of the country and respect the well-defined rights of the minority. Difficulties arise only when, in the usual Muslim League fashion, a vociferous minority group wants to arrogate all powers to itself. As soon as our Mussalman brethren shed their fear, suspicion and inferiority complex, and come forward to share in the sacrifices for winning the freedom of the country, the minority problem will vanish like smoke.

League Arithmetic

Hard pressed at a press conference, Mr. Jinnah refused to define Pakistan. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali has done it. He wants to include the present boundaries of Bengal and Assam within the League's Pakistan. Commenting editorially on this announcement, the *Nationalist* has analysed the League arithmetic in the following creeds :

Areas within the "present" boundaries of Bengal and Assam are claimed by the League. Why? Because 16 of the 28 districts in the former have majority Muslim populations. In Assam, 14 districts have majority Hindu populations; one, the district of Sylhet, has a Muslim majority. In Bengal, according to the League arithmetic, 16 can outvote the 12 Hindu districts; in Assam, according to the same brand of arithmetic, 1 must be allowed to outvote 14. In the Punjab, 17 districts, generally in the west and north, are Muslim majority; they can outvote the 13 Hindu majority districts of the province and claim even the areas where they are in a minority, just as in Bengal and Assam 16 and 1 propose to do the trick. Remember, all this is being done either in the name of self-determination or in the name of a Muslim "nation" to be born whose soul is seeking a local habitation and a home!

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan or his fellow Leaguers were in no mood to come to grips with facts in the pursuit of their Pakistan. Now that he has elected to land on hard reality, he has to ask himself how does he propose by democratic means to induce 45 per cent of the population of Bengal which happens to be Hindu, 62 per cent of Hindus in Assam and 43 per cent Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab to agree to go into his Pakistan.

Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee has pointed out on several occasions the irrelevancy of this fantastic claim. He asked the League leaders to explain how a minority of 25 per cent who refused to live with a 75 per cent majority claim to subject a 45 or 43 per cent minority under their communal rule? In the case of Assam, the claim illustrates the length to which a demand can go. Taking advantage of the British trick of showing Hindus and Tribals divided almost half and half in the Census Report for 1941, a 37 per cent Muslim minority has set up a demand to rule the province. A special League logic and League arithmetic is now being evolved to support the mirage of an undefined Pakistan.

No Arab Support for Pakistan

Mr. Attiya, who is in charge of the Arab office in Britain, in an interview with the *United Press of India* said :

We have complete sympathy with the Indian struggle for liberation. We recognise the Indian National Congress as the leader of the struggle representing both Hindus and Muslims.

Of course, the Muslims in Arab countries have spiritual affinity with the Muslims in India. But this does not mean any support for Pakistan or Pan-Islamism. We in the Arab world are deeply interested in the idea of a federation of near and middle eastern countries and India as formulated in the Congress resolution of August 1942. We have been inspired by the ideas of Mr. Gandhi, Abul Kalam Azad. And we are deeply touched that soon after their release from prison, though the Congress leaders were preoccupied with urgent Indian problem, they found time to express unequivocal support for Arab aspirations. We will not forget this fraternal gesture of friendship.

I profoundly regret that a certain private and personal letter written by a colleague of mine—Nishashibi—has been twisted by Muslim League circles in India signifying the Arab League's support for Pakistan. The Arab liberation movement is not religious in character, nor it is Muslim. It is non-communal and secular in conception. It contains Muslims as well as Christians, all united on the platform of freedom of the Arab world.

We have not seen any League reaction to this outspoken Arab statement which has received wide publicity in this country. This also gives us an impression of what the Arabs think of the Muslim League political methods.

Post-War Development Schemes

Steps have been taken by Central and Provincial Governments to accelerate the absorption of men released from the army and from war factories and workshops and to help in the conversion of industry to meet peace-time requirements. This is the information given by the Government departments concerned.

Provincial Governments and departments of the Central Government, it is stated, were asked several months ago to select and plan in detail schemes which would create employment. They were also asked to place orders for machinery, to send in estimates of materials required and to take steps for land acquisition where necessary. These measures are now in hand.

Schemes for improvement of existing roads are in an advanced state of preparation. Other large schemes include irrigation and hydro-electric works, some of which have already started, besides schemes being prepared by War Transport, Labour and other departments. These will create opportunities for employment, directly and through demands made on industry.

It is stated that a majority of the provinces particularly those who have provided large numbers of recruits for the defence forces, have large funds in hand for post-war development. Other provinces will, it is believed, get limited assistance from central funds.

Civil industries which have schemes for expansion well under way include cement, chemicals and various others, while other industries are awaiting definite news of availability of machinery and materials before preparing expansion plans.

Opportunities of increased employment in cottage industries are restricted by shortage of raw materials, such as leather, brass, iron, etc.

Central and Provincial Governments will require a larger number than at present of gazetted, subordinate and inferior staff to fill war vacancies and carry out post-war development schemes.

Other avenues of employment will be provided by building, repair and maintenance of houses and Government offices, for which cement, timber, steel and coal (for brick burning) are to be released. There is also shortage of agricultural and other labour waiting to be made good in certain areas.

Efforts are being made to obtain from the army and elsewhere technical personnel on whom post-war development plans largely depend. At the same time training of technical personnel is to be expedited. Schemes in this connection include the sending of trainees overseas, expansion of training institutions and establishment of new ones. Labour exchanges, recently set up under directors of resettlement and employment in each province, will help in furthering the scheme of absorbing discharged men.

Post-war schemes of this nature look good on paper but are extremely difficult of attainment. Unskilled and untrained men cannot just be forced into industries which have immense difficulties of their own. Similarly the already glutted field of agriculture cannot readily absorb a million or so of tenant farmers without there being serious repercussions. So far as we remember, such plans had been put into operation after the first Great War but with little success. The proposal to graft these demobilised personnel on existing industries is also rather doubtful. The difficulty in obtaining machinery and spare parts will be a sufficient deterrent for factory owners and managers for declining them access to the machines. The planners seem to be very optimistic about their employment in cement, chemical and vanaspati industries. But here also grave doubt exists. The first two of them are fair fields where U.K. and U.S.A. are interested as suppliers of cement and chemicals. Under such circumstances, the planning experts in the Development Department of the Government of India may not find it possible to induce the Industries Department to permit import of machineries for these industries to expand. The departmental officers, it must be admitted, have done their job; they have produced their report and earned their salary.

Damodar Valley Multipurpose Project

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, held a conference in Calcutta on August 23 last with representatives of the Bengal and Bihar Governments on the Damodar Valley multipurpose project. In the course of his address to the conference, Dr. Ambedkar described the project as serving to promote directly the welfare of five million people and indirectly of many more millions. He added that the project was a welcome one to the Government of India and that it was a matter of grave urgency also. In January last, another conference on this subject had been held. It was decided there that the scheme for harnessing the waters of the river Damodar should take the shape of a multipurpose project so as to cover the generation of electricity and to supply water for irrigation and inland navigation. In accordance with that decision, experts have drawn

up preliminary memorandum on the unified development of the Damodar Valley which came up for consideration at the second conference.

The memorandum envisages measures of flood protection as would ensure full safety to the vulnerable area of the Damodar basin against even the most adverse combination of foreseeable natural circumstances. The scheme drawn up does provide for that full measure of safety. The project shows a fine prospect of the control of the river, a prospect of controlling floods.

In concrete terms, the project would give Bengal and Bihar (1) an aggregate controlled reservoir capacity of 4,700,000 acre-feet; (2) sufficient water for perennial irrigation of about 760,000 acres besides water for navigation purposes; (3) electrical energy amounting to 300,000 kilowatt; and (4) it would serve to promote directly the welfare of five million people and indirectly of many more millions.

Dr. Ambedkar emphasised the need for a quick decision on questions of method and procedure. Although the scheme is drawn up primarily for the establishment of safety and the development of a multipurpose river basin project, it should also be remembered that it will provide a large volume of employment after the war. That is all the more reason why the plan should immediately be brought into operation. Dr. Ambedkar emphasised this point when he said, "As the war was now over on all fronts, the Government were faced with the problems of peace, one of which was to prevent unemployment which, with the sudden cancellation and reduction of war employment and expenditure was going to be one of the gravest problems in our domestic economy. From this point of view the Damodar project was a matter of grave urgency and it would be criminal folly not to come to an early decision." We quite appreciate Dr. Ambedkar's desire to see the project through. But our knowledge about the inter-departmental relations at the New Delhi Secretariat, does not encourage us to share the Labour Member's optimism. During the last session of the Central Legislature, indications of friction and disagreement between the Labour and the Development departments were quite clear. We do not know how far Dr. Ambedkar will be able to surmount them but we sincerely wish him success.

Inter-Provincial Food Council

Addressing the Central Food Advisory Council, Sir J. P. Srivastava said that the monsoon had not been quite satisfactory this year in the North-Eastern region, particularly Western Bengal, Northern Bihar and some districts of Orissa and the output of rice in this region in the year 1945-46, it was feared, would be below normal. Sir Jwala Prasad warned against an early relaxation of food control measures as "the food situation in India in 1946 will need the utmost vigilance on the part of several administrators."

He also said that the formation of a Committee composed of representatives of the Provinces, States, producers, consumers and traders to examine the whole question of relaxation of controls and to formulate a programme of action which could be the basis of the Government's policy in the immediate post-war period, was engaging his attention.

Notice should be taken of one major factor which very largely contributed to the chaos in the food administration during the last famine, *viz.*, inter-

provincial rivalry. Inter-provincial jealousy and selfishness during the 1943 crisis could not be overcome by voluntary persuasion. To safeguard against similar contingencies, Sec. 135 of the Government of India Act, 1935, provides the setting up of a statutory inter-provincial Council. Here is that section :

Sec. 135. If at any time it appears to His Majesty upon consideration of representations addressed to him by the Governor-General that the public interest would be served by the establishment of an Inter-Provincial Council charged with the duty of—

- (a) inquiring into and advising upon disputes which may have arisen between Provinces ;
- (b) investigating and discussing subjects in which some or all of the Provinces, or the Federation and one or more of the Provinces, have a common interest ; or
- (c) making recommendations upon any such subject and, in particular, recommendation for the better co-ordination of policy and action with respect to that subject,

it shall be careful for His Majesty in Council to establish such a council, and to define the nature of the duties to be performed by it and its organisation and procedure.

An order establishing any such Council may make provision for representatives of Indian States to participate in the work of the Council.

It was Lord Linlithgow's duty to move His Majesty's Government for the establishment of such an Inter-Provincial Council. Not only did he fail to do so, he permitted the Provinces, in flagrant breach of Sec. 297 of the Government of India Act, to set up trade barriers against one another. Sec. 297 states that no Provincial Legislature or Government shall by virtue of the entry in the Provincial Legislative List relating to trade and commerce within the province or the entry in that list relating to the production, supply and distribution of commodities, have power to pass any law or take any executive action prohibiting or restricting the entry into or export from the province of goods of any class or description.

There is every likelihood of a repetition of the same type of provincial rivalry at the threatened 1946 famine. We think that an Inter-Provincial Council should be set up at the earliest possible moment. Advisory Councils can never solve problems of the order of 1943. A statutory body with full powers and responsibilities is needed for that purpose.

Rice Position in Bengal

The Food Secretary to the Government of India, Mr. B. R. Sen, interviewed in Calcutta on the eve of his return to Delhi, said that there was no purpose behind the Bengal Government's rice export policy other than to turn over stocks which would, otherwise, have gone bad, and by getting fresh stocks in their place. From that point of view, Mr. Sen thought it would be more correct to describe the transaction as one of turn-over than of export. The difficulty the Bengal Government is feeling to preserve the stock from deterioration is understandable. Large quantities of rice have already been lost due to decay and surely a considerably large stock will be totally lost unless they are quickly used up. From this standpoint we are prepared to agree to this turn-over on condition that

proper arrangements are made to see that only the intended quality of rice go out. Decay in Bengal godowns means huge loss to the Bengal exchequer. The people have already borne a loss of Rs. 18 crores in two years in the Bengal Government's food transactions and any further loss must be avoided. If replacements in time are assured, we see no harm in this deal with the sole proviso mentioned above.

What we do not understand is this : the Famine Commission has strongly expressed itself against rice purchase through Agents. The Bengal Government has so long done it and is still clinging to this procedure. The evil of this process is that the entire amount of profit goes to the Agents and the whole of the loss is borne by the tax-payer. The Agents may make purchases from the cultivators at ridiculously low prices and by a continuous sale and purchase among a chain of fictitious middlemen may raise the price to a preposterous high level and finally discharge the stock to the Government at a fabulous price. The persistent refusal of the Bengal Government to disclose their stock position and the rates of purchase and sale of rice throw strong suspicions in the public mind. The rice deals in the Budgets have been kept beautifully vague. In the Budget estimate for 1944-45, in the rice deal, a surplus of Rs. 16-crores was expected which, after a few months in the Revised Budget, was converted into a loss of Rs. 31-crores ! This fact has ever since remained unexplained. The Government have suffered a loss of Rs. 5 crores in 1943-44 and have provided for a loss of Rs. 13 crores in the Revised Budget for 1944-45. But we do not know of a single rice-purchasing agent who has suffered any loss during the last few years. On the contrary, it is common knowledge that they have fattened to a very considerable extent. The Famine Commission has calculated that the net aggregate profit made by these people was at least Rs. 150 crores. But the tax-payers of Bengal have so far been compelled to make up for a loss of Rs. 18 crores, and nobody knows to what extent the amount would go on mounting. We expected Mr. Sen to investigate this very important fact and have been disappointed. Where the Government themselves are carrying the stock, providing money for purchase and bearing the entire risk of loss, why should they not dismiss their agents at once and take upon themselves the task of making purchases ?

The Coming Famine

The crop prospects in Bengal, to say the least, are gloomy. A 25 per cent overall shortage is the Government's own estimate, the people think it will be more. The last disastrous famine was caused by a shortage of 30 per cent. There is, therefore, no room for complacency. It was revealed during 1943 that Government's statistical figures are hopelessly inaccurate. This year also the trend is the same. On August 27, a Government press note stated that the total outturn of *aus* crop over the whole province was estimated to be 75 per cent of the normal. On September 27, Mr. B. R. Sen says it will be 70 per cent.

Dealing with the rice crop prospects in Bengal, the Food Secretary said that he had discussed the matter with the Government of Bengal who were now of the view that it would not be unreasonable to estimate 70 per cent of the normal for *aus* and 80 per cent of normal for *aman*, provided October rains were adequate.

Mr. Sen has emphatically declared that if circumstances made it necessary, the Government of India were prepared, as in 1944, to guarantee Bengal further supplies equivalent to Calcutta's requirements in 1946. This is important because with Calcutta out of the Bengal market, the upward trend of prices in the mofussil will be definitely slow. Instead of waiting for the circumstances this categorical declaration may and should be made. Press reports of hunger marches in Bankura have already intimated what is coming in no distant future.

Need for Irrigation in Bengal

Reading a paper to the East India Association at Caxton Hall, London, Sir William Stampe, British Government's Irrigation Adviser for India expressed the view that "the appalling spectacle" of the Bengal famine must soon recur in catastrophic form unless systematic measures are promptly taken to increase food production in conformity with the rising population. He said :

One result of the human overload on the land has been a steady diminution in the standard of nutrition of a large proportion of the people. It is reliably computed that 150 millions are at present existing on less than two-thirds of the minimum diet necessary to maintain a healthy life.

The palliative adopted in 1943 of importing wheat on a large scale cannot continue as a long-term solution to the problem, especially in times of post-war shortages. The ready remedy lies in the early exploitation of India's vast water resources—both on the surface and underground—the bulk of which remains largely undeveloped in spite of all that has been done to expand irrigation to various parts of the country.

Sir William estimates that an additional area of two million acres must be added yearly if the production of food is to compete with the rising population, and in addition a further increase of 12 million acres of productive land must be secured immediately.

Since the British occupation of India, the indigenous industries have been crushed and the second sure source of income of the Indian peasant has been completely eliminated. The inevitable result has been an intense and ever increasing pressure on land. Agriculture is now the only source of income and even a cursory glance at the occupational tables of the Census Reports will show how steadily the potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., are crowding on land as their primary means of income. Unscientific agriculture has aggravated the problem. The cultivators lack all the three essentials of agriculture—a sure and steady supply of water, cheap means of credit and organised marketing facilities ensuring a remunerative price for the crop. During the one and half century of their rule, the British authorities have not only omitted to do anything to provide these facilities which any civilised national government would have done, but have created conditions under the permanent settlement which have encouraged a complete decay of these facilities that obtained before the rise of Christian power in India. Sir William Wilcox has conclusively proved that before the introduction of permanent settlement, it was the zemindar's duty to have rivers, canals and tanks cleansed and repaired. The people volunteered to do all these and the system was known as the *pulbandi*. Since the permanent settlement, zemindars were reduced to mere rent col-

lectors on behalf of the government, they were no longer responsible to the people and all their powers of maintaining law and order and doing justice were transferred to British police stations and courts. Large-scale improvements on land, specially irrigation had always been the duty of the rulers, it was faithfully and successfully discharged by the Indian Rulers, no matter whether they were Hindus or Muslims.

Sir Tarak Nath Palit's Bequest

We have heard with dismay about a proposal on the part of the University of Calcutta authorities to sell the lands and premises at Ballygunge which form part of the Sir Tarak Nath Palit bequest. We do hope that we are misinformed, as this step in our opinion will cause irreparable harm to the cause of Biological Science. If this very thoughtless step be taken, the University will lose an invaluable site for future development, the equal of which they will never be able to acquire in future. Such an extensive plot and so ideally situated near tram and bus routes, will never be available again, unless Calcutta degenerates into insignificance. We have heard that this proposal has been considered because the authorities want to centralise the Science departments at the Upper Circular Road site and to use the proceeds of the sale for the construction of new buildings and the renovation of the old buildings at the above site.

We cannot by any stretch of imagination enthuse about this latter scheme. Quite apart from the unsuitability of the Upper Circular Road site, which is cramped for space as it is and will remain so even after the acquirement of 4 or 5 bighas of land, this measure will go against the very fundamental ideas about the bequest. It would perhaps be better to recount the history of this trust.

By his second trust deed executed on the 14th October, 1912, Sir Tarak Nath Palit bequeathed to the Calcutta University his residential quarters being premises No. 35, Ballygunj Circular Road, Calcutta, covering an area measuring about 24 bighas. The Calcutta University came in possession of the aforesaid properties when Sir Tarak Nath passed away in 1914.

On the 8th August, 1913, Sir Rash Behary Ghosh placed at the disposal of the University a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs for the purpose of founding four professorships, including one in Botany with special reference to Agriculture.

The general policy of the University in respect of the University College of Science, in so far as it relates to the establishment of the Biological departments were communicated to the Government of India in a memorandum on the 26th June, 1915, as follows :

The scope of the University College of Science will be—

(1) to provide facilities for research work in Applied Mathematics, Physics, Inorganic, Organic, and Physical Chemistry—Pure as well as Applied—, Botany, and as soon as ways and means can be found in Zoology and other branches of Natural Science.

(2) to provide a limited number of students for the M.A. and M.Sc. examination in the branches of science enumerated above.

As regards Botany especially, many ecological, mutational, and plant physiological problems can be most advantageously worked out in the tropics, as is shown by the results of the highly useful and successful work done in these directions in the Botanical

Gardens of Peradeniya (Ceylon) and Buitenzorg (Java), and it is a cause for regret that comparatively little of this class of work has been done in India in general and in Bengal in particular. Although a large amount of work of a very high order of excellence has been done in Bengal and in other parts of India in connection with the systematic Botany of the Phanerogams and the Higher Cryptogams and valuable additions have been made to our knowledge of members of the class of fungi, especially of such as are noxious to crops, an immense field of work lies yet open to botanists who are ready to devote themselves to a systematic study of the lower indigenous cryptogams.

The residence of Sir Tarak Nath Palit at Ballygunj, which consists of two large houses and has a large compound, a jhil, may be utilized for the purposes of higher Botanical and Zoological teaching when adequate funds are forthcoming for fitting up suitable laboratories.

Class rooms and residence for students and professors will be found in the existing houses with necessary additions and modifications.

The residential quarters of the late Sir Tarak Nath were accordingly later repaired and converted into a Biological Laboratory in 1918 and the outhouses converted into students' quarters. Post-graduate teaching and research in Botany commenced from the beginning of the sessions 1918-19. The department of Zoology was opened in 1919-20 and housed in the Palit buildings.

The Khaira fund enabled the University to create a chair in Agriculture in 1920 and the Agricultural Research department was also located at the Palit buildings.

The Anthropology department was shifted to the Palit buildings in 1935 and today the departments of Botany, Zoology and Anthropology are located here,—the Agricultural department being closed in 1931.

The scheme for a botanical garden in the Palit grounds and laying out of the grounds commenced in 1920 has since then shown very remarkable progress. The *jheel* provides facilities for research in Pisciculture, and Algology. It also aids the irrigation of the experimental fields that provides facilities for investigations in Mango, Banana, Rice, Cotton, etc., financed by I.C.A.R. and others. For all these schemes facilities for field work in the compound of the laboratory are indispensable. All these will be lost by shifting the departments to another site, and would mean a retrograde step and a reversal of the policy laid down by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee.

Eminent scientists of India and different parts of the world have expressed their great appreciation of the site selected for the Biological laboratories of the Calcutta University. Recently, Mr. L. J. F. Brimble, Editor of *Nature* and a botanist, visited these laboratories and he says, "I think, of all the places which I visited in India and Burma, the biological laboratories of the University College of Science were outstanding. You are indeed fortunate in the splendid site on which your department is built and in having such genial surroundings."

We know that the Palit buildings are now old and need thorough overhaul. The departments also are in need of increased accommodation. We are of the opinion that instead of selling the present site together with the buildings thereon, the University should construct new buildings for the Departments of Botany, Zoology and Agriculture in place of the existing ones. An appeal

for funds to provide these should be issued and is bound to have immediate response. If this is done we shall have in our midst an active centre of research in biological sciences comparable to the one in Physical sciences at 92, Upper Circular Road. We hope the University authorities will devote due consideration to this aspect of the question carefully and refrain from taking a step likely to cause very great harm to the development of biological sciences in Bengal.

Anti-American Propaganda in India

In a special article to the *Leader*, Sept. 13, 1945, Drew Pearson narrates an interesting story of how anti-American propaganda is carried on in India. Pearson writes :

Last year Wallace Murray, then Political Adviser to the Secretary of State, now U.S. Minister to Iran, addressed a memo to Secretary Hull to the effect that the British were spending money on an anti-American campaign in India. Basing this on high-ranking Indian official sources, Murray reported :

"The British are spending 100,000 rupees this year in India for anti-American propaganda and are spending Rs. 200,000 for anti-Indian propaganda in the United States."

One manifestation of the anti-American propaganda indulged in by the Government of India is the official attitude towards certain questions asked by the British soldiers at lectures.

One question that often crops up is Lend-Lease and how does it work. This was referred to New Delhi and although nothing was written down as the standard stock answer, the word was sent around to everybody that the stock answer was to be to the effect that Land-Lease is a means thought up by President Roosevelt whereby, after this war, the Americans would control all markets in countries where lend-lease existed. A great deal of emphasis was to be placed on the effect of American control of trade in India.

In conclusion, Mr. Murray commented : "It is recognized that the British feel that the American influence is prejudicial to their interests and that anti-American propaganda in one form or another is encouraged by the British."

Finally, Drew Pearson writes that State Department experts say that Roosevelt never got really tough with Churchill over better co-operation in India or over what went on in the British spheres of influence. So this leaves almost a virgin field for Mr. Truman to tackle. Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit's visit to the U.S.A. has virtually brought down the entire anti-Indian propaganda structure built there by the British at a high cost. This good work should be continued with special regard to the promotion of Indo-American amity.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 12th to the 25th, October, 1945, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedar Nath Chatterji
Editor.

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN INDIA

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

A widely-advertised argument in favour of the retention of a majority of British officers in the higher branches of the different services is that this brings about a "slow but steady improvement in the probity in the Indian personnel which forms so large a proportion of the public services." It is contended that complete or almost complete Indianisation will result in placing the masses "under the heel of an officialdom almost as corrupt as that of any purely Oriental administration."

One of the first things to be remembered in this connection is that the East India Company was, at one time, confronted with corruption and bribery among its non-Indian agents of such magnitude that it had to take special steps to combat it. Apart from other measures to which no reference will be made here, the one which produced immediate effect was offering them such salaries as made the taking of bribes unnecessary. Let it not therefore be said that bribery and corruption are to be found among Indians only.

But let us hear what an English observer has to say on this matter and his explanation of it :

"When he (the Indian) is in a position to exact bribes and gifts he does not miss his chance. The canal and irrigation services, the petty public works, the personal offices filled by bearers, chuprassies and the like, are dishonestly held. This is partly due to Indian traditions because these officers have always been accustomed to bribes as waiters in English restaurants have been to tips. In fact, what we call bribes, the Indian regards as tips, and when servants of the sahib go to his visitors and in a barefaced way ask for gifts, they are, in their own eyes, doing nothing more than a waiter does who touches his front hair and whines, 'Remember the waiter, Sir'

"Bribery, however, will never disappear until proper wages are paid. The servants who attend collectors are paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 per month ; village accountants, who keep the records on which assessments are made, receive Rs. 10, Rs. 12 and Rs. 14 ; field superintendents who check these accountants, get Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. The ordinary police, the most corrupt of all the public servants of India, are paid from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per month, and head constables, whose dishonesties and impositions can hardly be surpassed, are only paid Rs. 15 to Rs. 20."

That the payment of low salaries is one of the strongest incentives to corruption is proved by the fact that its elimination from the public administration in the West has been rendered possible only from the time when the necessity of paying living wages was realised. This process had not been completed and consequently corruption had not utterly disappeared even as late as 1928 when Mr. G. T. Garratt, joint author with Prof. Edward Thompson of the well-known *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, wrote his *Indian Commentary*. Dealing with this question he has said on page 224 of this book :

"The years which followed the War were marked by a considerable increase in speculation amongst

minor officials in England and France, while the rapidity with which the formerly impeccable German civil service began to take bribes during the *Valuta* crisis proved that the general standard of honesty is partly dependent upon a decent rate of wages. The world has yet to see a country in which indirect bribery is unknown, or in which the urban police force is above taking money from the purveyors of illicit delight."

The Indian contention is that corrupt practices cannot be stamped out till we pay the lower staff in Government service more generously than we are doing at present. It is true that there has been some improvement in this direction, but this has been nominal owing to increased cost of living.

This ease with which petty Indian employees of Government can extract bribes from those who seek such small favours as lie in their power to grant is explained by the fact that the generality of those who approach them are illiterate and are, at the same time, aware how difficult it is to prove that they have paid bribes under compulsion. It is generally held that no highly placed official likes to think that his subordinates have been throwing dust systematically into his eyes without his being able to detect it. There is also the further fact that he is ordinarily not accessible to poor and ignorant people who, if they dare approach him at all, must do so through his Indian subordinates who generally have his ear. Such facilities as they seek are a matter of life and death with them and they think, and almost in every case think rightly, that it is wisdom's part to submit to exactions rather than add to their existing troubles by accusing their oppressors of corrupt practices and then finding themselves unable to prove the charges brought against them. Indians have invariably felt that much of the petty exactions of the subordinate Indian staff can be eliminated if only their superiors take a little extra trouble—a fact referred to by the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald when he said :

"One cannot help feeling that had the Anglo-Indian been determined to eradicate this evil he could have done so, intricate though its ramifications undoubtedly are. I was the guest of highly placed officials who have insisted upon honesty and got it."

The slow and steady improvement in Indian standards of probity, according to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others who think like him, is due to the presence of European officers who "maintain by their example and vigilant control those standards of honour and integrity in the public service which are almost unknown in purely Oriental administrations." It is not, however, correct to hold that all officials, as a matter of fact, do maintain these standards. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald who paid a visit to India before he became Premier, said :

"When our officials spend public money extravagantly on matters which affect themselves—for instance, when a certain official of ours spends thousands of rupees from the public purse in moving

a tree from one corner of his house to another—the acute Indian sees in that precisely the same thing which, when practised by himself, we call appropriation of public revenues to personal use. But his most frequently quoted parallel is our system of travelling allowances. Every one knows that officers, from school inspectors to chaplains, put large sums of money into their pocket by charging travelling allowances which they never spend. I heard of a Church dignitary who was attending a Diocesan Conference at Government expense and who was to make a profit from his allowance at the end of the meetings. I heard of a school inspector who insisted upon billeting himself in private houses whilst drawing hotel expenses. And the smiling Babu in the office knows all about it, and when you say to him, 'Now tell me about T.A.', he grins a knowing grin. There is not a man in the whole service who does not know about T.A. It is referred to by its initials like a close personal friend. This is an example of how in India the moral preceptor must be as pure as Caesar's wife, and must keep examining his own habits with a mind constantly freshened by intimate contact with its unfamiliar surroundings. The West must ask no excuses for its own bad habits which it is not prepared to give to the East for its bad habits."

Those who, like the present writer, have had opportunities of acquiring first-hand knowledge of the working of the machinery for the distribution of goods and services, the securing of business and of priorities in certain directions, and the like, after the outbreak of the present war have been grieved by the almost universal prevalence of corruption. Here the majority of the guilty have been our own countrymen. Nevertheless it is an undeniable fact that unless such reports as have appeared in the papers from time to time are utterly untrustworthy, and if the numerous suits filed on behalf of the Crown to punish those who are suspected of having committed these offences are any indication of their wide prevalence, for it is hardly necessary to point out that every case of dishonesty can neither be detected or brought to book, there is some justification for the view that at least some Britons in India cannot claim to be exempt from that weakness of the moral fibre which, it is admitted, is more generally noticed among our countrymen.

The explanation for this is that the number of Indians, who are in a position to indulge in these reprehensible practices is more numerous than the Britons. The weakness referred to is there, only the instances where Indians are concerned attract public attention because of the largeness of their number and because, filling, as nearly always most of them do, the less responsible positions, they are more easily detected and, many Indians add, perhaps uncharitably, are less shielded than those equally guilty but occupying higher positions in the official hierarchy.

It must also be emphasised that any attempt to suggest that the usual forms of corruption in India such as bribery and the taking of commissions are characteristically Oriental is ridiculous. Against this we have the following statement of a very prominent English businessman who, in his time, is said to have made large contributions to the funds of the Conservative Party which brought him its usual reward, a place in the birthday honour list :

"Throughout the world these practices are the dirty oil which helps to make the commercial and administrative machinery run smoothly."

Indians who have read the not easily available report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons on the sale of honours in England for adding to party funds, must feel amused when they see in papers the reports of a debate in which two opposing leaders in the Mother of Parliaments, both of whom very often, at least indirectly, owe their position to the sale of honours, solemnly agreeing about the necessity of retaining English standards of political honesty in India and, to that end, reserving responsible and, consequently, remunerative, key positions for their countrymen.

Apart from the hypocrisy involved in the attitude referred to above, there is clear proof that the employment of European subordinates does not necessarily mean the elimination of corrupt practices. These, as we are aware, are generally found jobs in the Public Works, Forest and Customs departments, in the Telegraphs, Post Office and in the Police. The notoriety many of them have earned and their rapacity have grown into a by-word in the country. Nor is every one higher up immune from the same weakness even during normal times when the temptation to go astray is not so strong. As it would not be graceful to refer to recent cases, the present writer would mention merely the acquittal of Mr. K. F. Nariman in Bombay and of Mr. Reddi in Rangoon in cases brought against these public-spirited men for falsely accusing certain highly-placed non-Indian officials of corrupt practices or of permitting such practices.

India has, however, no desire to excuse the shortcomings of her children by either trying to explain them away or by drawing attention to similar weaknesses on the part of members of the ruling race who, because of the handsome salaries they draw, do not generally fall victims to temptations which often prove too strong for the peon, the policeman, or the subordinate official.

As regards the other side of the picture, the same Mr. Ramsay Macdonald who referred to the venality of Indians occupying humble positions in the administrative machinery and utilising their position for adding to their incomes by the adoption of unfair means, has borne testimony to the probity of the Indian judiciary. After referring to the *Memorandum on Indian Administration* Cd. 4956, 1909, according to which 90 per cent of the original civil suits and more than 75 per cent of the magisterial business of India come before Indian Judges and Magistrates he observes :

"It is pleasant to bear record, however, that although I was in the very best position to hear in confidence of the character of the Indian magistrates, a very small number of them were even suspected of tempering justice with monetary considerations and this did not apply to a single important judge."

The existence of corruption is admitted and the problem is to ascertain the best method of fighting it. The first step is the giving of living wages and the second the drastic punishment of offenders. This can be looked for only when searching investigation into every case is possible and when the people at large, and specially the poor, feel confident that there is a fair chance of their getting a hearing and not being victimised. This presupposes a sympathetic and easily accessible bureaucracy. But even this is not enough.

We might remember that, under the Reform Act of 1832, the newly risen manufacturing classes in Britain had asserted and secured their right to political power though the country continued to be governed by the old classes which, bowing to necessity, never did anything clearly against the interests of these newcomers in the political field. Distribution of patronage to supporters was supplemented by bribery and corruption which assumed such forms as an enlarged Civil List of pensions and emoluments, the granting of sinecure places to influential persons and their favoured dependents, and other methods of permitting a privileged minority to dip its hands deeply into the public purse.

At a later stage, when the middle class manufacturing interests entered the House of Commons, direct bribery of the above type was frowned upon but it felt no hesitation in remunerating itself for the time and energy spent in the discharge of its legislative duties by seeing to the adoption by Britain of commercial, industrial, and financial policies calculated to benefit it. A scrutiny of the general trend of British Legislation would justify the cynic in holding that indirect pickings from the State were substituted for direct pickings.

In one direction, however, much remained to be done. This is revealed in the *Reports and Papers on the Civil Service, 1854-55* submitted by Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote who had been commissioned to report on the methods of recruitment to the Home Civil Service. It is stated there that the patronage Secretary of the Treasury "distributed appointments . . . among those members of Parliament whose votes were to be influenced or rewarded." Something was also said about the intolerable effects of this system of bribery for, at bottom, it was nothing else, on the *personnel* of the service, detailed information about which will be found in the body of the *Report*. It was therefore suggested that the posts in the national civil service should be thrown open to competition. The reactions of distinguished persons inside and outside Government service to this proposal described by some of them as "hopelessly unpractical" have been incorporated in the book in the form of an appendix which makes even more interesting reading than the *Report* itself.

The permanent head of the Education Office, himself a member of the Home Civil Service, wrote as follows :

"Considering that, as a matter of fact, patronage is one element of power, and not by any means an unreal one ; considering the long and inestimably valuable habituation of the people of this country to political contests in which the share of office (is reckoned) . . . among the legitimate prizes of war ; considering that socially and in the business of life, as well as in Downing Street, rank and wealth (as a fact, and whether we like it or not) hold the keys of many things, and that our modes of thinking and acting proceed in a thousand ways, upon this sup-

position, considering all these things, I should hesitate long before I advised such a revolution of the Civil Service." (*Report*, pp. 104, 105).

On page 78 of the same Blue Book we find Sir James Stephen of the Colonial Office putting forward identical views but in more blunt language. He said :

"The world we live in is not, I think, half moralised enough for the acceptance of such a scheme of stern morality as this."

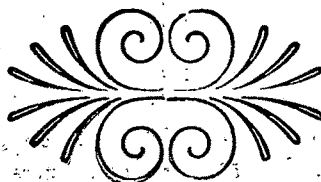
The suggestion put forward by Trevelyan and Northcote was rejected presumably because the two existing Political parties in England, Conservatives and Liberals, derived certain tangible benefits from this political bribery which they were reluctant to give up. The old governing classes of England, all drawn from the exceedingly well-to-do sections of the population, continued distributing patronage in the old way and for the old purposes and the system was changed only with Lord Derby's Reform Act of 1867, transferring the ultimate control of the House of Commons from the "ten pound householders" in the boroughs to the town artisans to whom franchise was extended under it.

Probably feeling that the control of patronage which was gradually slipping out of their hands would be safer in with an independent Civil Service Commission, the governing classes had the wisdom to yield in time so that at last even people without political influence had a chance to enter the Home Civil Service. Three years after the passing of the above Act, Gladstone introduced open competition throughout the English Civil Service by an Order in Council. Absolute purification of the English Civil Service followed with the Reform Acts of 1884, 1918 and 1928, so that today Britain possesses an incorruptible body of public servants but this, it is maintained, is mainly due to the political power conferred on the people through adult suffrage. This was referred to by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Samuel in the 1941 Herbert Spencer Lecture delivered before the Oxford University in which he is reported to have said :

"It was only when the people gained control, that the fresh air of publicity, blowing through the lobbies of Parliament and corridors of Whitehall, swept out the corruption that had infected the eighteenth century."

Let those who criticise India for the prevalence of corruption remember how far we still are from this all-embracing public control. Let them not demand twentieth century public morals from a country administered according to an early nineteenth century constitution from the franchise point of view and, under which, in the view of an Englishman, the Executive are

"advised by the hereditary rent-collectors of Bengal in (their) dealings with the tillers of the soil and by the factory owners of Bombay in (their) regulation of factory labour."



PLACE OF AGRICULTURE IN WORLD-ECONOMY

By PROF. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D.Phil. (Heidelberg),

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

THE obdurate notion persists (and that even in "enlightened" quarters) that the progressiveness of a society is inversely proportional to the number of people engaged in labour on the soil. World opinion in general veers round the view that people who are primarily agriculturists are necessarily backward and conversely a society wherein the greater portion of the population is free to adopt urban modes of life are necessarily progressive. This is a faulty way of looking at things because progress—cultural progress—is a *state of mind* and the occupation of a man is not a sure indicator of his mental make-up. At times a man's occupation may be able, in a general way, to give a rough indication of his mind's intellectuality but very seldom its urbanity. But even if occupation is accepted as a criterion for indicating a man's cultural attainments, labour on the soil is most conducive to the realisation of cultural ideals. It lends to his personality, dignity, originality and nobility. It teaches him to be simple, good and useful to others.

The disparagement of land-labour sometimes comes from another equally faulty view-point. It is for instance believed by many that since the inauguration of the Industrial Revolution agriculture and allied industries have been relegated to the region of comparative insignificance and even with regard to land the operation of the law of diminishing return has been effectively checked by the introduction of scientific methods and that the "progressive" nations can, with impunity, look down upon such a primitive occupation as the pursuit of agriculture and food supply. This however is an entirely faulty estimate of the situation. As regards the ineffectiveness of science to nullify the operation of the law of diminishing return such an eminent authority as Dr. Venn has remarked that "the last sixty years, although prolific in discovery, have given no indication of the birth of any revolution in agricultural practice . . . The yield of the individual staple crops has, however, not been appreciably freed from the incidence of diminishing returns by any striking advance in science." (*Foundations of Agricultural Economics*, p. 16). It is neither a fact that the importance of agriculture in the world economy has disappeared since the inauguration of the machine-age. Out of an estimated world population of 2,013 millions no less than 1,301 millions are classed as agricultural in 1930 (*World Agriculture, an International Survey*—Institute of International Affairs publication 1932, p. 3). The following table shows the estimated volume and value of world production of agricultural products and quantities and values entering into international trade (*Ibid.* p. 6.) :

Product	Estimated world production	Aggregate value of U.K. prices 1927-1930	Quantities entering international trade	Aggregate value at U.K. prices 1927-1930
	Million tons	Million £	Million tons	Million £
Wheat	142	1480	22.20	230
Rice	85	1200	6.56	92
Maize	117	740	8.84	57

Product	Estimated world production	Aggregate value of U.K. prices 1927-1930	Quantities entering international trade	Aggregate value at U.K. prices 1927-1930
	Million tons	Million £	Million tons	Million £
Oats	69	520	1.34	10
Barley	47	390	3.73	34
Sugar	28	330	12.13	144
Rye	45	320	1.38	10
Wine	17.1	220	1.77	22
Soya beans	15	170	3.06	34
Pigmeat	14.5	1020	0.75	51
Beef and veal	16.5	850	1.04	52
Cotton	6.2	630	3.03	306
Tobacco	2.4	280	0.55	63
Wool	1.8	280	0.89	136
Mutton	4	260	0.29	19
Coffee	2	190	1.45	136
Silk	0.08	180	0.05	108
Potatoes	206	720	1.28	4

These figures do not show such other agricultural products as tea, ground-nuts and cotton seeds (worth about £100 to £150 millions), rubber, jute, linseed, olive oil, flax, cocoa, rape seed, sesamum, palm kernels, palm oil, copra, hides, skins, glue, tallow and bone, milk, milk products and eggs. Yet the list, and the figures speak for themselves. An industry which gives employment to so many people and produces such essential food and raw materials is certainly not to be despised or relegated to the domain of insignificance.

Contrary to the popular "enlightened" belief peoples and governments even of industrially advanced countries show real devotion to agriculture and un-enlightened governments rather than the enlightened ones are the defaulters who have failed to safeguard the interests of this humane and vital industry.

"Agriculture in Europe is an immemorial art. The plough is a sacred symbol, as it was in Cato's time. Ploughing, sowing and harvest are semi-religious occasions, and today the blessings of the fields may be witnessed in many parts of Europe. . . In fact, agriculture in all southern European countries is still bound up with magic; its magical significance in pagan times has survived the transition to Christianity." (*World Agriculture*, 1932, pp. 133-34).

Not to speak of Denmark, Finland, Holland and Belgium where *dairy* and *farming* have been brought to a state of perfection, a glance at the recent history of agricultural policy of France, Germany, Italy and Russia (pre-war conditions referred to throughout this article) shows that the greatest care is being taken to ensure the best possible conditions for people engaged in the pursuit of agriculture. The almost religious devotion of the French to the soil is embodied in the expression—"Le ble, c'est un element sacre pour nous Latins."

In the British Isles, owing to peculiar circumstances no doubt more stress is given on animal husbandry

than cultivation, but it may yet be news to many that even as it is agriculture in Britain is *the largest employer of labour* and as an industry "as a whole is second to none." Over 11,00,000 persons are rural wage-earners in Great Britain and Ireland, while another million people are engaged in mining. The total capital invested on the agricultural industry is over £14,00,000,000 whereas the commitments in British railways are only about £11,00,000,000. The value of the output of agriculture approaches £250,000,000 per annum. (Venn's *Agricultural Economics*, p. 29).

Coming to the important Asiatic countries we find that though the condition of the agriculturist is wretched and leaves much room for improvement, yet the importance of the industry in the life of these nations for that reason is not lessened. Indeed the abject wretchedness of the vast mass of humanity engaged in agriculture in the East is a symptom of disease in our modern world which calls for immediate relief and if not promptly attended will prove disastrous for entire humanity. China and India together comprise about 2/5ths of the world population and of this about 70 per cent are dependent on agriculture. Population in these parts is extremely dense and the major part of the people's time is occupied in producing foodstuff, which, even then, most of them do not get in sufficient quantity. In Japan pressure of population on land is extremely tense and food supply, according to authoritative opinion, has been "a preoccupation of every Japanese Government and underlies Japanese action in international politics."

In continental European countries tariff and extra-tariff measures have been introduced for giving protection to agriculture. According to their tariff policies, protective duties have been imposed on almost all agricultural products, specially on cereals and sugar. Under the extra-tariff head the following measures are worthy of note: 1. Quota system (restriction of imports by fixing quota), 2. Milling regulation (restricting import of foreign cereals which the mills of a country are allowed to grind), 3. Import monopolies (including monopoly purchase of home product and its sale at a higher price than the world price), 4. Embargoes (state control of imports), 5. Bounties on export or production. It is obvious, therefore, that the greatest concern is being evinced by all enlightened governments for the improvement of agriculture and for the amelioration of the conditions of the people engaged in this vital and elemental industry.

This concern however may be guided by different motives in different countries. In Germany and Italy (pre-war) the governing motive has been national self-sufficiency (Autarkie) and preparation for facing a national emergency (war and blockade), in Japan national existence and yet in France the love of land-tradition and joy of possession. In this the French, among all the nations of the West, is the most traditionally devoted to Ruroculture. Agricultural authorities indeed think that it will be a folly to ruin the culture of the soil for the purpose of making France into an industrial nation.

This higher motive (as opposed to the commercial motive) in agriculture, so powerfully guiding the French peasantry, is to be seen, in more or less extent, throughout the world. The common man's love of the good Earth is as universal as the child's love for its mother and the sentiment is understandable one. The sentiment which is difficult to understand is the con-

trary one which poses to believe that we can not only live but live well and find joy, leaving all connections with the soil, by becoming factory automatons and *still retain our humanity*. The reaction of creative spirits to such a gospel throughout the centuries gives the lie direct to such a conception of the good life. The typical human being is the peasant,—he cultivates the soil for the very joy of it irrespective of the commercial gain involved in it. This is almost a universal phenomenon in the East as well as the West and is worthy of our respectful notice. It indicates the way in which our salvation lies. We who are accustomed to interpret this trait in our cultivators as an indication of narrow outlook, mental sloth and love of fatalism would do well to turn our eyes towards the attitude of the same class of people in Europe whose mistakes more often than whose virtues have served as models for our imitation.

"Farming in Europe, indeed, is a tradition, a way of life, a civilization and any attempt to regard it merely from the cash aspect, essential as that aspect is, must fail. The European farmer is attached to the soil by strong ties. . . . There is a love for farming, but it is a love of the technique of the fine art of individual persuasion of nature, of immediate contact with the earth and its fruits. . . ." (*World Agriculture*, pp. 134 and 140).

We have tried so far to assess the importance of agriculture as a food-producing industry, but under modern industrial conditions another aspect of agriculture has cropped up wherein it is to be looked upon as a key industry, that is an industry which provides raw materials for other industries. Such products of agriculture as cotton, jute, hemp, tobacco and wool are used as raw materials in industries which have attained colossal dimensions. Looking at it from this point of view agriculture is a *mother industry*. Indeed this phenomenon (commercialisation of Agriculture) has given rise to speculations among economists relating to the possibility of lessening the pressure of population (specially in thickly populated regions) on land by diverting workers from agriculture to (and absorbing them in) mills and factories. Attempt is being made to strengthen this argument by drawing attention to the fact that there is *over-production* of staple food crops, so that coffee is being burnt into tar (for lack of market) and for the same reason production of cotton has to be cut down by regulation.

If the world's commercial conditions were really so simple, here is obviously a case for curtailing agricultural work and diverting a part of labour working on the soil to the industries. But the problem bristles with many difficulties amongst which the grabbing propensity engendered by the replacement of *Land-culture* by the *Industry civilization* is one of the most obdurate one. In spite of the so-called over-production of cereals and surplus of foodstuffs which are said to be rotting in the warehouses for want of purchasers the army of world unemployment has attained the colossal figure of 25 millions and millions of others are working in different industries on what has come to be known as starvation wages. Of the 825 million inhabitants of China and India the vast majority habitually lives on the margin of subsistence; of Russia's 160 millions the condition is not much better. Obviously there is one set of regions where there is surplus production of necessities and side by side there are others where there

are too many mouths in excess of what the land can maintain. Diversion of labour from agriculture to industries within the latter set of countries will not necessarily make the surplus food of the former set of countries available to the hungry millions of the group one countries. Unless and until there is a free movement of commodities in international trade (unhampered by tariff and quota restrictions) and free movement of population (undisturbed by racial bias) the surpluses of men and materials must remain in the countries of their origin. As yet the national coasts of "progressive" countries are fortified by tariff walls and migration is not half so mobile as the gravity of the situation demands it to be. Under these circumstances intensification of agriculture and remedying the tenancy conditions are the only things which lie within the limits of practicability.

It may be argued that India is as yet an undeveloped country and with the growth of her heavier and larger industries a considerable proportion of her workers on land may profitably and inevitably be shifted to the mills and factories. The prospect in this direction appears to be extremely limited. It is extremely unlikely that in the face of the competition of powerful vested interests which have developed superb technique of exploiting the material raw resources of countries like India, India will be able or allowed to develop in this direction to a very inordinate extent. To the limited extent she will be allowed to industrialise

she may find scope for absorbing some of her unwanted agricultural workers. This number necessarily cannot be very great and therefore for the vast majority of them the land will remain the only bread-giver. The small number who may be diverted into industrial works also may not find it worth while to work for money wages unless they are able to purchase foodstuff in exchange of the money they earn in factories. This foodstuff will certainly not be forthcoming if agriculture in India is neglected. In other words, industrialisation or no industrialisation, India must feed herself. The surplus foodstuff in other countries will rather rot in warehouses and coffee in America will rather be burnt into coal-tar than come to India under philanthropic inspirations. Again the finished products of Indian make will find it hard to compete with products of industrial countries which have surplus foodstuff and even if they do, they will be prevented from entering those markets by tariffs, quotas and bounties. Foodstuffs are obtainable in exchange of finished goods only from conquered empires rich in agricultural resources, not from countries which have tasted the wine of imperialism. The importance of agriculture in the world economy, therefore, is tremendous and any idea to belittle it, especially for us in India, will be an extremely short-sighted policy.*

* This is a chapter from an as yet unpublished book entitled *Economics of Ruriculture*.

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A NOTE ON THE POST-WAR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

By DR. S. DATTA, M.Sc., D.Sc. (London),
Principal, Rajshahi Government College

It is well-known that during the past quarter of a century there has developed in India a feeling of dissatisfaction with the system of education prevailing in this country. This feeling became intensified with the rise of Indian Nationalism and grew with the spread of national ideas and ideals of life.

It appears to have been realised that the present system of education does not meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form. "English having been made the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of learning, has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses. It has thereby failed to meet the most urgent and pressing needs of national life and to organise and direct its forces and tendencies in proper channels; there is, therefore, a demand from all sides for the replacement of the present system of education by a more constructive and less inhuman system, which is adapted to the needs and ideals of our national life." Under this natural urge Mahatma Gandhi with his far-sighted leadership evolved his famous Wardha scheme of education. He primarily meant it for adoption in villages and instead of calling it Basic National Education as proposed by Dr. Zakir Hossain, he thought that the more correct description would be Rural National Education. He suggested that it should be imparted through the medium of our mother tongue between the ages of six and fourteen and through

village crafts, which should provide the nucleus of all other instructions. Not the teaching of some handicrafts side by side with the so-called liberal education as is being done in the present system through the introduction of manual training classes on a compulsory basis, but what is essential is that the whole education—the entire art and science of a craft should be imparted through practical training.

The romantic way in which the scheme correlated all the subjects like History, Geography, Arithmetic, Science, Language, Painting and Music with a basic craft for the training of the mind and body is well-known to many, and in this method of correlation lies the entire novelty of the scheme.

For the present only the following basic crafts have been selected: (a) Spinning and weaving, (b) Carpentry, (c) Agriculture, (d) Fruit and vegetable growing, (e) Leather work, (f) Card-board work, (g) Paper-making.

The choice of a craft depends on two conditions—first, the craft chosen should be rich in educative possibilities and secondly it should enable the pupil to pursue it as a vocation in life afterwards.

Pottery has curiously been left out, but it should be included in the list as it provides immense educative possibilities besides a vocational career.

Various criticisms were directed against the scheme, viz:

(1) Subjects which do not readily lend themselves

to be co-ordinated with the basic craft have been left out. For instance, Algebra is not taught and Geometry also is neglected.

(2) It taxes the intellectual resources of the teacher far too much.

(3) It is based on pragmatism pure and simple which will degenerate into a narrow utilitarian scheme of values and it will fail to provide a satisfactory philosophical background for the development of idealism.

(4) It fails to correlate higher education.

The followers of the scheme, however, claim great success for the experiment and they report that "the children under the scheme are more active both mentally and physically, that they form habits of co-operative work, that their general health is better and that they show a greater readiness to help their parent in their activities in the field as also in their work at home."

This is not at all surprising, firstly because the system was confined to the villages and secondly because of the enthusiasm of the teachers. This latter factor is the most important desideratum for the success of any educational plan. The success depends primarily on the quality of the teachers and on the fact how enthusiastically they take up the work. Under the inspiration of Mahatmaji hundreds of men and women of the right type must have volunteered their services. They contributed to the success of the scheme. But the question is whether this high state of moral fervour can be regarded as a permanent factor.

So far about the Wardha scheme, but now that the Government Advisory Board of Education has laid down a scheme of National Education embodying in it many of the ideas of the Wardha scheme and all Provincial Governments propose to spend large sums of money for re-organisation of their educational systems according to the new scheme, it requires careful consideration in all its aspects. Healthy criticisms are urgently needed before the scheme is brought into operation. Any apathy or indifference now may have a serious consequence on our national development for years to come. After a hundred years of experiment with the present system we realise to-day the mistakes of the past generations. If we commit more mistakes now, who knows how many more years will be necessary to correct them over again. The harvest of educational experiments is not reaped too soon. Cautious procedure is, therefore, essentially needed.

It is in this spirit of healthy criticism that a few observations are submitted on the Sargent scheme, which has been officially accepted in almost all the provinces of India.

In a nut-shell the scheme is this :

(1) Basic education should comprise a course of eight years from the age of six to fourteen—same as in the Wardha scheme—the first stage, the junior stage covering a period of five years and the second stage, the senior—three years.

(2) The transfer of children from the basic school to other types of schools (High Schools) designed to prepare pupils for the University should be allowed at the conclusion of the junior basic stage.

The first part of the scheme is identical with the Wardha scheme and the second part is really intended to meet some of the objections mentioned above; it seeks to provide for opportunities of purely intellectual training and to correlate the basic education with higher education.

A further condition has been imposed. As the cost of high school education will be met largely out of public funds and every high school pupil will receive some scholarship, it is in the interest of the public that pupils are admitted to the high schools according to their abilities, aptitudes and general promise, so that they may take the fullest advantage of the education provided for them and thus prove to be a remunerative investment on the part of the community. Parents, who are prepared to pay the whole cost of such education, which will be much higher than the present, will also be enabled to admit their children to high schools.

Although there are reasonable grounds of opposition from the backward classes, this latter proviso is on the whole good and it will ultimately prove beneficial to the community as a whole. If necessary, some special safeguards may be provided for the backward classes.

This is all very good and we are grateful to Dr. Sargent for the boldness of his scheme and more particularly for enunciating the proposition that *Education is a National Investment which has been lost sight of both by the public and the Government*. A system of national education conceived on these lines will indeed prevent grave wastage which exists today and will put us on the road to progress.

Theoretically the outline of the scheme is excellent. But there is an important point of detail which requires careful examination from the psychological standpoint, as it may have a far-reaching consequence on our national growth, viz., the prolonged influence of the junior basic education (from age 6 to 11) on the growing mind of the intelligent child; whether it will or will not deflect his mental-outlook and make him unfit or rather less fit for logical organisation of subject-matter requiring hard thinking and reasoning; whether it will not lead to the intellectual degeneration of our race, whether it will not prevent us from acquiring intellectual supremacy without which we can never aspire to become an A-nation and stand with our heads erect and high in the comity of nations. It is the development of the logical frame of mind that is essential for intellectual progress. Algebra and Geometry and many other subjects are not needed for our day-to-day existence or for our subsistence. They are not needed for the success of the life-project method incipient in the Wardha scheme but they have a profound influence on the training of the intellect. Education centred on a basic craft focusses the attention of the child on the craft itself, inspires him to gain proficiency and skill in the production itself. The atmosphere is not congenial to the logical presentation of the subject and in spite of the beautiful technique introduced by the framers of the Wardha scheme for the co-ordination of the cultural subjects with the basic craft, I am afraid, the reactions on the minds of the pupils will not be so satisfactory. While he will gain in technical skill he will lose in the logical equipment of his mind.

Mechanical work has a peculiar attraction for most of us. It is more so with children. They always try to do and undo things, break and make things. This is one of the chief reasons why some manual work has been made the basis of early education in all countries. In America educationists introduced it as the project method, in Russia they called it the complex method. The life-project method centring on the basic craft will be much more absorbing, much more interesting to the child mind; so absorbing and so engrossing that it may,

if carried on for a long period, make their minds somewhat impervious to the co-ordination lessons.

Every teacher in science knows that while broad facts of science such as physical or chemical characteristics are easily remembered if shown experimentally, theories underlying an experiment are not so easily understood. This is because the mind becomes too much engrossed with the details of the experiment and consequently the logical explanation imparted to pupils while the experiment is proceeding is not carefully followed. For this reason some educationists discourage demonstration experiments in explaining scientific theories.

This is one aspect of the question. At the same time it is very true as Gandhiji has put it :

"Mere book knowledge does not interest the child so as to hold his attention fully. The brain gets weary of mere words and the child's mind begins to wander. The hand does the things it ought not to do, the eye sees the things it ought not to see, the ear hears the things it ought not to hear."

We are thus confronted with a dilemma. Too much of manual work spoils the brain and the child's attention cannot be focussed unless it is centred on manual work. If we lay stress upon the former we may lose intellectually but if we do not give any stress we cannot advance at all educationally. What is the solution then? The solution is fortunately provided by the child himself. From an analysis of the actions of children, psychologists conclude that there are several stages in the development of the child's mind and education should be planned in such a way that the child's mind would respond most sympathetically according to the characteristics of those stages.

Modern psychology depicts the different "stages of unfoldment of human life"* in the following way :

Birth

3 Infancy	Helpless age	Nursery school
3 to 6 Early childhood	Dramatic age	Kindergarten
6 to 9 Middle "	Bid in juv. age	Primary grade
9 to 12 Later "	Early gang age	Intermediate grade
12 to 15 Early adolescence	Loyal age	Junior High School
15 to 18 Middle "	Mate seeking age	Senior High School
18 to 24 Later "	Romantic age	College & early work
24 to 40 Early adulthood	Vigorous age	Younger adults
40 to 60 Middle "	Practical age	Middle aged adults
60 to 75 Later "	Philosophical age	Older adults
75 to Beyond	Retrospective age	Elderly adults
Advanced "		

The period of childhood is thus divided into three stages : (1) First period from 3 to 6, (2) Second period from 6 to 9, (3) Pre-adolescent period from 9 to 12.

"The interests of the first period are almost entirely centred on play. Physical activity is the most absorbing interest. Curiosity, imagination and imitation play a large part in the child's life but no interest lasts long at a time.

In the second period there is no sudden change. Play, curiosity, etc., still dominate his life but there gradually arises greater ability to concentrate attention for long stretches of time. There is a beginning of interest in details in connection with physical activity. The child becomes keen on acquiring skill. His range of ideas widens rapidly during this period. He takes an interest in the broader environment.

In the pre-adolescent period there are marked changes. Social tendencies develop strongly. *This is the period when permanent sentiments begin to arise.* Reasoning makes rapid strides during this period."

It is, therefore, clear that in the first period whatever little education the child may receive should be imparted through play. The Kindergarten system is based on this idea and the system has yielded magnificent results.

In the second period any system of education through activity may do and the life-project method introduced by Mahatmaji is perhaps the ideal system and at the hands of good teachers valuable results are likely to ensue. But then according to the above psychological division, if the period of this kind of training is extended beyond the age nine, it will encroach on the valuable pre-adolescent period, when permanent sentiments begin to arise and reasoning power begins to make rapid strides. Hence by pushing this mode of training till the age of 11, as has been recommended in the Junior basic scheme, there is the risk, that the mind may get set in the particular craft which has so long been the centre of education. A pupil, who has possibilities of great intellectual development may thus be lost to the country.

It may be objected that selection of students for high schools is not possible at the age of 9 as owing to fluctuations in the age of incidence of measurable intelligence no positive tests can be performed to make the requisite selection. Though accurately speaking this is true, a gross intelligence test, which will enable us to distinguish a child of normal intelligence from a dull one is quite possible at the age of nine and this will suit our purpose better. For, as it has already been pointed out elsewhere* the high school education should be broadly classified into three groups : (1) General, (2) Commercial and (3) Technical in order to meet with the demands of employments and it will always be profitable to impart a basic education common to these three groups prior to their separation in Class VIII which requires a more stringent selection test for which the right age is 12.

The creation of two middle stages is therefore suggested to suit the nature of the plastic state of child mind between the ages 9 and 12—one for the comparatively intelligent set of pupils who will ultimately join the high schools and the other for the rest who will eventually join the Senior basic school for proficiency in some occupation that will give him a subsisting wage. The curriculum and the basic idea in the two stages will be somewhat different. The former will comprise the basic subjects common to the different classes of high schools and the education given will not be craft-centred; while the other will be essentially craft-centred and more or less a continuation of the Junior basic school.

The existence of a middle stage will have still another advantage. The misfits in group I i.e., in Basic High Schools as well as pupils of delayed intelligence belonging to group II will have an opportunity of changing their places and they should be encouraged to do so by a second intelligent test at the age of 12 which will have to be performed for making a selection for the different types of high schools which has been recommended. This second test will have to be applied

* F. M. Gregg, *The Psychology of a Growing Personality*.

* *Science & Culture*, Vol. IX, page 526, 1943-44.

rather rigorously, particularly for those who will be admitted to general high schools leading to the Universities. It should be regulated by proper entrance tests coupled with intelligence tests so that the national energy may be properly conserved and the nation's investment on the education of her children be sound and sage.

The main objection, *viz.*, a possible loss of brain power by a concentration on manual work in the formative period of the child mind, applies mainly to those who are likely to be selected for the general high schools leading to the Universities and who will ultimately take a leading role in all spheres of national activity. Their number is not large and it should not be large because in the present position of the country so many University men are not required. Their number should be restricted to give place to quality rather than quantity and thereby prevent the grave wastage that is occurring now.

With the main body of young men, the aimless drift from primary to secondary schools and from secondary schools to colleges is highly lamentable. Sorting them out firstly at the middle basic stage and again at the high school stage will offer an excellent remedy. The large number of young men who will be left over after the selection for high schools has been made will be suitably employed in lower avocations in industries and commerce. While the large body of young men belonging to the former group will receive a training which will determine their future career and will arm them with at least one occupation which will give them wages sufficient for a healthy subsistence.

Next comes the question of the extent of the period of free compulsory education. Dr. Sargent in his admirable report has clearly enunciated the primary requisite of any system of education that "it should provide for all its members and not for a few only, at least such training as may be necessary to make them reasonably good citizens." After reviewing the present position regarding the number of pupils dropping out at the different classes of primary schools he has shown that "less than one out of every four children stayed long enough at school to reach the earliest stage, *viz.*, Class IV, at which permanent literacy is likely to be attained. The result is that money spent on the others (nearly 80 per cent) may be regarded as largely wasted." He has suggested that "there is only one way to stop this wastage and that is to make education compulsory." If the aim of compulsory education was merely to remove literacy then four years of education in the primary schools would have sufficed. "But the three R's by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship." He has therefore suggested the prolongation of the compulsory period for eight years covering the end of the senior basic schools. If our country was not poor and if it was not necessary for the entire expenses of the compulsory education to be provided by the State and make it "free", there could be no objection to it. But the condition of the country must be properly realised, the implications of the burden on the State should be properly understood.

It is no use minimising the real reason for the admitted opposition by poor peasants and labourers to the introduction of compulsory education beyond an age at which they expect to receive contribution from their children towards the maintenance of the family. We cannot brush aside this question by merely saying that "there must be something seriously wrong with economic conditions, if the budget of even the poorest family is dependent on the earnings of the little children." There is no gainsaying the fact that there is really something seriously wrong with their economic condition. They need education not merely for training in citizenship but also with a view to improve their economic condition by acquiring a little knowledge and hence some power of earning money with that added knowledge.

Also we must not lose sight of the fact that the main body of these young men will have to remain in their village home, adopt their parental profession and adjust themselves to village economics. Hence on various considerations compulsion is not only not needed but will probably be harmful beyond the age of 12 for pupils at the end of their training in middle basic schools. Senior basic schools need not therefore be compulsory and need not be wholly supported by the State. At this stage the pupils will mostly be able to pay for their education by the sale of articles produced by them. State-aid will not be necessary for the maintenance of the pupils at schools but schools will require capital grants for other expenditures. This education will have to be harmonised with the occupation of the people for whose children it is intended both as regards the time when the school will meet and as regards the choice of the basic craft for any school. In deciding these questions the predominant occupation of the people in the locality should be taken into account. The optimum of each secondary occupation which the trainees will take up, *i.e.*, the number of men which each secondary occupation can suitably accommodate without any overcrowding, should be calculated and the number of such senior basic schools centring round each craft should be determined by a reference to the distribution of various occupations and their optimum in the locality.

In order to give them further opportunities of profiting by their abilities and of becoming effective and efficient citizens night schools for workers should also be introduced on an optional basis.

Regarding the high schools, the proposal to support them largely out of public funds is essential for the maintenance of their quality and standard. As they will provide for far-reaching opportunities and as admission into them will be through a selection test, compulsion is not needed for making these schools useful and popular. There will be a keen competition to fill them up.

The reduction of the period of free compulsory education from eight to six years for the large majority of children will very nearly reduce the State expenditure in the same ratio and considerably lessen the burden on the State. It is, therefore, desirable on grounds of economy also.

In a nutshell the scheme envisaged in this article can be presented in the form of a genealogical table given below :

† Vide analysis of the employment figures in my article in *Science & Culture*, Vol. IX, page 526, 1943-44.

Kindergarten (Age 3-6, optional)

Junior Basic (Primary grade —craft centred—Age 6-9, compulsory)

(1st intelligence test at age 9)

Middle basic craft
centred.
Age 9-12.

(Intermediate grade)

High School Basic
(up to Class VII)
Age 9-12.

2nd intelligence and educational test at age 12.

Senior Basic
craft centred.
Age 12-15 or 16.High School grade.
Age 12-15 or 16.

Workers' School.

General High School
leading to University
(general)Technical and
agricultural
High School
leading to High
Technical and
Agricultural
Institutions.Commercial
High School
leading to
High Commercial
Institutions.

The duration of training in the high school, whether it will be for three years from the age of 12 to 15 or for four years from the age of 12 to 16, is an important question which requires a searching analysis of the requirements of knowledge in each vocation which these pupils will be called upon to adopt when they may not proceed to higher Institutions or Universities. Possibly from all considerations a four years' course will be desirable. But what is essential is the estimation of their number according to the requirements of the country.*

In a National Planning Scheme this mode of approach is essential if we are to prevent grave wastages and obtain the maximum of collectivised efficiency at minimum cost, and conserve our National Income and our National Energy.

* The only scientific way of approaching the problem is by calculating the optimum of each vocation following the lines adumbrated by the author in his article "On the Educational Needs of Bengal"—published in *Science and Culture*, Vol. IX, 1943-44, p. 526.

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ROLE OF TURKEY IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

By SUSHIL CHANDRA SINGH, M.A.

TURKEY occupies a great strategic position. She serves the purpose of a bridge between the East and the West. She is really the heart of the Near East. What the Philippines is to the Far East, Turkey is to the Levant. That accounts for her fate as a target of attack from times immemorial. There was hardly any ruler of note on the continent of Europe who did not feel the necessity of extending his dominion in the Near East and ultimately occupying the important straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. The occupation of Constantinople by a hostile power was always an eyesore to them. "In the dawn of authentic history it is represented by the contest between the Greeks and the Persians, the heroic struggle enshrined in the memory of Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis . . . In the early middle ages the problem was represented by the struggle between the forces of Islam and those of Christianity." The Crusades, though religious in character, were directed towards the same end.

Turkey has been particularly fortunate in having Constantinople on its mainland. The city stands at the southern extremity of the Bosphorus, upon a hilly promontory that runs out from the European side of the Straits towards the Asiatic bank. Constantinople is famous in history for various reasons. It has been the capital of the Roman Empire in the East for more than eleven centuries (330-1453) as well as the capital of the Ottoman Turks. No other city has shown such a brilliant record of culture and civilization. Its only rivals are Athens, Rome, Jerusalem, and Delhi. The European civilization owes a great deal to this important centre of learning. "Roman Law, Greek literature, the theology of the Christian church, for example, are intimately associated with the history of Constantinople." Almost all the European monarchs have done their utmost to occupy the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and thus control trade and sea routes in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

These strategic positions in Turkey remained in the hands of the Christian rulers for a sufficiently long time. But in 1453 they received a setback. The Ottoman Turks captured the city. The fall of Constanti-

nople gave the Turks an opportunity to extend their influence in Europe. The Ottomans did control the eastern basis of the Mediterranean, the Aegean islands, Syria and Egypt and the northern coast of Africa but the famous Siege of Vienna cried a halt to the Ottoman campaigns. The Ottoman power gradually began to decline. The Janissaries could not hold for long. The Government of the Harem put an end to the efficiency of Turkish administration. The great battles of Lepanto (1571) and St. Gothard (1664) put a seal on Ottoman weakness. The result was that European rulers began to cast greedy eyes on the Turkish empire. The Treaty of Kainarji with Russia and the Treaties of Jassy (1792) and Bucharest (1812) lowered the prestige of the Ottomans and gave sufficient scope for outside interference in the internal affairs of the Porte.

This was specially so with the Treaty of Kutschuk-Kainardji, July 15, 1774.

"Of the many treaties concluded during the last two centuries between Russia and Turkey this is the most fundamental and the most far-reaching... the real starting point of the Russian progress in the Near East." (Sir J. A. R. Marriott).

A distinguished jurist went so far as to say that all the great treaties executed by the two powers during the next half century were but commentaries upon this text. By its provisions (1) the Ottomans formally ceded Azov and adjacent territory to Russia and renounced sovereignty over all land north of the Black Sea. (2) The Ottoman Empire retained Wallachia, Moldavia, and Greece, under promise of good government. (3) Russia obtained the right of free navigation for her merchant-ships in Ottoman waters, and (4) Russia was recognised as the protector of certain churches in the city of Constantinople. The last clause registered "a signal triumph" for Russian diplomacy. It conceded a general right of interference in the domestic concerns of the Ottoman Empire. France also did not fail to take advantage of the declining power of the Turks. Francis I and D'Argenson extracted concessions in their favour.

However, it was Napoleon who correctly understood the significant position of Turkey. "Really to conquer England, we must make ourselves masters of Egypt", declared Napoleon. Confu, Zante, and Cephalonia were, he declared in 1797, more important for France than the whole of Italy. He appreciated the strategic position of Constantinople. Napoleon once remarked: "It is the Empire of the World." The designs of Napoleon opened the eyes of the British Government and they began to take more interest in the problems of the Near East. British statesmen did not want that their sea routes to the East should be threatened. The younger Pitt was the first British statesman who anticipated the developments involved in the problem known as the Eastern Question. The Triple Alliance of 1788 was specially aimed at checking Russian designs in the Near East. It had been the constant wish of the Russian rulers to curb the power of the Ottoman Turks and to establish their ascendancy in the waters of the Levant. The Czar Nicholas I in 1853, during a conversation with the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, frankly stated: "We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man... He may suddenly die on our hands..." It was thus natural for the British Government to get alarmed and take the offensive against the growing power of the

Czars. No great power should be in possession of the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles became a chief plank of their policy. The "sick man of Europe" should not be exterminated but should continue to exist as such. The Crimean War was fought with the same end in view. In spite of the criticism of Sir Robert Morier—"the only perfectly useless modern war that has been waged"—the fact remains that "had it not been for the Crimean war and the policy subsequently adopted by Lord Beaconsfield's Government, the Russians would now be in possession of Constantinople." (Lord Cromer) Russian foreign policy received a severe blow as a result of the Crimean War.

The humiliation of Russia did not end the matter there. Italy and Germany took the place of the Czars and began to harbour aggressive designs towards Turkish domains. The preponderance of German influence in Turkey was one of the major reasons leading to the First Great War. In spite of all this, Turkey would have remained either neutral or would have joined the Allies. But the British Government made a great mistake in seizing Turkish ships for which orders had been placed in England. This precipitated matters. Turkey joined the Central Powers. Again Turkey was helpless in the matter. The Czarist Russia, known for aggressive designs, was on the side of the Allies. Turkey knew that Britain was the strongest supporter of the *status quo* in relation to the territories of the Porte, but in the circumstances prevailing then it was too much for Turkey to align with Russia—her mortal enemy. The later events of the war verified the correctness of Turkish position.

Turkish foreign policy during the first post-war period has been based on friendship with Soviet Russia. According to the Russo-Turkish Treaty signed in Paris on December 17, 1925, the parties "pledged themselves to friendly neutrality in case of any military attack or hostile alliance or agreement by a third party or parties against either." Turkey was also a member of the Balkan Entente. Turkey joined the pact of Saadabad (1934) providing for political co-operation with Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. An Anglo-French-Turkish pact of assistance was signed on October 9, 1939, valid for 15 years.

As regards the Straits—the life-line of Turkey—they were under the absolute sovereignty of Turkey until 1841, then Turkish controlled, but subject to neutralization rules, until 1914. After the Great War of 1914-18 they were occupied by the Allies. They were demilitarized, opened to navigation of every kind and placed under the control of an international commission. The convention of Lausanne, of August 4, 1923, partially restored Turkish sovereignty over the straits. The latest international agreement on the straits—the Montreux Convention, 1936—authorised remilitarization and refortification of the straits by Turkey, abolition of former international guarantees, removal of the international commission, thus granting full sovereign rights to the Turkish Republic again, subject to the following conditions:

"In peace time, commercial navigation in the straits is free. Warships above 10,000 tons, submarines and aircraft carriers are excluded. Other naval vessels may pass only by day. In war time, Turkey being neutral, warships of all belligerents are banned from the straits. They may, however, pass without limitation if the action is taken by order of the League or in fulfilment of a pact of assistance

to which Turkey is a party. If Turkey is a belligerent, commercial navigation is closed to countries at war with Turkey, and to neutral ships carrying men or material in support of the enemy. The passage of war-ships is left to the discretion of Turkey in this case. If Turkey feels herself threatened by a war she may apply this rule to warships even in peace-time."

It has been the policy of Turkey to give international effect to the provisions of the agreement but occasions have not been wanting during the present war when the British Government have been compelled to lodge protests accusing the Turkish Government of negligence in allowing Axis disguised warships to ply in Turkish waters under agreement.

In the war just over, Turkey's attitude has been throughout consistent as well as consonant with her foreign policy. Turkey does not want any extension of her territory. Her main concern is to preserve her independence. The first step towards the attainment of this end is the elimination of any possible danger to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. She does not want that any hostile power should use the Straits to her own disadvantage. The Treaty of Lausanne and the Montreux Convention fully safeguarded her position in this matter. The recent militarization of the Straits zones is in the same direction. Turkey is also aware of the fact that no country is more helpful to her in this respect than Britain. The British Government has always recognized the special position of Turkey in relation to the Straits.

Recently there was a sudden change in the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic, when she severed diplomatic relations with the Reich. This may be ascribed to the rapid victories of the United Nations and the successive defeats of the Axis powers on all fronts. She may have been solicitous about the position of the Straits. She does not want that her neutrality should stand in her way and in order to avoid the imposition of an international agreement with regard to the Straits repugnant to her self-respect she has thought it proper to align herself more on the side of the Allies. Her standing aloof at this juncture when decisions

having far-reaching repercussions are being taken would have jeopardised her position in the Levant.

The change in the Turkish foreign policy does not seem to have satisfied Russia. In line with her traditional foreign policy, the Russian Government wants to eliminate the controlling influence of the Turks in the Dardanelles. The recent denunciation of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1925 is in the same direction. As hinted in the British Press, the Russian move is aimed at reopening the Dardanelles problem. The *Observer* says :

"Turkey is nervous of the new Russian *démarche* seeing in it the beginning of a softening-up process, prior to reopening of the Straits question. She remembers how every successive ruler since Catherine the Great has wanted to tamper with Turkey's control over the exit from the Black Sea."

Really, the fact remains that under the so-called communist Government of Stalin Soviet Russia has assumed the form of a first-rate imperialist power. The theory of world revolution has been thrown overboard and Russian foreign policy is now clearly aimed at extending her political influence in the neighbouring countries. The attack on Finland, the occupation of Latvia, Estonia, etc., during the period of Russo-German *rapprochement*, her persistent opposition to the formation of a strong Balkan Federation, the backing of the Lublin Government, the insistence on a particular form of government in Austria, the demand for oil concessions in Iran against the express wishes of her Government and people and last but not least the exertion of undue pressure on Turkey to reopen the Straits question—these are all pointers indicating the trend of the New Soviet Czarism. In order to hoodwink the smaller powers on her frontiers Russia actually amended her constitution, giving freedom of choice in the matter of foreign policy, army, etc., to her constituent units. The Molotov Declaration was really a political camouflage to entrap the helpless States on her borders into her wider net of Communist regimentation. Under the circumstances there is no hope of a betterment of Russo-Turkish relations unless Turkey successfully tilts herself still further towards the Western Powers like Britain, U.S.A., and France.

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THE KANDHAS OF THE HILLS

One Century of British Rule (1836 to 1936)

By UMA CHARAN PATNAIK, M.A., B.L.

CONCEALED in their mountain fastnesses and living a wild life in the most primitive state of society, the various hill-tribes are preserved apparently as specimens of antiquarian curiosities. On the plea of screening them from the "evil-eyes" of adjacent plainmen, and saving them from the latter's exploitation, the benevolent British Government has kept them segregated from the rest of the country. Special laws have been passed removing them from the operation of the ordinary laws of the realm, and keeping them under the special administration and protection of the Provincial Governors through omnipotent and omniscient civilian officials. Interference of outsiders has been sternly discountenanced except for the Reverend missionaries

who are being given every opportunity for introducing their "Christianizing, Europeanizing and Civilizing" influences into these prohibited areas.

An innovation was attempted in the constitutional reforms introduced in 1936, when the aborigines areas were made amenable, to some extent, to the control of the popular ministers. It is true that the hill-tribes were given no right of vote, because they were deemed incapable of exercising the same, but their protectors, the Governors, took the trouble of nominating proper persons to represent them in the respective provincial legislatures. For example, H. E. the Governor of Orissa came to the rescue of the Kandha and Savara tribes of Ganjam by nominating a European and an Indian

member of the Baptist mission as their M.L.As. areas* the reader can have an original study of this (Orissa). In spite of this constitutional change and the hill-tribe after a century of British rule. subsequent recommendations of the Partially Excluded Areas Committee of Orissa, the hill tracts are being Their habitat is Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Patna and the Orissan States and Oriya Zamindaries in administered much as they were during the last the south. Grierson's description in his *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. IV, p. 457) has to be modified in century; the aborigines are still basking in the sunshine of the modern India.

has extraordinary speed of foot. The forehead is full indulgence of revenge and occasionally of brutal and expanded, the cheek-bones are rather high and passion.⁷

prominent, the nose seldom, though occasionally Proper education during this century could have

arched and is generally broad at the point. The lips utilised his intelligence and cured him of his vices. But

Economic condition, a century ago, was fairly good as is evident from contemporary writings :

"Land is possessed by the Khond without tenure, the right of possession being simply founded, in the case of tribes upon priority of appropriation and in the case of individuals upon the priority of cultivation. Regarding waste lands the usage of different districts varied. Usually the people had freedom for pasturage and jungle produce and sometimes even for exclusive possession of waste lands. The offences of theft and robbery are unknown (except in a small area adjacent to the plains)."

Even there, for the first offence mere restitution of the stolen produce and for its repetition, expulsion from society were the rule.

At present the economic condition of the Kandha is miserable. His income is about Rs. 20 per annum; moneylenders and liquor-sellers are sucking his very life blood.

DRINK

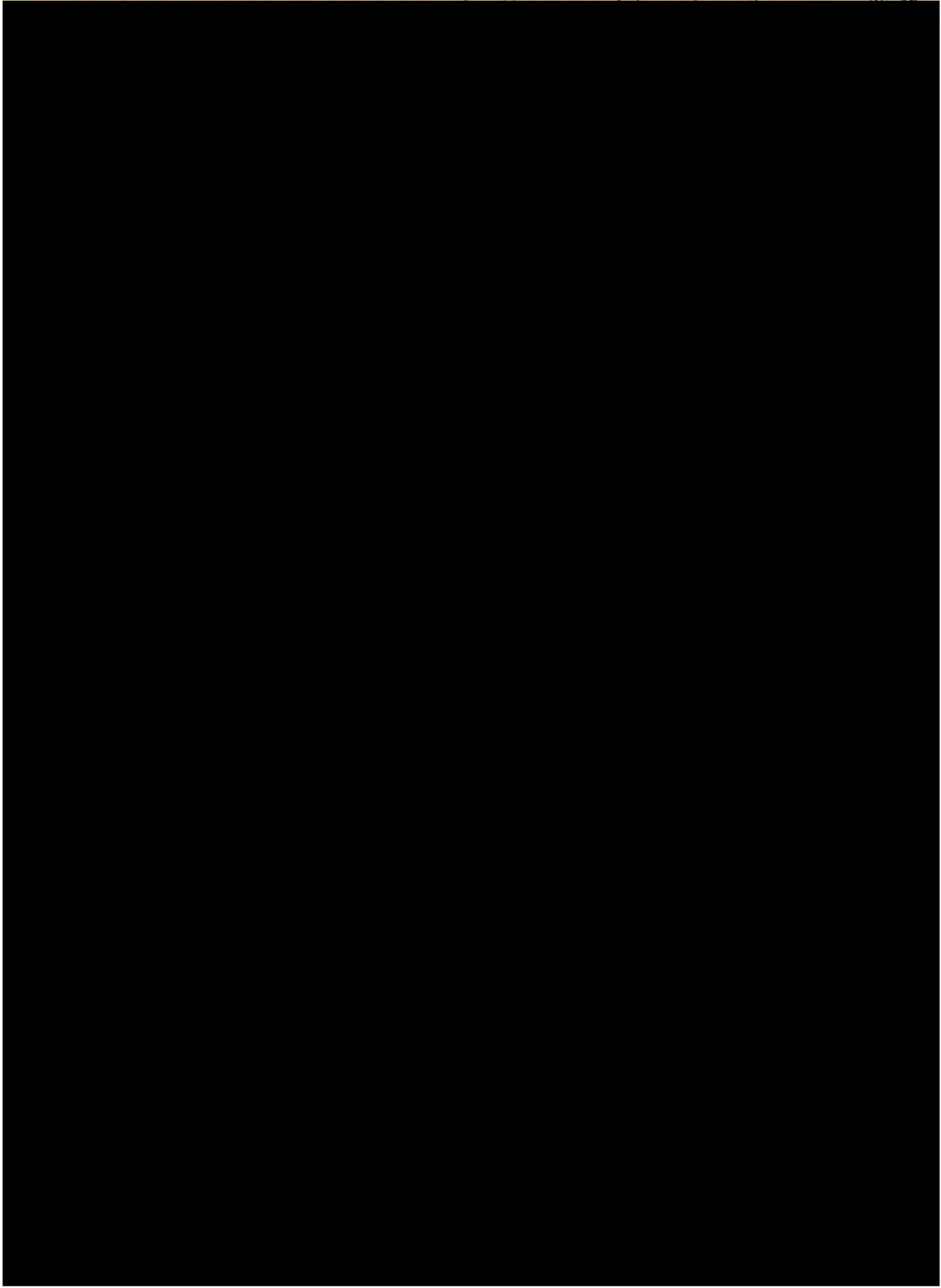
Macpherson referred to this habit as "disgraceful drunkenness," adding that during all his tours he had never seen a single Khond woman drunk. Today,

priety of the requisition, he sends for the elders or the whole tribe, as usage may prescribe, to determine the course to be pursued.

Each patriarch is aided and controlled in the management of its ordinary affairs by a Council of Elders—which constitutes, in a federal group, of the heads of tribes, in a tribe, of the heads of branches, in a branch, of the heads of villages, and in a village, of the elders therein. Others are entitled to attend a meeting of the Council of Elders but not to take part in its deliberations.

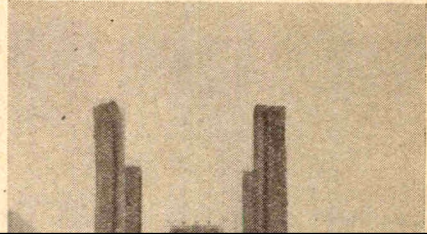
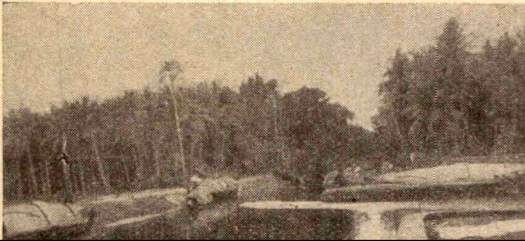
An *assembly* of the entire population is sometimes convened to deliberate upon matters of general or local interest. It is generally held on the slope of a hill. The Patriarch who convenes the assembly satisfies himself that all are present. His peculiar function appears to cease with the completion of the assembly. He makes obeisance to the four quarters of the globe, to the sun and the earth and takes his seat. He convenes the assembly and is its most distinguished member but does not apparently regulate or preside in anyway, over its functions. The Patriarch then express their views one after another. Some course of action, in accordance with the general sense of the assembly, is decided upon, when the meeting is dissolved without further formality. It

motto of our South Indian brothers even in this of India one can have the thrill of riding over the



that we had heard from the pilgrims, who had been there, was goading us onward and onward without allowing us to rest for a long time at one place. An unaccountable fear was lurking in our mind that the strain of the journey and the unknown surroundings might at any moment tell heavily on our strength so that the southern-most point of India might not be touched in the attempt. So we hurried westwards

No sooner was the scenic effect of the mountains over, than the coconut groves and the backwaters of the Malabar Coast filled our minds with a feeling of wonder. It is not surprising that Travancore is regarded as one of the most progressive Indian States? How can people living in the midst of such natural beauties be ugly in their outlook? Were not the Greeks masters in the arts of sculpture and architecture and



THE NATIONAL TRUST

By CLAUD GOLDING

It used to be a complaint of foreign tourists to England's "green and pleasant land" that, after they had been invited to come over and see for themselves some of the beauty spots and historical monuments, they found their legitimate curiosity barred by such notices as "Trespassers will be prosecuted," or "These lands are private."

"Why entice us here, and then prevent our seeing those places you talk so much about?" was their grievance. It was a reasonable argument, to which there

the case just now—landlords made gifts to the Trust of properties in which they retained only a life interest. But others have gone further and handed over their estates lock, stock and barrel with no restrictions.

BEAUTY SPOTS

Among the most recent acquisitions are the estates of Killerton and Holnicote in Somerset and Devon, which the Trust has received from Sir Richard Acland. They include a freehold of 17,000 acres. The Holnicote





"Big Three" Conference in session at Potsdam



Miss Wu Yi-fang, a member of China's delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization, speaks at a public session of the Conference at San Francisco. To her left is Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Chairman of India's delegation

oil. The progress made within a few years is striking, but even so, the actual amount of energy produced from these resources is far below possibilities. So far only 0.7 million H.P. have been developed throughout India, though 36.0 million H.P. are continually running to waste in all her potential water power resources, and if all these sources are utilized, India promises to make her position enviable as one of the Industrial powers of the world.

To work out water power schemes is really, difficult in India, because the power needs to be continuous while rainfall is seasonal and the rivers are fitful. Hence costly storage works are almost always necessary. The capital required for such development is, except in a few cases only, beyond the capacity of private enterprise. We thus see that, excepting the three gigantic schemes of Bombay presidency managed by Tata, Hydel projects elsewhere in India have resulted from Government enterprise.

Among the provinces, Madras, U.P. and the Punjab have made considerable progress in this field. Thus the Pykara river project, the Mettur Dam and the Papanasam projects of Madras have not only relieved the province from dependence on coal and oil of other parts of India, but by providing cheap power for the industries and for agricultural purposes have alleviated much of the miseries of the population. The Mettur Dam, one of the largest of its kind in the world, has been constructed mainly for irrigation and part of the water let down for this purpose is utilized to the best advantage for the generation of 33,000 H.P. of electrical energy. The authorities in Madras are still on the look-out for exploring possible sources of water power. A Grid System connecting the Hydel and thermal stations is in contemplation.

In the Punjab, the Uhl river project at Mandi is the only Government enterprise so far. The task has been very hazardous and the construction of the power stations at high altitudes exhibit considerable engineering skill and enterprise. So far 64,000 H.P. have been harnessed and there is provision for future extension. The total capital cost (Rs. 800 lakhs) on this project has been unusually high due to the difficulties in construction and should not be taken as representative. In addition to supplying power to several industrial towns like Amritsar, Ludhiana and Lahore, this project also caters for the power requirements of the North-Western Railway.

In U.P. the development of hydro-electricity is the outcome of an well-organised effort on the part of the Provincial Government. The process of combining irrigation with Hydel projects has been most efficient in this province and the name of Sir William Stampe is worth mentioning in this connection, for he had been chiefly responsible for the success of the entire project. The U.P. Grid System connects all the different Hydel stations, on the several small falls of the Ganges Canal system with the already existing and dependable thermal stations and carries power to 66 towns for industrial and domestic purposes. Cultivators in the rural tracts whose land lies, in many cases, outside the area commanded by gravity flow from the canal itself, also obtain cheap power from the Grid System and are thus in a position to use electric motors for pumping water from rivers, tube-wells or open wells profitably for irrigation purposes.

Of the Native States of India, Mysore takes the lead. The project on the Cauvery falls at Sivasamudram

was the first large-scale undertaking in India. It generates 50,000 H.P. and supplies energy for industrial and domestic consumption. The State has taken the initiative in the matter of power generation and different power resources are being explored. Extensive rural electrification has been achieved.

The State of Kashmir and Jammu has also made progress in the field as manifested by the power stations at Baramulla and at Jammu. The former utilizes the water of the Jhelum while the latter harnesses the Rambir Canal falls. The consumption has been chiefly domestic.

Assam has only a small station at Shillong to her credit. No further progress has so far been made, though the resources have been found substantial as the result of preliminary surveys.

Before coming to Bengal a few words are necessary about Bihar and Orissa. In spite of the large coal resources existing in Bihar, the unusual abundance of mineral resources in this province has set industrialists thinking about other possible sources of power and considerable attention is being paid to her hydro-electric potentialities in the post-war period. The newly created Province of Orissa has not been slow in recognising the importance of hydro-electricity, and the enthusiasm shown by all sections of the population of Orissa in the recent dispute about the rights on the Doduma falls on the boundary between Madras and Orissa indicates that people have come to realise the importance of water power throughout India.

Though, in Bengal, the small Hydel station at Darjeeling was the first to be operated in India, in 1897, no further progress has so far been made in this field. The industrial centres being situated in and around Calcutta, where coal is obtained cheap from the Raniganj coal fields, thermal energy has been the principal motive power so far.

The extraordinary rise in the pressure of population on agricultural land due to (i) the decay of Bengal's Cottage Industries as a result of unfavourable competition with cheap foreign products, and (ii) the absence of a sufficient number of heavy industries to divert the surplus population from agriculture, has raised problems which call for immediate attention of those who are at the helm of affairs. The ravage done by the recent famine has, moreover, opened the eyes of the authorities towards extensive irrigation throughout Bengal to enable agriculture stand on a sound basis.

In order to arrest the decay which has set in and been constantly looking Bengal in the face, the following programme has been suggested as the basis for future action: (i) Improvement, and, in certain cases, revival of Bengal's Cottage Industries, and (ii) sufficient expansion of heavy industries throughout Bengal. These two will act in a negative way and by diverting a considerable part of the population from agriculture as a profession will raise the standard of living of the rural as well as the urban population. The third line of action is the improvement of irrigation, thereby helping agriculture. This will act in a positive way, and besides, increasing the yield of already cultivated lands, will bring hitherto unproductive lands under cultivation.

It can easily be apprehended that according to plan if Bengal is industrialized, new industrial centres will tend to grow up nearabout the already existing ones due to the easy availability of cheap coal from Raniganj coal fields. If this happens, which almost certainly will, if the tendency is not checked in time, excessive

centralization of industries will bring in new problems no less important than the ones already demanding solution.

Thus the prospects of decentralization of industry and the improvement of agriculture have focussed Government's attention towards (i) exploitation of new sources of power wherever available, and (ii) erection of barrages (such as the Sukkur in Sind).

Bengal being a land of rivers is a plain and, naturally rivers in the Himalayas, namely, the Tista and the Jaldaka, have appeared as prospective sources of considerable water power.

S. W. Redclift in the *Report on the Position of Electrification of Bengal, 1939*, made the following recommendation :

"A Hydro-electric power station is to be erected near the foothills so as to utilize the water of one of the rivers such as the River Tista or the River Jaldaka. This would supply electricity for the whole of North Bengal as far south as the River Ganges and as far east as the Brahmaputra. The Southern limit would be at the junction of the two rivers near Pabna. This power station could also supply the whole of Dooars and possibly Cooch Behar State and any land nearby in North Assam. Towards the west, a supply of energy could be given to North Behar."

The power produced from these sources will greatly develop cottage and large-scale industries in this region and, it is further hoped, the barrage to be constructed for the purpose of power generation will provide water for irrigating "the whole of North Bengal."

As regards the actual power available in this region, the following figures given by the Hydro-electric survey of India, 1919-21 may be taken as authoritative :

JALDAKA RIVER

The minimum discharge of the river at the site where the power station is proposed to be erected is 189 cusecs (cu. ft. per second) and the fall is approximately 1,000 ft. By a definite method of calculation it is found that the minimum power available continuously without any storage is 12,500 kws. Its potentialities are, however, vastly greater. During the rains the discharge rises to nearly 800 cusecs and it is probable that by the time the power would be wanted by the tea gardens for firing the leaf electrically there would be somewhat more than 50,000 kws. available.³

TISTA RIVER

This is a slow-fed river with a minimum discharge of 10,000 cusecs. The river is subject to enormous floods from its 3,000 or more square miles of catchment and although capable of yielding much power the development would be an expensive one. There is little doubt that a dam would be the only method of controlling the floods . . . Assuming that a 50 ft. head could be obtained by this means, as is probable, this would give some 45,000 e.h.p. continuously and more than one such place could, in all probability, be found. The river in its lower reaches may be estimated as good for at least 150,000 e.h.p. at a price.⁴

KARNAPHULI RIVER

The Karnaphuli river of Chittagong District and certain other rivers in the Hill Tippera regions are capable of giving some amount of power from South Eastern Bengal.

About the Karnaphuli river the above report says :

"A plant of 2,000 KW could in all probability be operated, if the site proves favourable the power available may be twice as much . . . At any rate the project is worthy of expert examination."

About the rivers in the hilly ranges of Tippera the report observes :

"It is little more than guesswork to say that from 30,000 to 50,000 KW are probably obtainable."

DAMODAR RIVER

The projected dam on the Damodar river to be erected primarily to prevent flood in the Damodar Valley "should have as its purpose not merely stopping the flood but also include the generating of electricity and the supply of water for irrigation".⁵ The Tennessee Valley Scheme has probably been very much in the mind of the Government in this connection. It is hoped, a Bengal Grid System in the near future will connect the Hydel stations in the north with the thermal stations served with cheap coal from the Raniganj deposits and Hydel stations which can certainly be erected inside the hilly tracts of Chittagong and Tippera. If this materializes at all, a happy, contented and revitalized Bengal will not be only a dream any more.

In conclusion, a few words about Hydro-electricity in post-war India are necessary. The importance attached to "Power" as one of the basic needs is evident in every post-war reconstruction plan. The attention given by the Central Government to this aspect is evident from the creation of the Central Technical Power Board which is "to regulate and develop the production of electrical power and to advise the various Provinces and States who may require their assistance."

It is widely recognised now that the basis of an industrially and agriculturally developed India should be the availability of cheap power throughout this great sub-continent. The proposition of exploiting water power for this purpose may not appear attractive at first sight due to the higher initial cost than that necessary for thermal stations, and considering the absence of suitable market for the generated power, capital may not be forthcoming. But it should be properly realised that Hydel projects become the gainer in the long run. Undue competition should be entirely eliminated from the field of power generation, and the responsibility of the development and distribution of power should lie with the Government.

That there is no market for generated power is entirely a wrong picture of the situation. Apart from the fact that India's industrial possibilities have so far been practically neglected, it is worth noticing that whenever hydel power has been developed, the urban and the rural (chiefly for irrigation purposes) loads have shown

3. *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 115.

4. *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 147.

5. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar at the Writers' Building Conference of Damodar Flood Enquiry Committee.

6. Sir A. Dalal's Broadcast Speech on Post-war Planning on December 16, 1944.

1. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muazzamuddin Hossain, Minister of Agriculture at Rangpur on December 9, 1944.

2. *Report of Hydro-electric Survey of India*, Vol. I, p. 70.

marked increase. The average cost of hydel power for industrial and agricultural purposes may be taken as one anna per unit, though wide variations are sometimes observable. The proposed expansion of Indian industries will contribute towards lowering the power cost further. Establishment of Electro-chemical, Electro-metallurgical and paper-pulp industries should, by increasing the load factors of the stations, bring down the cost still further. Manufacture of artificial fertilizers from coke and gypsum, as recommended by the Gowing Mission, has engaged Government's attention. The alternative method of manufacturing artificial fertilizers by the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by cheap power obtainable from hydro-electric sources should also be carefully

examined. In view of the general awakening of the people of India in all spheres of life, nothing should be deemed impossible or too difficult to realise.

"I dream of the Tennessee Valley, but not without hope: for all this may happen to any river valley in India, to the Damodar, to the Ganges, to the Sutlej, to the Nurbadda, to the Sone, if the people and the Government just give Science a chance."—it is not the dream of Sir S. S. Bhatnagar only, but also of India's teeming millions.

7. Presidential address at the Indian Science Congress at Nagpur, January 2, 1945.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Chemical Fertilisers Versus Compost

THE learned author of the article "Chemical Fertilisers Versus Compost" (*The Modern Review* for May, 1945) seems to be an ardent protagonist of compost manuring. While there is no disagreement that well prepared topsoil added to the soil increases its fertility and also improves its structure, the author's prejudice against the use of Chemical fertilisers seems to be ill-founded and unsupported by soil science experts.

Briefly stated the author's contentions are as follows: Chemical fertilisers when applied first increase the output of crops by artificially stimulating the soil. But their continued application leads to its gradual deterioration by slowly destroying the soil bacteria and the earth-worms which are essential for the formation of humus in the soil. When applied over a number of years artificial manures being also 'symbolic of the unnatural methods of agriculture' will bring on 'certain tragedy and desolation to once fertile tract of lands'.

The writer would have us believe that it has been established in the U.S.A. that 'lands very fertile even 20 years ago are now desert', and also that 'at least a third of the cultivated area of the U.S.A. is on the way to becoming useless' and that Chemical fertilisers are one of the important factors for bringing about such a serious state of affairs.

The writer has undoubtedly presented an 'over-painted' picture and the thesis he has advanced regarding the artificiality of synthetic manures and their ultimate baneful effect on agriculture is not at all supported by the opinion of soil scientists. Sir John Russel, F.R.S., Director of the famous Rothamsted Experimental Station in England, writes in his book *Soil Conditions and Plant Growth* (published in 1932):

"Farmers were slow to believe that 'Chemical manures' could ever do more than stimulate the crop, and declared they must ultimately exhaust the ground. The Rothamsted plots 'falsified this prediction; manured year after year with the same substances and sown always with the same crop they even now, after ninety years of chemical manuring continue to produce good crops."

("This book is considered a Bible among the soil scientists," says the Editor of *Science and Culture*.)

And again he declared in a speech in 1943:

"It seems strange that in this 20th century there should still be people who think that ammonia derived from organic matter differs in some subtle way from ammonia derived from gas liquor or produced synthetically. I know of no evidence that organic manures produce healthier or more nutritive crops than inorganic fertilisers."

It is thus clear that the author's notions about chemical fertilisers are based on doubtful data.

Ours is a country of increasing population with decreasing soil fertility. This is indeed very serious. Yet another serious thing about India is that although about 80 per cent of us make our living directly or indirectly from the soil, we are not self-sufficient as regards foodstuff even on a low level of subsistence. Can this be remedied? Yes, we can acquire self-sufficiency even on a higher and healthier standard of diet by substantially raising the productivity of the soil. Dr. N. C. Acharya of Bangalore thinks that it is possible to produce ten million tons of compost from all India sources. The quantity appears to be impressive but its utter insufficiency becomes readily intelligible when we consider that this organic manure has a very low Nitrogen content which is about 0.4 per cent. Therefore, to depend on compost alone for manuring over 300 million of acres of land would be putting the brakes on the wheels of India's agricultural progress. To return to the golden era of plenty we must supplement this manure derived from natural sources with a liberal addition of chemical fertilisers, both Phosphatic and Nitrogenous. Sir J. C. Ghose very rightly said:

"The importance of technological studies on problems of synthetic fertilisers industry in India cannot be overemphasized, and in any future plan of economic reconstruction of India this industry will be considered as a No. 1 Key industry."

Any plan of agricultural development in this country must make adequate provisions for three essential things: ample manuring of the soil, more extensive irrigation facilities and intensive research for her production of improved variety of seeds suited to Indian climate and soil.

S. M. BOSE, M.Sc.

MAURYA EMPIRE

By SANTOSH KUMAR BASU, M.A., B.L.

LORD WILLINGTON has said in his speech on the new constitution :

"It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that during my Viceroyalty there has been made possible a consummation of age-long effort not only of the British Government but of all great rulers in India from Asoka onwards, namely, passage of the Act, which for the first time, in the history of India consolidates the whole of India and for the purpose of common concern under a single Government."

Now after the successful termination of the European war when the air is thick with all sorts of rumours about the future constitution of India, it is quite opportune to discuss the extent and the nature of unity that India enjoyed under Devanapriya Piyadasi Asoka, Dharmaraja.

The extent of the empire has been determined with sufficient accuracy with the help of literary sources and corroborated by epigraphic evidence. It extended up to Hindukush Mountains in the west and so possessed the "scientific frontier" for which Anglo-Indian statesmen have long sighed in vain—as Dr. Smith beautifully puts it, in the north it extended up to Kashmir and Nepal, in the south it comprised the whole of the Deccan up to Pulicat near Madras in the east, to Chitaldurg in the north and right up to the northern point of the South Canara district in the west excepting the Tamil kingdoms of Chera, Chola, Pandiya, and Sotiya Putra, and in the east it is generally believed that it included the whole of Bengal. It appears from the legends of Tibet which is very accurate with regard to the dates of Asoka, that the empire comprised in its fold the kingdom of Khotan. In Divyavadana also we find that the nobles who were connected with wrongful blinding of Kunala by forging royal order were banished to the land lying to the north of the Himalayas. Perhaps these exiles along with the Chinese founded the city and kingdom of Khotan as they are credited with in the Tibetan account. So it seems Khotan was used as penal settlement like the Andamans of the British Government. (Arthashastra also prescribes heavy punishment for forging royal orders, p. 224).

Besides the Home province of Prachya with its capital at Pataliputra which was directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of ministers, there were four viceroyalties, viz :

1. Uttarapatha—Capital Taxila.
2. Avantiratha— " Ujjayini.
3. Dakshinapatha— " Suvarnagiri.
4. Kalinga — " Tosali.

The viceroyalties were ruled by princes of the blood royal who were designated as Kumaras. In the R.E.S. V and XIII we find mention of eight tribal territories, namely, Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rastrika-Pitinakas, Bhoja-Pitinakas, Andharas, and Pulindas, and Nabhapantis of Nabhaka. According to Buhler, R. E. XIII mentions two other tribal territories—Visa and Vajri. We are inclined to hold that these tribal territories enjoyed internal autonomy within the suzerainty of the paramount power—the Maurya Empire. This is evident from the very fact of their

being mentioned separately as distinct from the people who were under the direct sway of the Mauryas. That there were distinctions between these territories and the area which was under the direct rule of the Mauryas is also apparent from the assumption of royal dignity, from the language of the edicts, from the royal policy and measures.

Thus from the Bhabru edict we know that Asoka was satisfied with the designation of the King of Magadh and did not aspire to claim himself as the ruler of Jambudwipa which was the generic name for the whole of India in the time of Asoka.

In the edicts also he referred to the territory within his direct rule as Hida or Idha while the autonomous states as Raja Vishaya and the distinction is made clear by the R.E. XIII which first records his achievement in the sphere of Dharma in his own territory, then in the states of independent neighbouring rulers and then in the tribal territories. This distinction was also observed in the preaching of Dharma. Thus while Dharma of the rock edicts consists of general ethical principles, common to all religions, that of pillar edicts which was meant for his own people is saturated with Buddhist ideas and is clear cut with its positive and negative aspects definitely stated. In his own territory he also prohibited slaughter of animals for sacrificial purposes and stood as the head of the Church as of the State and dealt with the schismatics with strong hands. The toleration which he so vehemently preached in R.E. XII was conspicuous by its absence in the territory which was under his direct rule.

It is generally admitted that pillar edicts mark the extent of the territory which was under the direct rule of Asoka while rock inscriptions occur in the important cities of the tribal territories and provinces under royal officers, and minor rock edicts are mostly at places which separate his territory from those of his independent or semi-independent neighbours. In minor rock edict I (Rupnath) Asoka definitely says that his Dharmalipi should be engraved on stones in his kingdom of Pataliputra while on rocks in the dominions.

It seems this territory which was under the direct rule of Asoka was known as the kingdom of Magadh. Now for the proper understanding of the relation that subsisted between the kingdom of Magadh and the units it is necessary to have just a passing glance through the internal constitution of these units.

(1) The Yavana State was in the north-west portion of India and was perhaps identical with the republican city state of Nysa of the Greek account. It was governed in the days of Alexander by a council consisting of 300 members and it seems that the same constitution continued in the days of Asoka. Its capital was perhaps located at Shabbazghari the find spot of R.Es. Arrian says that the Nysaeans are not an Indian race, but descended from the Greeks who came into India with Dionysus the Greek invader of India before Alexander. It comprised the region lying between the Kophen and the Indus. (2) Kamboja was another republican State lying next to Yavana State and corres-

ponded to Rajapura near Punch in Kashmir. Kambojas, modern research indicates, spoke an Iranian tongue. Arthashastra refers to the Kamboja's as a republican state of warriors who lived by agriculture, trade, and wielding weapons.

3. The tribal state of Gandhara probably lay west of India and did not apparently include Takshasila which was the seat of Kumara Viceroyalty. Pushkaranati was the capital of Gandhara.

4. According to some authors R.E. XIII mentions Vajri as an unit of the Maurya Empire. This Vajri may be identical with Vrihika the confederacy of the republican states of Vrihavis with its capital at Vaisali in north Bihar.

5. There was another state in the north, namely, Nabhapanti of Nabhaka which was perhaps identical with Ne-pei-kea of Fa-Hien, the birth-place of Krakuchchahanda Buddha about 10 miles south or south-west of Kapilavastu.

6. Andhras had a monarchical state comprising the territory lying between the rivers Krishna and Godavari with its capital at Anandhpure. According to Pliny, the Andhra State possessed numerous villages, thirty towns defended by walls and towers and had an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.

7. Pulindas were another tribe who lived in the Vindhya region and their capital Pulindanagar may be identical with Rupnath, the find spot of minor rock edict I. The Pulindas might have a republican constitution as they are credited with in the Kasika of Panini.

Bhoja-Pitinakas and Rastrika-Pitinakas mean the hereditary rulers. Bhojas occupied territory comprising the present Thana and Kolaba districts of the Bombay Presidency. From Aitareya Brahmana we find that Bhoja was the designation of the Princes of the south whose subjects were called Satvatsa. Rastrikas occupied the territory now known as Maharashtra. Bhoja and Rastrikas are also mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscriptions of Kharvela as rulers and they were the ancestors of Mahabhoja and Maharashtra, the hereditary chieftains of the Andhra period.

From Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman we know of another unit of the empire viz., Saurashtra which according to the said inscription was under a Javana ruler named Raja Tushaspha.

According to Arthashastra however, Saurashtra was a republican state. The reconciliation to this apparent contradiction perhaps lies in Arthashastra (p. 379). Here Kautilya directs that non-monarchical corporations which are inimical to the Maurya state should be put down by sowing the seeds of dissensions and in some cases if possible the Maurya emperor should get a prince of high family but dethroned or imprisoned, installed as its rulers. Perhaps with regard to Saurashtra Sangha this policy was followed by Asoka who got Raja Tushaspha installed as ruler in Saurashtra Sangha. Girinagar was the capital of Saurashtra. Besides the units stated above, there were two other units of the Maurya empire viz., autonomous wild tribes of the jungle tracts presumably of Vindhya mountains and Chhota Nagpur plateau and the conquered but unsubdued border people. From Arthashastra we find that the wild tribes had their own strongholds and their own chiefs. From R.E. XIII we find that Asoka permitted the wild tribes internal autonomy subject to their leading a peaceful life after having given up evil ways.

Now the question is what was the relation between

the kingdom of Magadh and Bengal, the Gangaridae of the Greeks.

We get no light from the edicts—internally they are silent, externally they do not occur at all in Bengal soil. But historians think that Bengal was a part of the Maurya Empire from the testimony of Hiuen Tsang who claims to have noticed some stupas of Asoka in Bengal. But Hiuen Tsang visited India long nine hundred years after Asoka. Moreover, he looked at things with the spectacles of a zealous Buddhist and as such his account of things Buddhistic should be taken with caution. Hiuen Tsang claims to have seen stupas of Asoka at Tamralipti in Bengal, while Fa-hien who visited India two hundred years before him and spent two years at Tamralipti does not make the slightest reference to Asoka's stupas at Tamralipti. The next date for inferring Bengal as a part of the Maurya Empire is the Mahasthan inscription. But the only sober fact that we get from this inscription is that this inscription was written in a script similar to that of Asoka's edict, and hence the only probable speculation that could be made on its basis is that Bengal was within the pale of Maghadhan civilization. But thanks to the activities of the Buddhists and Jains Maghadhan culture and thoughts penetrated into Bengal long before Asoka. Even the cult of former Buddhas of which Devadatta, cousin of Gautama Buddha, was a great exponent found a good soil in Bengal to thrive upon.

From Divyavadana we find that Paundra Vardhana of Bengal was a great centre of Jainism in the days of Asoka.

In Arthashastra also we find that the fine fabrics of Vanga and Paundravardhana known as Vangaka and Paundraka were very popular in Magadh.

But admittedly the port of Tamralipti was used by the Mauryas as their outlet to the sea. According to Taranath, Bimbisara either conquered or subjugated sixteen kingdoms and thus made himself master of the territory between the eastern and western seas. Perhaps the kingdom of Suhma of which Tamralipti was the capital was along with some other kingdoms of Bengal amongst these sixteen kingdoms near the eastern seas. But Bengal proved to be a refractory province. Thus Asoka in spite of his abhorrence for the militarism had to march to the port of Tamralipti at the head of an army at the time of the dispatch of a branch of Bo-tree to Ceylon. (Ceylonese legend, Smith's *Asoka*, 3rd Edition, p. 240).

From Divyavadana we find that the people of Paundravardhana pulled down the statue of Buddha, and Asoka as a punishment for the sacrilege massacred 18,000 inhabitants of that city in one day. Thus it seems that the unsubdued border people of the Kalinga edict I who were told that the King would bear patiently with them provided they would follow the law of Piety and were also made aware of the inflexible resolve and promise of the King, perhaps refers to the people of Bengal.

Now having discussed the different component parts of the empire now let us try to find out what was the administrative relation between the imperial centre and these units. It is certain that the relations between the centre and these units were not uniform.

Firstly, there were the four viceroyalties administered by the Kumaras of royal blood, with the advice of ministers. Kumaras used to get a salary of 12,000 panas per annum. The authority of the Kumaras was

controlled by the ministers who were in direct touch with the imperial centre and had the power to communicate with the centre behind the back of Kumaras and could act over the head of the Kumara. Next to four viceroalties there were the imperial provinces under Rajukas appointed by the centre and having direct charge of many hundred thousands of people. The Rajukas were transferred every five years from one station to another. In the 26 regnal year the Emperor by his edict (P.E. IV) invested the Rajukas with some of the sovereign powers, *viz.*, independence as regards the awards of honours and penalties and in undertaking the works of public utility so that they might perform their duties confidently and fearlessly.

Besides these Imperial officers, there was another set of officers posted in important cities, *viz.*, the Nagala Vyoḥalaka of the Kalinga edicts. The Nagala Vyoḥalaka corresponded to the Pauranyaveharikas of Arthashastra and were set over many thousands of living beings and had the direct charge of the cities like Sampa and Isla subject to only imperial supervisions which were also issued direct to them.

The fourth class of officers was Atma Mahamatras (P.E. 1) who corresponded to the Antapala of the Arthashastra. They were in charge of unsubdued border people over whom they exercised a general supervision. One of such Atma Mahamatras was perhaps for Bengal. The relation with vassal states was, however, different. They enjoyed more or less autonomy in internal matters and as such there must have been some sort of division of powers between the paramount power and these states on the basis of agreements referred to in Arthashastra (Book VII). However the agreement made with the vassal states were different with the varying degrees of internal autonomy enjoyed by the states.

Generally speaking the division of powers was thus: Forts and other defensive works, acquisitions of things, celebration of marriages, capture of elephants, commercial undertakings, marching against an enemy—all these the vassal states should not undertake without the permission of the paramount powers nor the vassal states could make any agreement with their own people without the permission of the central authority. On all occasions of worshipping gods and making prayers, the vassal states should cause its people to pray for the long life of the Emperor-Protector (p. 310, Arthashastra).

With regard to a vassal state the imperial policy was sympathetic and conciliatory and not of ruthless annexation as is wrongly supposed by some. Kautilya repeatedly forbids the policy of ruthless annexation but says that peace should be made (p. 269) with a submissive inferior ruler, even when the king of a conquered state is slain then also Kautilya asks the Maurya Emperor (p. 313) not to covet the land, things and wives and sons of the king slain. But he should install in the kingdom the heir-apparent of the king who died. The reason for this conciliatory policy is also given by this master-statesman in the succeeding lines thus, "All conquered kings will, if thus treated, loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the conqueror." With regard to non-monarchical state the same policy of only obtaining allegiance was followed and not of ruthless extermination as is wrongly supposed by some historians.

The political sage Kautilya was too wise to ignore the inherent soundness of the republics in which, he himself says, that the sovereignty being the property

of a clan, is invariable in its nature and being free from the calamities of anarchy, can have a permanent existence on earth (p. 35). Thus we find in different passages of Arthashastra, Kautilya advises the king to enlist the support of the republics which is better than the acquisition of an army, a friend or profits (p. 378) and the so-called "diabolical intrigues" is only advocated by Kautilya with regard to refractory republican states, and that also only for the purpose of bringing them under control and not for ruthless extermination.

Arrian also refers to the existence of cities which enjoyed a democratic government (Chinook Arrian, p. 413).

The Maurya Empire comprised in modern terminology Afghanistan south of the Hindukush, Baluchistan, Sindh, the valley of Kashmir, Nepal, the lower Himalayas and the whole of India proper except the southern extremity. The empire was composed of the following units:

1. The central state of Magadh. It was administered by the Emperor directly with the help of his ministers and graded officers. The kingdom of Magadh comprised a territory extending from Ambala district in the west to Pataliputra in the east, from Nepal in the north to Sanchi in Bhopal State, Central India, in the south. Besides there were four viceroalties.

The important cities of the empire were, however, administered by Paura-Vyavaharikas directly under the control of the Emperor. There were Antapala who exercised supervision over the unsubdued peoples living under the hegemony of the Maurya Empire.

The tribal states both monarchical and non-monarchical were allowed internal autonomy with certain restrictions which varied with the terms of agreement arrived at with them. Roughly speaking the central authority exercised control over the army, defence, political relation of the vassal state. However, in a case of refractory republican state as that of Saurashtra, it was sometimes placed under a Rastrapala which post was analogous to a modern Imperial High Commissioner as was in the time of Chandragupta or sometimes a prince was installed there as it was in the case of Raja Tushaspha of Saurashtra Sangha in the time of Asoka. The Kumaras, Paura-Vyavaharikas, Antapala and Rastrapala having drawn the uniform salary of 12,000 panas per annum, must have enjoyed the same status in Maurya constitution. There was a sort of duality in the religious policy of Asoka. In his own kingdom he stood as the head of the Buddhist Church trying to restore unity in the church and prohibited animal sacrifices which were necessary parts of some of the Brahmanical ceremonies, out of respect for the susceptibilities of the Buddhists.

In his dominions however, he followed a general policy of toleration to all sects. People of every denomination were permitted contrary to the restriction of Arthashastra to reside in every place (R.E. VII). The members of different sects were enjoined to show respect to each other's sects and to show conformity to the rules of conduct as laid down in the edicts. The Emperor in his turn showed in accordance with the directions of Arthashastra (p. 409) reverence to men of all sects whether ascetics or householders by gifts and various forms of reverence and tried his best to help the growth of the essence of the matter in all sects (R.E. XII).

Attempts were made to bring the people who were outside the pale of Indian civilisation within the

cultural ambit of India but not by ruthless policy of Indianisation but by persuasion and other conciliatory measures. Thus Yavahas and Kambojas who with their peculiar society based on the economic division of employer (Arya) and Dasa (employee) were outside the pale of Indian civilization were sought to be brought into the fold of Indian civilization by imperial cultural missionaries. But fullest regard was shown to the susceptibilities of these peoples. An Indianised Greek named Dharmarakshita was engaged for the purpose of propaganda work amongst the Greeks and Kambojas (Mahavamsa) and Kharoshti script was adopted in royal inscriptions for these peoples. Finally in his thirteenth regnal year he created a new body of officers called Dharmamahamatras. These newly created Imperial officers were employed amongst the autonomous tribal states situated at different parts of India and were entrusted with the duty of securing allegiance

to the rules of conduct as laid down in the edicts and enforcing the principles of Indian jurisprudence in matters of judicial administration (R.E. V). Long roads were constructed to knit together the different parts of India, while the peoples of different parts were welded into one nation by a common code of social conduct, common principles of jurisprudence, common lingua franca in the shape of Purabi Prakrit, with an uniform policy with regard to foreign relation, defence and commerce and above all a paternal Emperor at the head—the symbol of national unity.

But the unity was such that local patriotism found a comfortable place within the embrace of larger national patriotism and as such the Maurya unity of India was more federal than unitary and its modern parallel to some extent is the British Commonwealth of nations.

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ON THE REORGANISATION OF THE PHILOSOPHY COURSES

By DR. P. T. RAJU, M.A., Ph.D. (Cal.), SASTRI

THE present state of the philosophical studies in India is agitating the minds of all concerned thinkers, both philosophers and educationists. We no longer find those first rate students, who used to take up philosophy for their studies. It is natural that subjects, where immediate returns are very high, should attract all first class men. We can therefore understand why medicine, engineering, technology and some of the sciences are so popular. But even in arts, many subjects for which there is no prospect of immediate returns and for which there is no provision in the high school classes are preferred to philosophy. One student told me that his parents said that it would be "beneath his dignity" to take up philosophy. What he actually meant by these words I did not understand. But we can roughly evaluate from them the attitude of students to philosophy. On further questioning that boy said: "What does it matter, Sir, whether God exists or not?"

We find not only good students are not coming to the department of philosophical studies, but also the number of philosophy students is gradually going down. At one time in Madras philosophy was the second most important of all the subjects, both arts and sciences combined. The first place was given to mathematics. The best students were allowed to take mathematics, the next best philosophy and so forth. There was naturally a rush for philosophy. Some of the best intellects went for it. There were philosophy graduates who came out successful in the I.C.S., F.C.S., and other competitive examinations. Had men the same contempt for philosophy, which most of the intelligent students now are showing for it, Indian philosophy would not have got even that much of recognition which it now has in the world.

This attitude to philosophy is evinced also by the way philosophical construction is viewed in India. All the world over except in India and some of the backward countries, philosophy is viewed as the outlook of the time unified into a system. As the outlook goes on changing and progressing, the systematisation also goes on changing and progressing. It is the duty of the think-

ers of every age and country to evaluate the general outlook of the time in terms of values commonly accepted as the highest and ultimate. This evaluation is not possible unless the outlook of the time is articulated into a system. It may also be felt that the recognised ultimate values need transvaluation. Hence philosophical reconstruction is the everlasting duty of all philosophers. Just as there can be no poet who cannot scribble a few verses, there should not be a philosopher who cannot systematise and evaluate the outlook of his time. Just as there are world-poets and poets of local importance, there will naturally be the distinction between world-philosophers and philosophers of the moment. The philosophy of the former will live for ever, but that of the latter will be forgotten. But unfortunately in India philosophical reconstruction is, to put it in modest terms, plainly discouraged. In spite of all that is said about creative work by some of our leading thinkers, they take little or no notice of any serious attempt at reconstruction; and the words, "our country is not much interested in it," when they drop from their lips, practically nip all reconstructive activity in the bud. And we begin to wonder whether it is the right of the Germans to give us philosophy and whether it is our duty to admire and accept it. Now and then one hears the question; "What is the use of the German philosophy for us?" Then what are we to do? Read and assimilate what the English say without being allowed by our own men to say anything? It appears that the philosopher in India has really nothing to do. If so, his species may become extinct. His work is no longer needed; he has no value.

What are the philosophers in India generally respected for? They are respected for their piety; they are supposed to be religious. They are treated as men of strong sentiments, far removed from the scientific outlook of the time, accepting many superstitions and swallowing ideas for which there is the least ground. The pity of it is that accordingly the Indian philosopher is tempted to develop his personality, and is trying to appear religious. In academical circles, when professors

of various departments meet, he offers some humour and enjoyment at the cost of his subject. That is, it is of little importance what sort of work the professor of philosophy does.

This is the state of philosophy now. It is no longer attracting good students; research in philosophy, that is, philosophical research as distinguished from the antiquarian, is not encouraged; and professors of philosophy are not treated as *vijnanis* but as *janis*, they are not treated as contributors to the sumtotal of world's knowledge, but are tolerated as pious and religious men, and are possibly allowed to hold appointments in our universities just as bullock and buffalo carts are still permitted to go along with motor cars and aeroplanes. Philosophy is not regarded as a socially useful subject, with the result that many colleges and universities are abolishing it.

What is the reason for this state of affairs? The first that suggests itself to me and that suggested itself to many others is the mistaken identification of philosophy and religion. One philosophy graduate, who travelled throughout Europe and saw what philosophy was in that continent and who, for all that, is a very religious man, sent round an anonymous letter pointing out the evils of this mistaken identification in India. Professor A. R. Wadia in an article entitled "And What is Philosophy?" drew the notice of the readers to the deplorable ignorance in India about the nature of philosophy. People tend with little thought to identify it with religion. The philosopher here is expected to be pious and religious; and to be pious and religious one has to be an orthodox Hindu, Muslim, Christian or Parsi. Now, the religious man is expected to take care of our souls after death; but as the universities are expected to take care of our minds and bodies in this life, philosophy is thought to be an extra-university subject. Probably for the same reason the Public Service Commissions give philosophy students all respect but keep them at a respectable distance from all appointments. I know of an advertisement for a teacher of geography in a high school and all including Telugu and physics students were asked to apply except philosophy students. The I.C.S. has indeed included some of the philosophy subjects for its examinations; but the Accounts, Police and the other services will have nothing to do with philosophy. It is probably felt that the Police Superintendents need no knowledge of human nature or psychology, social thought and ethics and that they need not be logical. A greater probability is that the question is never raised, after having identified philosophy and religion, what subjects are taught under philosophy. It is perhaps not commonly known that the philosopher can be one of the most astute of practical men, when once this false identification is not made. He can have that detachment which lends keenness to practical judgment. General Smuts, we read, used to carry Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* to the battle-field.

When it is said that the identification of philosophy and religion is false, atheism is not advocated. All men should be pious and God-fearing; they should be moral and truth-loving. All serious thinkers wish that every religion should turn philosophical, that it should press philosophy into its service. But we should not wish that philosophy should press religion into its service and prove its conclusions by taking the name of God instead of that of reason. Religion is just one of the subjects which philosophy studies, and it studies several other

subjects. Piety and orthodoxy should not pass for depth and width of thought.

I may probably be referred here to the statements of many philosophers, both of East and West, who tended to identify religion and philosophy. Hegel said that the subject-matter of both religion and philosophy was Truth in its wholeness. McTaggart thought that metaphysics naturally ended in mysticism. Sir S. Radhakrishnan in a recent speech said that politics was applied religion and I may be told that thereby he identified philosophy and religion. But we should not forget that the utterances of great men are not to be easily understood. Though Hegel maintains that both religion and philosophy deal with Truth, he goes on to make fine distinctions, and contends that religion studies Truth in one aspect and philosophy in another; and we should note that he gives philosophy a higher place than to religion. His philosophy includes all branches of knowledge of which religion is only one. In a sense similar to that in which he identifies philosophy and religion, we may identify science with both. Similarly, we may identify politics with economics, both with constitutional history, all with history, these again with the history of civilisation, that again with philosophy and so on. But this identification does not warrant our treating an economist as a historian, or a historian as a religious man. It shows only that the subjects are inter-related.

The very philosophy of his master, namely, Hegel, conflicts with McTaggart's assertion that philosophy should end in mysticism. It may or may not. So far as the present topic is concerned, the question may be left open. Even if it is admitted that philosophy ends in mysticism, it need not thereby be identified with religion. Philosophy is systematic thought which may lead to mysticism—which very fact means that it is not the same as mysticism.

Sir Radhakrishnan's assertion has to be carefully understood. It is true only in the case of intellectuals. His religion is religion understood intellectually. He could not have meant any institutional religion. But unfortunately in our everyday life religion which is not institutionalised is never taken to be religion. Neither English politics nor the Italian politics of Mussolini is applied Christianity. Or if one is, the other cannot be. In present-day India where religion is not understood in the sense of the rational uninstitutionalised religion, to treat politics as applied religion is dangerous. Further, there would be the undesirable consequence of accepting every religious man as a politician and a professor of politics. If we draw a distinction here, we have to do the same between religion and philosophy. It is desirable to treat politics as applied philosophy, and philosophy not as religion, but as systematised knowledge. It is true, there are a few saintly persons desirous of devoting their life to the cause of humanity, who have chosen politics as the field of their activity. But from these few instances we should not generalise.

Now, what is it that a religious man as such can do? Can he tell us how society is formed? Can he enlighten us about political and moral institutions? Can he train our rational nature? A religious man, if he is a professor of politics, logic, psychology, etc., may do all these. But is he expected to do these? It is enough if he has faith. But our universities are not meant to encourage mere faith, which in many cases is superstition. So many questions will be put when

once religion and philosophy are identified. In these days of democracy, when people ask the government to account for every pie they spend, questions will be raised about the usefulness of every subject taught in the universities. Society would be unwilling to spend money on subjects not socially useful. And when philosophy is identified with religion and as such is meant to encourage faith, neither the universities nor the government would be willing to encourage that subject. And as one who is supposed to know little or nothing about the world around him, the student of philosophy will hardly be employed either by the government or the local bodies.

Further, the usefulness of religion is more and more questioned now. Rightly or wrongly religion is considered to be a hindrance or even an enemy to social progress. The religious man is supposed to give the backward pull to all progress or at least to be an ineffectual spent-up force having nothing to do with anything that is of value in this world. In either case the identification of philosophy with religion has been done to the great disadvantage of the former.

It may perhaps be thought that I am speaking of religion in the popular sense and not in its true sense. But we should not forget that we are dealing with the religions of the world and not with the religion of the philosopher. Hoffding defines religion as faith 'in the conservation of values. But when the cry is raised that religion is in danger, when the priest, either Hindu, Christian or Muslim, says that people are becoming irreligious, it is never meant that faith in the conservation of values is in danger or that people are losing that faith. When a Hindu temple is destroyed faith in the conservation of values is not lost; so also when music is allowed before a mosque: We should not forget that religion is not based on reason, whereas philosophy is so based. Religion is a sentiment, which is, as McDougall says, structurally similar to a complex. Logic is the soul of philosophy; but sentiment, which is practically instinctive, is the soul of religion.

There is thus a large number of wrong notions about philosophy, the first of which is its identification with religion. There are professors who, when it is said that social philosophy, political thought, etc., have an ethical basis, think that these sciences ultimately preach asceticism, and say that all sciences which create hatred for life should be expelled from the universities. They do not know that these sciences have to do both with social urges and social ideals, and that a systematic understanding of these ideals constitutes ethics. Ethics has nothing particularly to do with asceticism. Gardner Murphy in his *Experimental Social Psychology* writes that men like Lenin, Tolstoy and Gandhi change human nature so much that it would be wrong for the psychologist to adopt merely the scientific inductive method in his investigations. That is, we cannot as easily arrive at fundamental and unchanging psychological laws at the level of human society as at the lower biological levels. This difficulty is due to the working of social ideals as distinct from social urges. That is why ethics is an indispensable part of all social subjects, but certainly not because it preaches asceticism.

Another reason for the unpopularity, as it has been already indicated, is the neglect of the subject by the Service Commissions. Probably that neglect is a consequence of these false notions. Not only from these

commissions but also from municipalities, district boards, the educational departments and local bodies and private employers the subject is receiving the same treatment.

We have given roughly six reasons for this state of affairs: (1) the identification of philosophy and religion, (2) the encouragement often given by professors of philosophy to this identification, (3) the feeling that religion is either socially dangerous or useless, (4) the growth of democracy and the demand by the people that all expenditure including that on universities should be socially useful, (5) wrong notions about the subjects taught in philosophy, and (6) bad treatment of the subject by the various service commissions.

But what is philosophy really? It is not necessary to tell philosophers what philosophy is. But I have to say that much which is of immediate concern. Philosophy organised to explain the world of our experience, not merely this or that part of our experience, but the birth, etc., of the world as a whole. This is true whether we take the earliest speculations of the Greek philosophers or of the Vedic Rishis. When religion took upon itself the task of explaining the world, philosophy, science and religion were identical. But either, when religion did not make this claim or when it overshot its mark by encroaching upon the sciences of nature, philosophy remained aloof or included religion also in its subject-matter. Anyway, the aim of philosophy has always been the presentation of a unified system of knowledge, which includes every branch of our experience. Consciously or unconsciously philosophy has been throughout the whole of its history strenuously aiming at this ideal. And now when departmentalisation or compartmentalisation has been carried to the extreme, some of the greatest scientists are themselves advocating that students should have width of outlook. Sir C. V. Raman, who was for a long time advocating that all subjects except physics and the other sciences should be abolished from the universities, recently advised students to get a unified knowledge of nature for the reason that nature is a unity. Otherwise, they cannot become men of culture. Their outlook will be narrow and their personality dwarfed. But how are we to have a unified knowledge of nature? If a student of physics attends classes in history, in mining and in psychology, he cannot have a unified knowledge of nature, though he will know of more things than what physics alone can teach. The methods for the unification of knowledge specially belong to philosophy. Modern logic as methodology, psychology as descriptive of human nature, and ethics as the science of human ideals, are particularly concerned with the final perspective of human experience. And philosophy as including all these is the science *par excellence* that systematically unifies all knowledge. Philosophy as such should really be an indispensable subject in every university that is to be a cultural centre.

But unified knowledge in this world is not a bare unit of knowledge or the knowledge of a bare unity. Knowledge is the knowledge of facts and of different kinds of facts, and unification is the unification of different branches of knowledge. We might have said that it is the knowledge of a bare unity when this unity was identified with God or the Brahman and we were told *yasmin vijñate sarvam idam vijñatam bhavati* (on knowing which everything is known). But we do not find that one who is God-conscious can give us laws

like the geological, biological and the physical or the methods by which these laws are obtained. Further, we want our universities to impart knowledge of these and similar laws; we no longer treat the universities as training centres for saints and ascetics. We want our universities to be training centres in *vijnana* (sciences and arts) and wish our ancient *asramas* to continue as training centres in *jñāna*. Our universities should be *asramas* only in so far as they preserve the atmosphere of purity, keeping corruption out of doors. For corruption, dishonesty, twisting of facts, and ignorance should have no place where the spirit of science and reason rules and is allowed to rule. That is, we want our universities to teach our students about facts, to train them in rationally understanding facts, to make them understand the ways of reason. Only then will the outlook of students become sufficiently wide, and their personalities complete.

To express the same in terms Indian. Philosophy or reflection belongs to the stage of *manāna*. *Manāna* is the process whereby the ideas learnt are brought into an apperceptive unity, and we have a system of philosophy. This *manāna* in ancient days was about facts concerning God, soul and immortality. But we now wish that our universities should train students in directing their *manāna* towards facts of nature and in building up a unified system of nature. Philosophy includes both kinds of *manāna*, both *jñāna* and *vijnana*, both knowledge of religion as a phenomenon and knowledge of nature. That is why it can give a unified system of knowledge. That is why it is incumbent on philosophy to train students in the methods of unifying knowledge. Professor Whitehead says in his *Aims of Education* that instead of king James' pronouncement "no bishops, no kings", we should say "no logic, no science" (p. 161). Logic is not exhausted in the classical syllogism, "All men are mortal, Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal," nor is it exhausted in the classification of terms and judgments, but covers as methodology the whole of experience. Similar is the case with metaphysics, psychology and ethics. "The justification for a university", says Whitehead, "is that it preserves the connection between knowledge and the zest for life" (p. 139 *Ibid.*). It is not the duty of the universities to impart knowledge which destroys the zest for life. Mahatma Gandhi also says: "Philosophy without life corresponding is like a body without life". In other words, logic, ethics, psychology and metaphysics are, as pure sciences, reason without life. They get back the zest for life only when they have something to reason about.

The distinction between pure and applied sciences is certainly relative, not absolute. We have pure and applied physics, pure and applied chemistry, pure and applied mathematics, etc. But these pure subjects are in their turn applied subjects so far as philosophy is concerned. Just as pure physics unifies all applied spheres, so philosophy unifies all branches of knowledge. This unifying function of philosophy is most clearly observable in the case of sciences dealing with facts at the human level. In the light of this argument, Mahatma Gandhi's assertion is most significant. He says: "I know in this land of ours we have enough philosophy but little life. But I know also that the laws governing the conduct of man have still to be explored and the condition of exploration is imperative and unalterable." We have enough philosophy in the past; yet the pity is that the laws governing the conduct of

man have still to be explored. And the Mahatma allots the task to the philosopher. That is, the emphasis must now be shifted from pure philosophy to applied philosophy. Philosophy should tell us more about human nature and human thought as manifested in concrete life. Then only will people realise the usefulness of the subject and the universities will be able to restore to it its original importance. Nor will it be neglected by the Services. Knowledge of human nature, human life, and the nature and function of human society will be as useful and necessary for an officer of the Police Service as for an officer of the Civil and other Services.

It is with this aim that we have to reconstitute our philosophy courses. Rightly or wrongly we have been giving more importance to pure philosophy, particularly to the theory of knowledge. Not only in the general subjects but also in the optionals our emphasis is laid on the pure side. There may be many principles on which the distinction between the general and optional subjects is based. But in philosophy this distinction should be between pure and applied philosophy, that is, between subjects which deal with general principles and those which offer material for the application of these principles. Again these two divisions must be well-balanced. That is, the number of general papers and that of the optionals should almost be equal. Taking the Indian conditions into consideration, the following scheme may be considered:

Logic, psychology and metaphysics are the pure and basic subjects of philosophy. Ethics also may be treated as a pure subject because it forms the foundation of important subjects like political theory, social philosophy, etc. But it may be treated as applied metaphysics also. Logic and psychology must be compulsory not only because they are fundamental but also because they are taught in the Intermediate class and will have to be taught in any other class corresponding to them, and for teaching them we have to supply teachers. For metaphysics, we have to retain European philosophy and Indian philosophy including Islamic philosophy. In every university Indian and Islamic philosophers should be combined and all philosophy students should read both. Thus we shall have four general papers: Logic, Psychology, History of European Philosophy, and Indian Philosophy including Islamic Philosophy. For M.A. and its corresponding B.A. Honours of some of the South Indian universities we have altogether eight papers of which one is an essay. If the essay is removed, we shall have four optionals or applied subjects: otherwise, there will be three. The optional subjects should consist of two groups, one group comprising (a) Social Philosophy, (b) Ethics, (c) Political Philosophy, (d) Philosophy of History, (e) Philosophy of Religion, (f) Aesthetics, (g) one of the Indian and Islamic Systems, etc., and the other group comprising (a) Social Psychology, (b) Educational Psychology, (c) Child Psychology, (d) Experimental Psychology, (e) Mental Tests, (f) Psychology of Religion etc. Every student should be advised to take at least one of his optional papers from each group and the rest from the other, so that a student who takes psychological optionals will not be lacking in the knowledge of theory, and a student who takes theoretical optionals will not be lacking in the psychological side. It may be asked whether specialisation in the general subjects will not be necessary. It is; but it may be left for the post-M.A. period, when the student does research.

So far as regards M.A. The B.A. courses also become a problem, particularly in the South Indian universities, where there is specialisation even from the lower classes, and philosophy is not taken along with other subjects. In these universities the student of philosophy has five subjects, Logic and Theory of Knowledge, Ethics, Psychology, European Philosophy with special reference to a particular Text, and Indian Philosophy with special reference to a particular Text. These syllabuses are unattractive and uninteresting, and from the standpoint we are now adopting, of little use. For the B.A. pass student, who has to study English, and second language, Logic and Theory of Knowledge would be either too taxing or it would have to be too short a course to have a beginning and end. The teaching of European and Indian Philosophy with reference to special texts, to students who are not expected to know the whole history and who are not taught the whole of the history even in the barest outline, results only in estranging them. The B.A. courses have therefore to be altered. My proposal is that the B.A. students should be allowed to take five of the following subjects: (a) History of European Philosophy as a Development of Thought, (b) History of Indian Philosophy (only in bare outline), (c) Ethics as a growth of moral thought, not as a metaphysic of morals, (d) Psychology, (e) Sociology, (f) History of Civilization, (g) History of Political Thought, etc. The last two subjects will enable a philosophy graduate to handle

even History in the high schools. After all history is not mere chronology but a continuous and progressive expression of human nature. Whatever theory of history we adopt, history is more than mere chronology, and the student of philosophy must be as capable of dealing with it as the student of pure history. The latter may be more acquainted with facts and their dates; but the former would be more at home in understanding their interconnections. Croce's identification of philosophy and history may be an extreme view, but not without truth. It is not meant that philosophy will displace history, but only that in at least the lower classes the student of philosophy can handle history classes.

It will not be enough to reorganise the philosophy courses in order to bring back to philosophy its former prestige. The country at large should understand that the philosopher is not merely a religious man, and that the educational institutions no longer view philosophy as a subject of only religious interest. The Public Service Commission should be persuaded to include as many of the philosophy subjects as possible in its examinations, so that people may feel that it is recognised by the Government also as a socially useful subject. The Inter-University Board should recommend to the universities to so alter the philosophy courses as to make the subject socially useful. It should be a cultural subject *par excellence* and not merely one in which the men of religion alone are interested.

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ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

By PROF. K. K. GAJRIA

THE word "Planning" has acquired great importance in the twentieth century, specially in its second quarter, commencing with the post-war period (after World War I). It has become the creed of, even an article of faith, with economists and politicians throughout the world—in England, U.S.A., Canada, Australia, France and India. Ever since the success of the three Five Years' Plans of Soviet Russia, planning has been regarded as a panacea for all the 'economic ailments' from which the world suffers. The era of *laissez-faire* has ended, and it has been substituted by an era of "Planned Economy". Before the last great World War, planning was confined only to a few items of national life like labour-welfare, slum-clearance and construction of healthy houses for factory workers, and systematic tackling of the problems of unemployment. The present post-war period, however, has seen the development of "Planned Economy", which is much more comprehensive, embracing almost all the aspects of national life.

In our country, also, during the last two or three years, there has been a good deal of talk regarding planning. Even capitalist industrialists and foremost businessmen, who are, generally, strict adherents to the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, have started paying their homage to the doctrine of "Planned Economy". In India, Sir M. Visvesvaraya was, perhaps, the first man to devote himself wholeheartedly to the task of economic planning on Western lines. In his famous book *A Planned Economy for India*, he laid down a

detailed Ten-year Plan, with the sole object of improving and modernising agriculture, industries, trade and transport, with a view to raise the 'per capita' income, and consequently bring about a substantial rise in the low standard of living of the people of India. Then the Congress National Planning Committee was formed, with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its President, and Prof. K. T. Shah as its General Secretary. The National Planning Committee addressed itself to the task of preparing a systematic and comprehensive plan for the economic upliftment of the people of India. However, we all know, that the work of the Committee was, unfortunately, interrupted by India being involved in the Second World War, without its accredited representatives being consulted and the consequent resignation of the Congress Ministries in the seven Provinces of India on the question of the clarification of the "war-aims" of the Allies. To a certain extent, Prof. K. T. Shah is privately continuing the work, which the Congress Planning Committee was compelled to leave unfinished. In India, recently, a number of plans have been prepared by the Governments of various Provinces, as also by the Central Government. So far as the Provincial Governments are concerned, they aim at "Rural Reconstruction," and improvement and rehabilitation of those villages in particular, which have sent large numbers of recruits to the various theatres of war. So far as the plans set forth by the various "Post-War Recon-

truction Committees," appointed by the Government, are concerned, their main object is to divert the attention of the people from the present atmosphere of bitterness and frustration; even the fact of the coming of the Labour Ministry into office, in Great Britain, has not succeeded in removing entirely these feelings of bitterness and disappointment. Many of these plans and brochures have been prepared by Dr. Gregory, the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, e.g., "Post-War Trade Policy", "Indian Monetary Policy in the Post-War Period", "Localisation of Industries", etc. But the less said about these Government plans the better. Their main idea seems to be to find out ways and means of enabling the people of England, to improve their standard of living, at the cost of the masses in India. We have a strong suspicion in our mind that "Delhi is furiously planning for England and not for India." Such economic plans, drawn up by the Government of India, are only meant to by-pass and side-track the fundamental issue of Indian Independence. Besides these a number of committees are busy tackling problems of Trade and Transport, Education and several other problems. These piece-meal and compartmental plans, drawn up without a wider vision of planning as a whole, will hardly succeed in offering a clear and effective solution of our fundamental problem—the problem of poverty. A number of prominent businessmen of our country have, also, put forward their own plan, popularly known as the Bombay Plan. Unfortunately, this plan of the Industrialists was placed before the public, at a time when the nationalist voice of India was gagged and strangled. The leaders of the people, at that time, were behind the prison-bars, and dark clouds had gathered thick on the political horizon of India. Of course, we should not question the sincerity and patriotism of these eminent businessmen. Recently, Mr. M. N. Roy's Radical Democratic Party has, also, prepared its own plan. The last two plans, which are the only unofficial plans, recently placed before the public, have failed to take into account the special cultural and sociological foundations on which true economic planning must be based. Principal S. N. Agarwal of the Wardha College of Commerce has, also, a few months back, published his "Gandhian Plan", in which he advocates the evolution of well-organized and powerful village communities, based on the principle of self-sufficiency.

In this article, I propose to discuss, at some length, the last three plans—the Bombay Plan, the People's Plan and the Gandhian Plan. But, before I do that, I must define the underlying principles of "Planning" in general.

According to Prof. G. D. H. Cole, the famous English economists, the principle should be, "to resort to a form of 'Planned Economy' which will take as the guiding principles of its activity the full utilization of the available productive resources, and the planned distribution of incomes, so as to promote the standards of consumption most consistent with common welfare." (*Principles of Economic Planning* by G. D. H. Cole). According to Prof. Aldous Huxley, one of the greatest thinkers of our time, the test of good planning is, "Whether it will help to transform the society to which it is applied into a just, peaceful, moral and intellectual progressive community of non-attached and responsible men and women." (*Ends and Means* by Aldous Huxley). Principal Agarwal refers in his *Gandhian Plan*

to the three "People's Principles", adumbrated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, which should be the guiding principles of planning in every country—Nationalism, Democracy and Livelihood.

In India, our planning should be based on the indigenous culture and civilization of the nation, and should be in the nature of spontaneous growth, and not an ill-fitting, super-imposed external thing. Secondly, our planning should not deprive the masses of their liberty in the economic, political and social spheres of life; nor should planning be permitted to lead to excessive regimentation and minute state control, as in Russia and some Fascist countries. The third principle of planning should be that every citizen should be provided with reasonable opportunities of earning his or her livelihood by just and honourable means.

Having disposed of the question of the correct principles and aims of planning, I pass on to the examination of the important features of the Bombay Plan, prepared by Sir Purushottamdas and other industrialists. The Bombay Plan is, essentially, a capitalist plan on Western lines. It aims at raising the standard of living of the people of India by doubling the 'per capita' income within a period of fifteen years (on the basis of the present population, the aim is, to treble the 'per capita' income; but taking into consideration the increase in population, during this period of fifteen years, at the rate of 50 lacs per year, the net result will be to double the income). The plan pre-supposes a National Government and the political unity of India. It tackles almost all the economic and industrial problems, viz., those of agriculture, manufacturing industries (large-scale as well as cottage industries), trade and transport, education, housing, etc. It proposes to raise the output of agriculture to twice the present figure and of industry to five times the present output. It aims, mostly at the establishment of basic or key industries, producing capital goods. Provision is also made, to a certain extent, for the production of consumption goods. The plan proposes to make the fullest possible use of cottage and small-scale industries, but does not supply any details about them. It also points out that for raising the standard of living of the masses, specially in rural areas, provision should be made for sanitation and water-supply. In the towns as well as in the villages, dispensaries, general hospitals, maternity clinics, as also special hospitals, for dealing with diseases like leprosy, tuberculosis, cancer, etc., will be provided. The total cost of Health and Medical Services would be Rs. 281 crores non-recurring and 185 crores recurring. The plan also contemplates a recurring expenditure on Primary Education at the rate of Rs. 90 crores per year. The planners also want an increase of 21,000 miles in railways and 300,000 miles in roads, and want provision to be made for the construction of more harbours. The total requirements of the plan would amount to Rs. 10,000 crores, distributed as follows:

In crores of Rupees			
Industry	..	..	4,480
Agriculture	..	..	1,240
Communications	..	..	940
Education	..	..	490
Housing	..	..	2,200
Health	..	..	450
Miscellaneous	..	..	200
Total			10,000

In order to meet this colossal expenditure, money is to be raised from the following sources :

A. External Finance *In crores of Rupees*

Hoarded Wealth	.. ..	300
Sterling Securities	.. ..	1,000
Balance of Trade (favourable)	.. ..	600
Foreign Borrowing	.. ..	700

Total 2,600

B. Internal Finance

Savings	.. ..	4,000
"Created Money"	.. ..	3,400

Total 7,400

Grand total 10,000

The Bombay Plan is, no doubt, an ambitious plan, and it has been criticised in many quarters. It is said that the Plan aims at making the "rich richer" and the "poor poorer." This to me appears to be a hasty judgment. The *Economist* of London has described it as "putting the cart before the horse." According to that paper, agriculture should be developed first and industries and trade afterwards—of course, to suit the convenience of British industrial and commercial magnates. The proposal of the planners to raise Rs. 3,400 crores through the medium of "Created Money" will certainly lead to "Inflation" with all its accompanying evils.

After the "Bombay Plan", comes the "People's Plan." This plan, unlike the Bombay Plan, is based on socialistic principles. The sponsors of this plan think that production for well-being cannot be planned on the basis of private enterprise, guided by the profit motive. In regard to industries in which private capital has been invested, such capital shall be entitled to a fixed minimum revenue of 3 per cent, guaranteed by the Government. According to this plan, many "Instruments of Production," including "Land" will have to be nationalised and rural indebtedness will have to be liquidated fully. The concrete aim of the People's Plan is, "to provide for the satisfaction of the basic needs of the people, within a period of ten years, in respect of food, clothing, shelter, education and health." The authors of the plan pre-suppose that the future Indian State will be a real democracy, composed of autonomous republics, owning the land and mineral resources and controlling the heavy industries and banks. There will be free and compulsory education, co-operative agriculture, and a standard of living guaranteed by a minimum scale of wages.

The plan, when in full swing, is estimated to cost 15,000 crores of rupees. The detailed expenditure proposed by the authors of the plan is as follows :

In crores of Rupees

Agriculture	.. ..	2,950
Basic or Key Industries	.. ..	2,600
Industries producing Consumers' goods	.. ..	3,000
Communications	.. ..	1,500
Education	.. ..	1,040
Housing	.. ..	3,150
Health	.. ..	760

Total 15,000

The total finance of Rs. 15,000 crores needed for the execution of the plan will be raised from the following sources :

In crores of Rupees

Sterling Balances 450

(Although our accumulated sterling balances are over Rs. 1,000 crores, the authors think, the whole amount may not be available immediately.)

Socialistic Taxes like Estate Duty, Inheritance Tax, Death Duties, etc. 810

Income from nationalised land in the pre-first year of the plan 90

Income from agriculture for re-investment during the period of the plan 10,816

Income from industries for re-investment during the period of the plan 2,834

Total 15,000

The People's Plan is, certainly, more ambitious than the Capitalists' Plan (Bombay Plan). The latter proposes an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores, spread over a period of 15 years, while the former involves an expenditure of Rs. 15,000 crores during a ten-year period. The plan, it appears to me, is not practicable, although quite desirable. It presupposes or postulates certain things for its successful working, which are difficult of realisation in the near future, e.g., conversion of a "capitalist economy" into a full-fledged "Socialist Economy", involving the nationalisation of almost all the important "Instruments of Production". It is doubtful (although very desirable) whether India will succeed in establishing a genuinely democratic Government, working on "Socialistic Principles", in the immediate future.

Now, I pass on to the consideration of "The Gandhian Plan", prepared by Principal Agarwal of the Wardha College of Commerce. This plan is entirely different from the other plans of economic development, prepared by different bodies, and placed before the country. It is based on certain ideas and ideals, which are the peculiar and unique contribution of Mahatma Gandhi to the economic thought of the present generation. The plan, for its successful working, will require a band of selfless social workers, animated by the single idea of social service, and fired by unflinching determination and burning patriotism, with unwavering faith in the new ideology. The aim of the Gandhian Plan is, to evolve a programme, which will be eminently suitable to the people of a poor country, 90 per cent of whom are engaged in agriculture and allied industries. The Gandhian Plan stands for production by masses on a small-scale and decentralised basis, as contrasted with mass-production on a large-scale and centralised basis. This plan attaches the greatest possible importance to the welfare of the people living in the villages, and, therefore, puts the greatest emphasis on the scientific development of agriculture and the subsidiary cottage industries. "The chief objective of the plan is, to raise the material as well as the cultural level of the Indian masses to a basic standard of life, within a period of ten years." Principal Agarwal defines the "Basic Standard" as follows :

"A decent and basic standard of material and cultural welfare connotes the availability of all the basic necessities of life together with the minimum comforts. They are:

(i) Balanced and health-giving food containing the necessary proteins, carbo-hydrates, fats, minerals and vitamins.

(ii) Clothing sufficient for the protection of body from the inclemencies of weather.

(iii) Housing accommodation of 100 square-feet for each individual.

(iv) Free and compulsory basic education for every boy and girl of school-going age, and a working knowledge of reading and writing for every male and female adult.

(v) Medical facilities—every individual should have an easy access to a fairly well-equipped dispensary or hospital. Women should have adequate provision for Maternity Clinics.

(vi) Public Utility Services for all citizens, like Postal, Banking and Insurance facilities.

(vii) Recreational facilities, specially in rural areas, like playgrounds, folk-dances, indigenous theatres and Bhajan-mandals." (*The Gandhian Plan*, page 54.)

The plan makes detailed recommendations for the complete overhauling of almost all the aspects of our economic life—agriculture, industries allied to agriculture, cottage industries, basic industries, public utilities, transport and communications, public health, education (primary, secondary, university and adult education), statistics and research, trade and distribution, distribution of population between rural and urban areas, labour welfare, international trade, public finance, taxation, currency and exchange, and general administration. Within the compass of a short article, it will not be possible for me to deal separately with each one of these economic problems. The readers, however, are earnestly requested to read the full plan (published by the Padma Publications, Lakshmi Building, Pheroze Shah Mehta Road, Fort Bombay).

For the purpose of putting the plan into execution, the total amount of expenditure on different items would be as follows :

	<i>In crores of Rupees</i>	
	Non-recurring	Recurring (annual)
Agriculture	1,175	40
Rural Industries	350	—
Large-scale & Key Industries	1,000	—
Transport	400	15
Public Health	260	45
Education	295	100
Research	20	—
Total	3,500	200

The non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 3,500 crores would be met from the following sources :

	<i>In crores of Rupees</i>
Internal borrowing	2,000
"Created Money"	1,000
Taxation	500
Total	3,500

The author rightly points out the futility of depending upon our accumulated sterling balances (that is the reason why he has not included it in the sources of finance for meeting the expenditure, which the execution of the plan will involve), because Great Britain, even under the Labour Government, will not like to pay off this huge debt to India, payment of which, to a certain extent, will dislocate the economic life of the people of England. The *Economist* of London has remotely hinted that the debt be repudiated.

So far as the recurring expenditure is concerned, it will be met out of the additional income from the state-owned basic industries, public utility services, communications and irrigation.

To me, at least, the superiority of the Gandhian Plan over the other two plans, the Bombay Plan and the People's Plan, appears to be unmistakable. The chief advantage of this plan is, that it springs from the indigenous soil, and takes into full account the cultural and sociological background of the country, and its people. Thus, it is in the nature of an organic and spontaneous growth. It realises that India is, primarily, a country of villages, and not cities and towns—there are about 7 lacs of villages in India, and only about 40 towns of the Western standard with a population of a lac and above. Its emphasis on decentralised cottage industrialism, based on self-sufficient village communities is, thus, fully justified. Of course, its estimates of income and expenditure are not as ambitious as those of the other two plans. We must, however, realise that India is a poor country, and in planning, we cannot afford to imitate the rich and advanced countries of the West, many of which possess milch-cows, in the shape of colonies, which they exploit to the best of their ability.

The preparation of these plans is a healthy sign, because, it shows that Indians have started taking some interest in the economic problems, that confront their country. The one good thing,—perhaps, the only good thing—that war has brought to us is, that it has compelled us to shake off our age-old lethargy, and take keen interest in economic problems. With the establishment of National Government at the Centre, and functioning of Popular Ministries in the Provinces, and with the appointment of Planning Committees (consisting of experts), enjoying the confidence of the people, it is hoped, the time will soon come, when India will succeed in becoming the leading country of the East, and take its proper place in the comity of nations.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST: By Dr. R. C. Majumdar. General Printers & Publishers Ltd., Calcutta, 1944. Pp. 242 with 20 plates. Price not stated.

This work has been planned by the author as "a popular handbook" dealing with the subject-matter of his long-projected and partly published series of five volumes on *The History of Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*. It is also intended to provide a suitable text-book for the under-graduate courses of Indian Universities recently introducing the subject in their curriculum. Some objection may be taken to the term 'Far East' (evidently copied from such titles as 'The French School of the Far East') applied by an Indian author to the countries of south-eastern Asia comprised within the scope of this volume. But otherwise the work adequately fulfils the modest aims with which it has been written. It consists of five parts, of which the first gives an introductory survey of the subject, while the other parts deal successively with the Malay Peninsula along with the adjoining islands (called *Suvarnadwipa* in ancient times), Champa, Kambuja, and Burma along with Siam. In each part a brief but adequate account of the political history is followed by short but well-written notices of the culture of the land under such headings as Society, Religion, Literature and Art. A good Index and a series of twenty plates (of which however only one apiece is assigned to Burma and Siam) bring this useful volume to a close.

We have noticed a number of slips which may be corrected in a later edition. On p. 9 a story is quoted from the *Brihatkatha* which, however, is a lost work except in so far as its contents were utilised in later works like Kshemendra's *Brihatkatha-manjari* and Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara*. On p. 12 in connection with the story of Vijaya's colonisation of Ceylon, he is definitely described as "a Bengali prince", although Lala, the homeland of Vijaya, has sometimes been identified with Lata (South Gujarat). On p. 216 Dr. Bode, the well-known authoress of the work called *Pali Literature of Burma*, is quoted in the masculine gender. The want of maps and genealogical tables cannot but very much be regretted.

C. U. N. GHOSHAL

YOUR FOOD: By M. R. Masani. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1944. Pages 82. Price Rs. 2-8.

Literature on nutritional subjects has been steadily growing since the disaster of the Bengal Famine and the epidemics that followed in its train exposed the horrible state of public health in this country. Mr. Masani, who is a well-known leftist writer, and has now joined the Public Relations Department of Tatas, has written this first of a series of publications which Tatas are sponsoring in order to stimulate public interest in some of the most vital problems of the day. Mr. Masani has performed his task with remarkable success and has

produced a booklet of 82 pages which is at once rich in information and lucid in exposition. It would indeed be a good idea to translate this book into the major vernaculars in the interest of wider publicity.

The author has explained in very simple language what ought to constitute your food and how to eat it. The complexities of the physiological processes concerned with the assimilation of food as well as the biology and chemistry of food have been dealt with in a manner which the layman can easily grasp. Some critics may say that to talk of balanced diet and classification of vitamins in a country where the vast majority exist on the margin of starvation is but a cruel mockery. The author, however, anticipates this criticism, and concedes that it is really poverty that is mainly responsible for our food deficiencies. "The prime cause of half-empty stomachs is half-empty pockets." Recent research has shown that the quantity and quality of food improves automatically with a rise in income, and any national campaign designed to fight for the abolition of poverty must have its beneficial repercussions on the twin problems of nutrition and public health.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE MOVING FINGER. (Kiranavali No. 2): Edited by V. N. Bhasan. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 276. Price Rs. 8. Foreign ten shillings.

The Moving Finger quickly follows in the wake of its sister volume *The Peacock Lute*. It is an anthology of essays in literary and aesthetic criticism written in English by Indian writers, and is a second laudable venture into the unexplored regions of Indo-English literature. It redounds greatly to the credit of the editor, himself a versatile writer and scholar, that he has successfully anthologised a vast body of aesthetic and literary criticism much of which lay scattered in the forgotten pages of journals and not an insignificant part of which was extant only in MSS. A learned introductory essay dealing with the nature and function of criticism and an exhaustive and painstaking bibliography at the end, make the book exceptionally useful.

India's contribution to English criticism is not small. Prolonged study of English language and literature has substantially contributed to the growth of Indo-English criticism, which, though a little over a century old, has sufficiently proved its worth and originality. Workers in this field are mostly educationists, many of whom are distinguished scholars and have earned high reputation, at home and abroad for their originality and erudition. The present volume represents besides Sri Aurobinda and Tagore who are much more than scholars, such distinguished men as Dr. M. M. Bhattacharya, Dr. S. N. Roy, Dr. I. H. Zuberi, Dr. P. E. Dustoor, Dr. Sukumar Dutta, Dr. U. C. Nag, Prof. H. Kabir, and a number of distinguished scholars and critics. The selection of essays is on the whole representative, some of which see the light of the day herein for the first time. But the book is not as comprehensive

as it might have been and the omission of such scholars as Drs. S. Banerjee, S. C. Sen Gupta, A. Chakravarty, Prof. Siddhanta, and similar others might have been rightly avoided. A short sketch of the life of the author in the beginning of each essay is a praiseworthy feature of the book. Paper, printing and get-up are excellent.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

BUSINESS BUILDER : By K. M. Banerjee. Industry Publishers Ltd., 22, R. G. Kar Road, Calcutta. Pages 230. Price Rs. 4.

In this book of 31 chapters the author discusses the science and art of business from various points of view. Business is a highly technical subject and in modern times only men with education and experience with a determination to win can be successful. The idea that business is for those who could not do well in schools and colleges is no longer tenable. Business is a kind of service for which the businessman is paid the remuneration and it is no chance gain. The best school for learning business is the school of life. In the opinion of the author success in business is not at all due to chance as it is ordinarily understood. Business habit is to be built up in the individuals and nations in this modern world of competition. Honesty is the mainstay of business and many obstacles, both inside and outside, are to be surmounted before success is achieved.

The book has been written in a lucid style by a person who is competent to discuss the subject in all its aspects and with authority and as such it will be a helpful study to young men who aspire to be or are already in business. Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose has written an introduction to this book.

A. B. DUTTA

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

EPIGRAPHICAL ECHOES OF KALIDASA : By C. Sivaramamurti, M.A., Curator, Archaeological Section, Government Museum, Madras. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of South India*, No. 1. Thompson & Co., Ltd. Publishers, 33, Broadway, Madras. Crown 16. mo. xvi + 104. Price Rs. 3-8 or 5 sh.

This is an interesting treatise showing with copious illustrations how epigraphic records in different parts of India bear traces of influence of various well-known poets, especially of Kalidasa. It is noticed that not only numerous terms and expressions but even a number of verses of older poets are found intact in the epigraphs. There are also ideological similarities and parallelisms. It is true that scholars like Kielhorn drew attention to a number of stray instances of this type of indebtedness of authors of epigraphic records to earlier and better known poets but here we have a detailed and almost a comprehensive account of the subject. The work bears traces of the hard labour and keen observation of the learned author. This is a valuable supplement to the author's earlier dissertation entitled *Sculpture inspired by Kalidasa* (reviewed in these pages in August, 1943) which sought to demonstrate the influence of Kalidasa's pen-pictures on the sculptural remains of old India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

SAMAYIKI : By Shri Shantipriya Dwivedi. Gian Mandal Limited, Kashi, U.P. Pp. 304 plus Index. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a collection of literary essays about some of our contemporary men and matters. The author, who is a distinguished scholar and critic, has dealt with these in a manner that is at once crisp, concise and cogent. His cameos of the character of Gandhiji, Rabindranath and

Pandit Jawaharlal are lanterns, reflecting the glory or greatness that is in them. His assessment of the trends of the modern age or ethos, with special reference to their impact on literature, in general, and Hindi literature in particular, and of the 'place' of the present-day representatives of the latter, is underlined with exceptional insight. The spirit is that of a man of faith, while the style is that of a man of fact; though, now and again, his faith (and who said, all faith, in a sense, is blind?) in the set of certain values, that goes by the name of Gandhism, overrides the testimony of fact. Maybe, it is the nature of Religion to be above or outside the range of reason, as such. Dwivediji has succeeded remarkably, on the whole, in holding up a mirror to the mind and mettle of the Indian writer and student of affairs of to-day, confused as the latter is so often in the maelstrom of ideologies and ideals. Had he made his apparatus of expression, at places, a little less overlaid with certain exotic words and phrases, the beauty of his epigrams and idioms would not have been, alas! changed into the bewilderment of enigmas. This does not, however, detract in any way from the brilliance and breadth of his book, the reading of which has been sheer joy. *Samayiki* is not only the ivory-tower of the literary artist, but it is also the watch-tower of the well-wisher of humanity. The get-up and printing are excellent.

G. M.

GUJARATI

RACHANATMAK KARYYAKRAM : By M. K. Gandhi. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Third Edition, 1945. Pp. 32. Price three annas.

We hear so much of 'constructive programme' and here the whole thing is in a nut-shell, in a handy form for the lay reader as well as for the avowed follower of Gandhism. The programme need be considered comprehensively as a whole in all its items, and to do that the reader requires such a booklet by his side. Shri Shukla has earned thanks of the Gujarati-reading public by producing the Gujarati version of the programme. It should be immediately translated into the other modern Indian languages.

P. R. SEN

HEM SAMIKSHA : By Madhusudan C. Mody, M.A., LL.B. Printed at the Nav-prabhat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 357. Price Rs. 2-8.

Hemchandra was the greatest Gujarati scholar of the time when he lived during the reigns of Siddharaj and Kumarpal, in the Twelfth Vikram Era. He represented the high water mark of the scholarship of Jain Sadhus in Gujarat and the works he has left behind him in almost all branches of Literature, Grammar, Lexicon, History, Alankar, Biography and other subjects are still the source of inspiration to scholars. Mr. Mody has reviewed them all in a way, which shows how deep and critical his study of this subject has been. Every view or observation of his he has supported with proofs, and quoted chapter and verse for it in the original, be it Sanskrit, Ardha Magadhi or Deshya. He has been very modest in putting forward his views; and he has done his work in such a way as to disarm criticism. Even those persons who have not read the original texts of the Acharya's works are able to follow Mr. Mody's observations, because he has taken care to see that the reader first gets acquainted with the text to which his observations refer or apply. It is a model work of its kind.

K. M. J.



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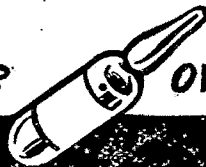
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What Price Racial Hate ?

Even-handed justice has to recognise all men as brothers and act accordingly. If the next great world-strife is to be avoided the principle of Universal Brotherhood must be applied *in actu* and not receive any lip-service. Paul Eldridge observes in *The Aryan Path* :

Many are the ramparts and many the barricades, but none so formidable as those of race and hate of race. They are thick and high and studded with broken glass and sharp nails and wires which burn and kill. And slow and bloody indeed is the passage of the caravan of progress encountering them.

How long shall man be his own torturer ? How many cataracts of blood must he watch rush into the river of time, how much devastation and carnage must he witness, before he accepts the law inexorable that evil flows back to swell its source and that injustice is the gibbet from which the judges swing ?

America brought a handful of frightened blacks from Africa and made them slaves. Not all the pompous chatter of all her pious pundits could erase the wrong which, like all wrongs, evil flowers of the jungle, grew luxuriantly and the day came when America, rent in two, waged a horrible war, and the blood and the fire purified her for a while. But now, the same blacks—millions in number—once again are treated as inferior beings, badgered and dishonoured and segregated like unclean animals.

Unless America proclaims, not by futile sounds out of idle mouths, but by deep feeling in the heart and deep understanding in the mind, the absolute equality of all human beings—unless she says, and upon her honour means it, "What difference does it make that a man's skin is black or white or brown ? Each man shall be judged by himself alone, his own worth and his own demerits"—and unless she acts upon that affirmation swiftly and unequivocally, it is as certain as the eternal pulsation of the seas that America shall once again wade in her own blood and be scorched by flames.

For centuries Great Britain has enslaved India—a continent—where languages were born and religions found root and blossom; where splendour and glory dazzled and art and wisdom thrived. Unless Great Britain renounces forever the ignominious slogan "the white man's burden," by which she seeks to prove that India is incapable of ruling herself; unless she ceases to promulgate the evil lie that "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," by which she saves her conscience for the dissensions she causes and the injustices, her own shores shall surely be ravaged by dissensions and injustices, for they are as contagious as and spread like cholera and the bubonic plague.

And unless most of the nations of the Western world, small and great, cease to hound and torment another ancient people because it cherishes its own faith and will not forget its magnificent and tragic history; and unless the gates to its home in Palestine are thrown open, the scourge of war shall again whip the Earth—perhaps even before the debris of the

present war has been cleared and the stench of the holocaust has disappeared. For they who ride upon scapegoats ride into the fire.

And so with every injustice and every tyranny perpetrated by race against race anywhere upon the globe. Pyramidal is the cost of hate.

Tagore's Analysis of Hindu-Moslem Relations

It is true that there was a time when India was the meeting-ground of various races. It did not breed conflict. In the course of his discussion of Tagore's analysis of Hindu-Muslim relations Sachin Sen observes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

"Peace is true and not conflict, Love is true and not hatred; and Truth is the One, not the disjointed multitude"—this sums up the contents of Rabindranath Tagore's religion, his approach to life and to life's problems. No one was more anxious to proclaim that there was need for happy understanding between man and man and that there was need for unity based on this happy understanding. Ancient India, prayed for real unity, not a parody of unity manufactured in the political or social machine. That prayer must be uttered to-day not in a full-throated voice but in thought and action; that prayer for unity should cleanse our minds, remove all weaknesses that stand in the way. It is the basic postulate of Tagore's philosophy that if there is a deviation from the right conduct of life in man's work for his own self or for the family or for the country, God will not forgive him. We shall have to atone for all the misdeeds even if they are resorted to achieve a noble end. The doctrine of the end justifying the means makes no appeal to Tagore. There is no short-cut to noble work. That was why Rabindranath Tagore treated the Hindu-Moslem problem as essentially one to be solved mainly by our own efforts and principally through mutual understanding. The problem, in his view, touches on the weaknesses of our psychological make-up and social organisation.

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KAVIRAJ BIRENDRA MALLICK, B.Sc.,
Ayurved Baijnani Hall, Kalna (Bengal)

Tagore did not believe in the efficacy of the doctrine that Hindu-Moslem differences were to be composed merely for the sake of political statecraft.

"To me the mere political necessity is unimportant; it is for the sake of our humanity, for the full growth of our soul, that we turn our mind towards the ideal of the spiritual unity of men." So Tagore laid special stress on the strength of Hindu-Moslem friendship and observed:

"Let us announce to the world that the light of the morning has come, not for entrenching ourselves behind barriers but for meeting in mutual understanding and trust on the common field of co-operation; never for nourishing a spirit of rejection but for that glad acceptance which constantly carries in itself the giving out of the best that we have."

The vision of India at peace, growing in fullness of heart but not crippled by any differences, was the contribution of Rabindranath. A nation infected by international dissensions is like a building whose mortar has been changed to sand. It stands precariously; so we are to keep ourselves straight and erect first. In our weakness lies the strength of the British. Tagore did not seem to believe in the theory that we should be in a position to heal our differences, if we would get self-rule first. He believed that self-rule would never be a gift, and as such we could never wrest an inch of right, unless we would compose our differences. The virtues which are necessary in a fight with the alien ruler can never be cultivated if we allow our differences to grow in volume.

Attainment of freedom is not a child's play—so it can never be had by mere patchwork.

In a period of epidemic, there is no good discussing the abstract principles of sanitation. Rabindranath did not support the idea of shirking the problem. He asked us to face it boldly and straightly, and we sensitive people are always shy at straight talks. Our politicians have been trained in the game of bluff, as a result of which the most important problem remains unsolved. The Poet has incurred the wrath of those politicians who are ready to welcome everything except truth, because they trade on lies. Rabindranath told nothing but truth, when he discussed the "Way to Unity":

"The true way to maintain a harmonious unity is by according due respect to the true distinctness of the different parts. The artificial consolidation of the mangled in spirit, the crippled in life, the dependent and the hard-pressed can only remain a jumble of incongruent parts. At the period of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, we experienced a desire to make the Moslems one with ourselves but we did not succeed in doing so. Doubtless a coalition with them would have been very convenient for it to be feasible. If there are differences between Hindu and Moslem which are real, they cannot be spirited away by jugglery. If in our anxiety to secure some convenience, we ignore the facts, the facts will ignore our convenience. We failed because the invitation which we extended to the Moslem was for serving a purpose, not because it was inevitable, as is the invitation of mutual good feeling in common service . . . Peace between the two sections of the population can only be had either through apathy and forgetfulness or through fear of foreign rule and common hatred against it. They may form an alliance for some such immediate object of mutual self-interest but these alliances like political alliances between countries are not only transitory but in constant danger of ending in violent reaction."

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The End of War

The National Christian Council Review observes :

To every one the end of this greatest and most destructive war in history has brought a feeling of relief.

But the end of the war will not be the end of the world's troubles. In fact it marks the beginning of new and no less complex ones. Peace will bring no easy solution of our many problems, political, social and economic. Now that the war has been won, we should also win the peace which, in many ways, may be a very much more difficult matter.

Japan's surrender raises many problems in the East. The position and influence of Soviet Russia in the Far East, the possibility of a Civil War in China, the political aspirations of the subject peoples of the East, the hatred and animosity of a defeated nation—these and other problems presented by the cessation of hostilities will not be easily or quickly solved, but will make heavy calls on those in positions of authority. If they fail, they will betray not only those who look up to them and support them but also the greater cause of humanity.

The title of this editorial *The End of War* has been deliberately chosen to express a wish and a hope rather than a fact. The Charter of Peace and Security has been signed by representatives of 50 nations. The objects of this Charter do not differ much from the old Covenant of the League of Nations with which the world was presented after World War I. It is in regard to organization and methods of work that differences arise between the old and the new. There is to be a General Assembly, consisting of a representative of each of the United Nations. The pivot of the new organization is the Security Council of 11 members, and it is this Council that will look after the maintenance of the peace of the world, devise ways and means to prevent the breach of it and punish those who break it. The sanction of force for the decisions of the Security Council is what distinguishes it from the old League of Nations. The future of peace will therefore depend largely upon how this Council works or is worked.

The mere creation of a machine for peace will not suffice. Behind the machinery of peace, there must be the will for peace.

We must know how to use the machine for the ends of peace. There must be a new spirit—the spirit of peace—to work the machinery of this Charter, without which all our plans and formulas will fail.

Only with the conversion of man and with the regeneration of his heart will peace be long lasting. Only then is there any chance of the dream of Lord Tennyson coming true :

*Till the war drum throb'd no longer, and the
battle flags were fur'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of
the world.
There the common sense of most shall hold a
fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in
universal law.*

August the Fifth

The New-Review observes :

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima made history. It is reported that it destroyed all the houses within a nine-mile radius and caused some two hundred thousand casualties. Hiroshima's population was little over 300,000 before the war.



From the point of view of strategy, the bomb vindicated the experts who maintained that aerial warfare could be decisive. But at the same time, the atomic bomb symbolically buried the equipment of modern armies, guns, tanks, planes and battleships, all the Sandhursts, the West Points and the Saint Cyrs, as well as all the libraries on strategy and tactics. Warfare has been revolutionised; the atomic bomb is a reality, the rocket-ship is nearing technical realization, and the combination of both is the weapon which dominates all battlefields and round which all strategy and tactics must be focussed, national forces reorganised, and plans evolved. A barrage of jet-propelled atomic bombs would be an irresistible method of warfare, and would regulate the pace of conquest.

The Allies have been struck dumb at their own achievement, and the morality of the use of atomic bombs has been freely discussed, not without some confusion. The matter is not without difficulty. There should be no question of passing final judgment on the Hiroshima or Nagasaki bombs; we do not know all the facts of the case. Yet a short self-examination about war methods is necessary; we must oppose indiscriminate methods and godless diplomacy on our side, even if we risk being rebuked by mentors who take their inspiration from politics rather than from ethics.

The leading principles which go to solve the ethical problem at hand state that there must be no intended killing of non-combatants, and that the damage done to the enemy should not exceed what is needed to secure the legitimate result. That two bombs sufficed to bring Japan to her knees is by itself no justification; the end does not justify the means and not even so desirable an end as an early V-J Day would excuse an inhuman method of warfare. Even legitimate self-defence lies within the bounds of mortality. On the other hand, the fact that an atomic bomb causes in

one moment as many casualties as millions of bullets over several years would not make it inhuman; if it be the equivalent of all other projectiles but finishes the sorry job in one second, it would even be merciful in many ways.

The distinction between combatants and non-combatants is essential; the baby-in-arms is not to be put on the same level as the soldier-at-arms. People who say that nowadays there is no distinction, that everybody is a combatant, that war is totalitarian have never looked up the proportion of citizens directly engaged in war-work; thank God there are still a good number of non-combatants even in present-day warfare, but if war had really become totalitarian, then Nazism would have won, since they would have established their principle everywhere. The air-bombing of Warsaw, Rotterdam and Belgrade were rightly condemned because of their indiscriminate character; the V-bombs were also denounced because they made no distinction between combatants and non-combatants, between civil property and military objectives. Area bombing, obliteration bombing, terror bombing as some operations were called have been repudiated for similar reasons. Was the Hiroshima bombing different, or was the notice of evacuation sufficient extenuation?

A further question arises; supposing a town evacuated by all non-combatants, would it be permissible to drop an atomic bomb on combatants? The question arises from the ethical principle that legitimate defence against an unjust aggressor is limited to the very needs of self-defence; if you can stop the aggression with a slap, you are not to knife the assailant. These limitations of self-defence have been partly embodied in the Laws of War which the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 have re-written: no poison, no poisoned arrow; no treacherous killing or wounding of an enemy surrendering at discretion, no use of arms, projectiles or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering, no destroying of the enemy's property unless

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such destruction be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war, etc. The Washington Conference (1921-22) between U.S.A., British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan outlawed 'the use in war of asphyxiatory, poisonous or other gases and all analogous liquids, materials or devices', and the 1925 Protocol extended this prohibition to bacteriological methods of warfare.

These positive enactments of international law were suggested by natural morality. The atomic bomb was never mentioned, even as a possibility, but it appears to be prohibited by the general principles.

Education Among Tribal People

A. V. Thakkar writes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

The total population of all the Tribes, or of the so-called Aborigines and Hill-tribes of India is not less than 254 lakhs out of the total population of 3,890 lakhs. It may be noted here that the total population of India, including the Indian States, but, of course, excluding Burma, is not 4,000 lakhs or 40 crores, as is popularly believed, but 3,890 lakhs. The total tribal population amounts to 6.5 per cent of the total population. This is as per census of 1941. All the people enumerated as tribes are neither Aborigines nor are they all Hill-tribes; and that is why I have used the word "so-called" above. It is very difficult even for scientists and anthropologists to determine who migrated first into Hindustan—either from the North-west or the North-east. In a way, even the large Aryan population may be called Aborigines. Nor are all the tribal people "Hill Tribes". A very large percentage of them do, as a matter of fact, live in the plains, and may have come down from the hills in the distant past. At any rate, a very small percentage of the Tribals, which may be estimated at between ten and twenty per cent, may be called by the name by which they are generally known, namely, Aborigines and Hill-Tribes. So the word "Tribes" or "Tribal People" is a more correct description of them, to distinguish them from other castes of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

It is beyond controversy that the education among these people has progressed very little, as compared with the progress made by the communities of Hindus, Muslims and Christian. As a rule, their education has been neglected by the State for the last 150 years, and more so than even that of the Depressed Classes or Harijans or Scheduled Castes. The latter community was subject to some social disabilities, but the tribes had no such handicaps. Being isolated in remote hilly parts and forest zones of the country, as well as in their own colonies in the plains, they were very backward to begin with and remained so in spite of the general advancement. It was only in such areas as Chhota Nagpur, specially Ranchi district, where Christian Missionaries have been at work among them for nearly a century past, and in the hill districts of the Nilgiris in the South, that education has advanced appreciably. At all other places, they have remained very backward and will remain so unless the State takes special measures for their advancement. The task is too big for private agencies, which can only pioneer.

Though the work is not yet complete, A. V. Thakkar has been able to collect a list of 112 graduates from the Tribes, including a dozen lady graduates.

Though I cannot lay claim to have helped to produce more than three graduates in the Panch Mahals district, it can be definitely asserted that there is fairly large number of graduates in different parts of the country, especially in Ranchi district of Bihar

and the Nilgiris district of Madras, as well as in Assam, Bombay and C.P.

Bihar has seventy-two graduates from amongst the Mundas, Oraons and Santals, mostly, Christians. Some of them are professors in colleges, and many of them are engaged in the Judicial and Educational Services in that Province. Two of them, one Hindu and one Christian, come from the very backward Tribe of Ho.

Madras has twenty-one graduates, mostly from the Badaga Tribe of the Nilgiris, and a smaller extent from the Yerukulas and Enadis of the East Coast, who have advanced considerably through their own efforts.

Assam comes third in the list having eleven graduates, mostly Hindus, as far as my incomplete information goes. One Khasi lady law-graduate, Miss Mavis Dun, was at one time a Minister of the Province; and another law graduate, Sri Rupnath Brahma, is a Minister for the last six years. A large number of these graduates belong to the legal profession.

C.P. follows with a list of five graduates, and Bombay with four, from among Gonds and Bhils respectively.

Thus it is quite clear that even now there is an appreciable number of intelligentsia from these Tribes, who may be drawn upon to represent them in the Legislature, the Executive, as well as the Services.

In Assam, where they were given opportunities, three persons have held the posts of Ministers, including the present one. During the last ten years, many Tribal graduates have passed out from colleges from among the backward Gonds and Bhils of Western India, as well as the Santals of the East. A very large number of them are under training in colleges, and in a few more, scores of them will come out and rub shoulders not only with Harijan graduates but also with advanced communities in the country.

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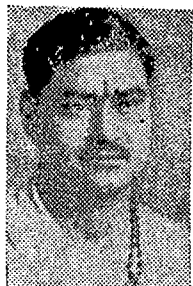
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Russian's View of India

We quote the following extract from an article entitled 'A Journey to Australia', written by a Russian named Mikheyev in *New Times*, a semi-monthly journal issued from Moscow. The reader will get a good idea about how a Westerner looks down upon India which is our motherland and the culture and civilization of which we are so much proud of. It is noteworthy that some Americans openly displayed sympathy for the Indians in their struggle for the Independence of India :

We arrived in Bombay on the eve of the opening of the Indian National Congress. This large city was seething with strikes and meetings. Thousands of Indians filled the squares, parks and the beach. The meetings went on day and night. Strong patrols of English troops marched down the streets to the accompaniment of a drum-and-fife band, the music of which sounded strange to us. The rattle of tanquettes was heard. Mounted police in colourful uniforms with turbans on their heads patrolled the streets and squares. Here and there materials for barricades and barbed-wire entanglements were visible. Alarming news was coming in from the front in those days. The Japanese were nearing the frontiers of India through Burma.

Fabulous India. Rich and poverty-stricken. Ragged, emaciated and exhausted people. Rickshaws, cab drivers, street conjurors, dancers, singers and musicians. As in Karachi and Lahore so at Bombay the poorer classes, the workers and minor salaried people, live in the suburbs. Standard houses, all of one type. These are just squalid, congested hovels. From morning till night the streets teem with people. Here, as in China, the street serves as the home for many. People spend the greater part of the twenty-four hours in the street, and many of them sleep out on the pavement at night.

With its cleanliness, well-kept lawns and parks, luxurious mansions and gubernatorial palaces the centre of Bombay, as of nearly all the towns of India, is a striking contrast to the suburbs.

In the centre and also in the bay the whites and wealthy Indians live. A multitude of Indians serve the whites in this district. To have only a couple of servants is bad form. At least half a dozen if not more must be kept if one is to live up to one's reputation. In India as in China the cheapest commodity is human labour. Under the scorching tropical sun people work for a mere pittance, sometimes only for food. "The natives must not be paid more than they need for food, otherwise they will not work, they are too lazy," such are the ethics of the white employers of coloured labour.

We were told about the storm of indignation that was roused when American soldiers, who appeared in India in 1942, paid cabmen, rickshaws, and the natives generally, two and three times as much for their services as was customarily paid them. Even this pay was miserable enough, but still people said that "the Americans were flinging their money about," that they were "spoiling the labour market," and so forth. A rich Dutchman whom we met on a steamer in Cochin, in

the South of India, and who owing to the war had been obliged to flee from his rubber plantations in Java, was particularly loud in inveighing against this "corruption of the Indians." Sitting on deck sipping gin and watching the overseas driving the coolies who were carrying baskets full of coal to the bunkers, this Dutchman tried to prove to us the advantages of cheap labour, claiming that it was "in the interest of the civilization of the coloured peoples themselves."

Whether it was the cheap labour or the general conditions in India I cannot say, but I shall remember for the rest of my life the sad spectacle presented by these lean, starving people, sickly, hollow-chested, with legs as thin as laths, their ribs almost breaking through their skin which was scarified by disease. I remember the exhausted-looking women who had lost nearly all their hair, and the puny children rummaging in garbage heaps for scraps of food.

On August 5 the Indian National Congress met.

Under a huge canvas awning several thousand delegates and visitors gathered. Tens of thousands of people and visitors gathered. Tens of thousands of people crowded the streets and squares. On the platform there was a microphone, a table, a sofa and carpets. To the right and left of the platform two daises had been erected. These were covered with carpets and furnished with low tables on which there were teapots and small bowls. They were set aside for the honoured guests. The

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price of a place like that on a dais ranked from 1,000 to 10,000 rupees. Here reposed corpulent manufacturers, merchants and Indian celebrities who had demonstrated their devotion to the cause by meeting the cost of convening the Congress. These honoured guests either squatted or reclined on the carpets, sipped tea and munched something or other.

Speakers mounted the platform one after another, loudly greeted by the audience. Their speeches were often interrupted by loud cries of approval. When a speaker solemnly demanded independence for India, the entire audience rose to their feet. Nehru spoke, and also representatives of the various parties affiliated to the Congress. The loudspeakers carried their voices far down the streets, which looked like a heaving sea of heads. Thousands of people caught fragments of sentences and animatedly commented upon them.

Gandhi reclined on a sofa, almost naked, with only a white cloth covering his gaunt legs. His ribs stood out prominently so that they could easily be counted. He had a microphone in front of him into which he delivered his speech. He was listened to with bated breath, and was loudly applauded. He uttered protests and exhortations, and disclosed that secret preparations were being made to suppress the Congress.

Outwardly Bombay was calm, but the atmosphere was extremely tense. Indian troops had arrived from the interior, and it was said that they were noted for their ferocity and for their loyalty to the English. When these soldiers passed down the street the crowd hissed and threw stones at them. For all that there were no disorders while the Congress lasted. Mass meetings were held in all parts of the city. Students and workers, who were most prominent at these meetings, called for more resolute measures.

Everywhere the one demand, the one thought was: "We want independence! Leave India alone!"

The Congress ended late at night and next morning all its leaders were arrested. A wave of arrests and disorders swept over India. The newspapers carried long lists of names of persons arrested in Assam, Calcutta and the Punjab. Almost everywhere there were Indians who renounced "non-resistance", and began to wreck police stations, shops, trams and telephone lines. In Bombay crowds blocked the streets, pulled the drivers off the motor-buses and drove the passengers out. A general strike was called, and this spread from one branch of industry to another. Motorbuses were set on fire, windows were smashed and trains derailed.

Martial law was proclaimed in Bombay and other cities. The Indian quarters were surrounded by cordons of troops and barricades with the object of isolating the Indians from the centre of the town. Trucks carrying troops were covered with thick rope netting to protect the soldiers from stones. Europeans kept in their hotels, for it had become dangerous for them to appear in the streets. Some Europeans put on white Gandhi caps, the symbol of membership of the Indian National Congress. Demonstrations continued from morning till night. One of them was organized and led through the streets of Bombay by an American soldier, who carried a poster with the inscription: "Give India Independence!"

Rumours of serious armed clashes in many parts of the country spread through the town. It was said that the American soldiers were openly displaying sympathy for the Indians.

A New Attitude in Education

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Dr. John Granrud, Superintendent of Schools, in the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, is the leader of an educational plan that was suggested to his community by the 1939 National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Springfield is a typical American city, where more than forty different nationalities and their fusions compose a tapestry of divergent backgrounds for its citizens.

Dr. Granrud's theory is that prejudice is a virulent disease of the spirit, based on ignorance, and that it must be prevented and controlled intelligently, just as we work to circumscribe the spread of contagious diseases of the body. His plan is to inspire honest and disciplined thinking in the community as a whole.

From the pre-school days to the graduation of the Springfield child, the school system attempts to help him eliminate the fear of the unknown with the tool of honest, courageous, friendly and spirited investigation.

The teachers themselves have no fear that racial, religious, or political prejudice will jeopardize their own professional positions.

In these classrooms the differences in the ethical origins of the boys and girls are not the cause of unfriendly suspicion, but rather serve as delightful points of departure, through which they, as a group, can explore more of the wonders of this wide world.

Thus the Springfield schools try to build a social structure consonant with the needs of this world, where the goal of brotherhood pyramids from a broad foundation of divergent allegiances and particular loyalties.

As the young people continue through the grammar grades in the Springfield, Massachusetts, public schools, another potent fear is subtracted from their social attitude, and that is the fear of making a mistake. Mistakes are faced as facts without emotional overtones.

The history of the world, the story of what their forefathers accomplished both in this country and in the nations of the old world, is studied objectively. They learn that then, even as now, mistakes were made, and they look at the results and try to render a just account. Although they find that none of the heroes of the past or of the present hold a flawless record, yet they discover that they can profit by their good example.

Here these young people learn to guard against the common human weakness of following blindly anyone who will put into words any dissatisfaction with life that lies voiceless in the heart. Through their studies, they discover the necessity for keeping informed; in order to guard against being hemmed in by misinformation.

When these children reach the Junior High School, the entire social science course is devoted to the study of how our own governmental procedures have grown out of the practices of older civilizations. Those whose ancestry stems recently from the countries abroad take particular pride in the contributions that their freedom loving ancestors have made in overcoming tyranny.

Further on in the course of study, the points of similarity in the great world religions are studied, and a sympathy and respect for the faith of their fellows replaces the ignorance and ridicule that too often attend sectarian belief.

On entering High School, these budding men and women, in further search for the common ground that binds them, first trace their own family trees, then study those of other students. Together, they learn the climatic conditions, history, language, tradition, thought and habits that differentiate the peoples of the world.

From this study of their own family lives, they trace the growth of human social evolution—trace it

from the formation of tribal solidarity, through the constitution of the city-state, expanding into the institution of independent and sovereign nations.

Here in the microcosm of their classroom they can envisage the possibility of "a world organically unified in all the essential aspects of its life . . . and yet infinite in the diversity of the national characteristics of its federated units."

Dr. Granrud and his fellow educators in Springfield, Massachusetts, are helping the children in their schools to build an attitude of wide loyalty to the welfare of the generality of mankind. They create this feeling, not with words alone, but by attempting to have the school community function in a manner that is imperative to the claims of a unified world, for only through function can effective structure be built.

Sun Gun

The scene was Allied press headquarters in Paris on a rainy summer day. Facing the half-dozing correspondents, Lieut. Colonel John A. Keck onetime Pittsburgh engineer and now chief of Allied technical intelligence on German weapons, began quietly: "This will make Buck Rogers seem as if he lived in the Gay 90's. He proceeded to unfold the improbable story of what German scientists were up to when V-E day interrupted them.

At a research center in Hillersleben a group of them were solemnly laying plans for a 'space station' 5,100 miles up, from which a 'sun gun' would have the whole earth at its mercy. Assuming that at that height a floating structure would be beyond the pull of the earth's gravity, they proposed to build a platform for

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DOCTORS RECOMMEND—

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launching rockets into inter-stellar space and for harnessing the sun's heat. By use of a huge reflector, like a burning mirror, they calculated that enough heat could be focused on a chosen area to make an ocean boil or to burn up a city in a flash. Their sun gun could also be used, they pointed out, to produce steam and electric power at global receiving stations.

German physicists had already figured out the sun gun's necessary size (3½ sq. mi.) and composition (metallic sodium). Presumably they also had ideas about how the space station might be kept under control (it would have to revolve with the earth like a satellite) and be supplied with air for its inhabitants. Unperturbed by Allied officers' skeptical cross-examination, the Germans coolly announced they were certain the thing could be done within 50 or 100 years.

In a learned editorial the science-minded New York *Times* painstakingly picked flaws in the sun-gun idea, concluded austere: 'There is reason . . . to believe that the rocket experts were merely dreaming over their ersatz beer.' But what the Germans had already done was amazing enough. Lieut. Colonel Keck revealed a long list of discovered Nazi contraptions. Items:

A V-2 rocket which could be fired into the air from a submarine submerged 300 feet under water.

A 32-inch railroad cannon, probably the biggest gun ever made (and used by the Germans at Sevastopol), which fired an 8-ton shell.

*An anti-aircraft rocket capable of exploding within ten yards of a target ten miles in the air. (The British last week revealed a fantastic anti-aircraft weapon of their own aerial mine-fields. Laid by old bombers just before an air attack, the air mines were suspended from balloons and small parachutes by piano wire, when a plane hit the lower part of the wire, the delicately attached mine would slide down and hit the plane. The British claimed that air mines downed at least a half-dozen German planes over London during the blitz. Once a small boy found a wire lying on the ground, yanked it, blew up a house six blocks away.)

*An infrared telescope sight enabling snipers to see targets at night.

A rocket (almost perfected) with a range of 1,200-1,800 miles. (The German scientists said they were well on the way toward a rocket that would reach the U.S. were sure that within a few years mail and passenger rockets would cross the Atlantic in 40 minutes.)

Through a spy system, Allied officers got reports during the war on German scientific work, but there were still surprises. The scientists talked freely and most thought that Hitler had lost the war by diverting too much effort to 'screwball' weapons. Lieut. Colonel Keck and his staff, all hardheaded engineers, considered the Germans' experiments, even the sun gun, no laughing matter. Said Keck soberly: 'We were impressed with their practical engineering minds and their distaste for the fantastic.'

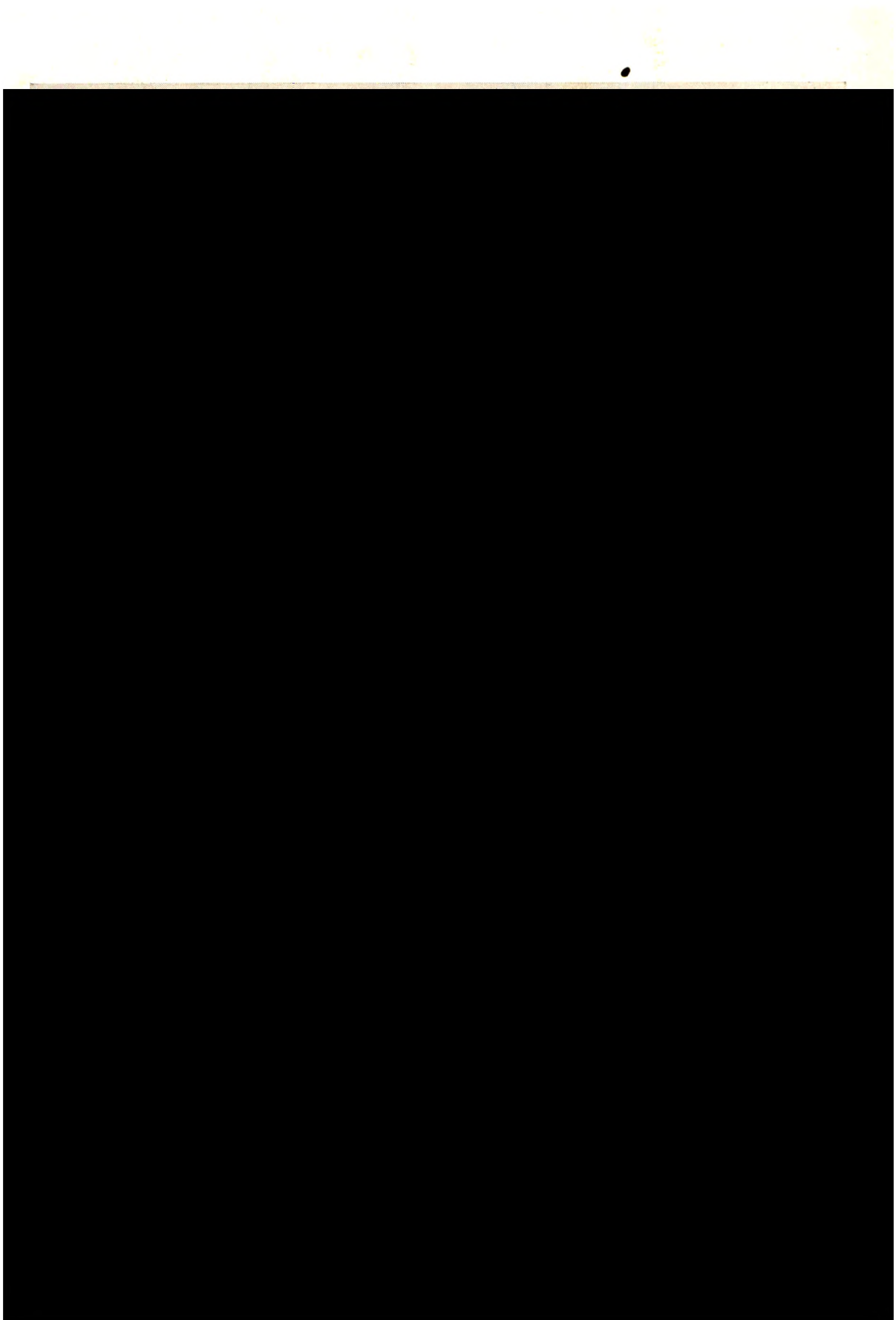
Some of the 1,200 German scientists volunteered to go to the U.S. and Britain to continue their research. The Allies are discussing plans to assign many to work on new weapons against Japan.—*Time*, July 9, 1945.

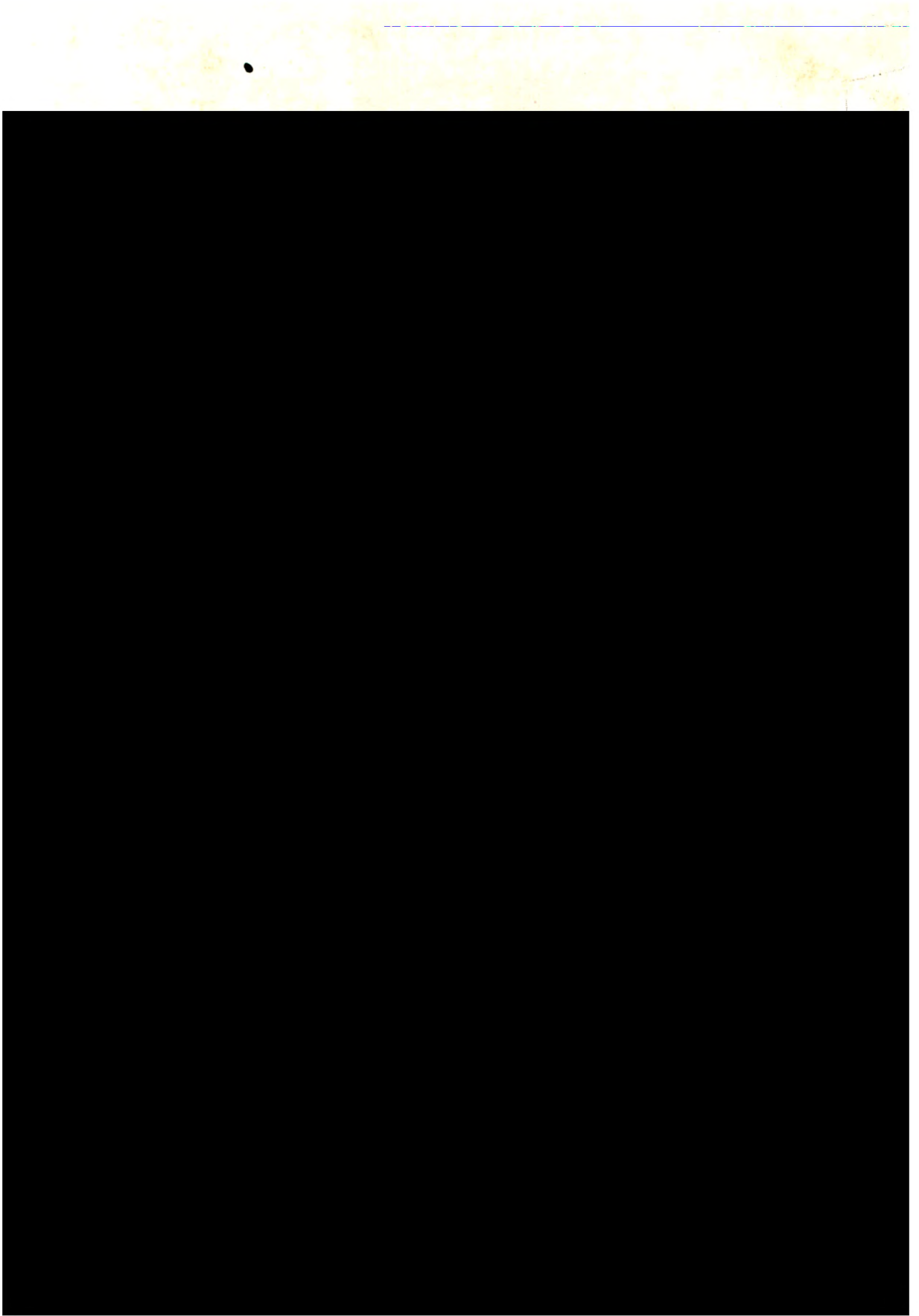
History in Modern Dress

A novel suggestion comes from Educational Bulletins, Ltd., of Welwyn Garden City, which should be of interest to all engaged in teaching history. The *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* observes:

To those of us of the older generation history as taught in our school days was seldom a favourite lesson; it was mainly a thing of shreds and patches, of dates and names that meant little or nothing to us, of 1066 and all that—a dry skeleton that seemed as remote from life as the models of the skeletons of prehistoric monsters in the Natural History Museum. The aim of the Garden City experiment is to vitalise all this, to clothe the skeletons with living flesh. This is how they do it: a series of historical news-sheets is published, each presenting a picture of a year well-known in history, commonly associated with one major event. The bulletin, however, in no way confines itself to this event, but ranges over a wide variety of minor topics illustrative of the contemporary scene. For example, the Bulletin A.D. 1789 not only reports the fall of the Bastille, but also includes paragraphs dealing with the mutiny in H.M.S. *Bounty*, the new constitution for the United States, a new cure for rheumatism, the latest Paris fashions, some literary notes (Mr. Robert Burns has expressed sympathy with the revolutionary movement in France, and this has endangered his position as an Excise Officer; Mr. James Boswell is understood to be engaged on a life of the late Dr. Samuel Johnson) and so forth. The idea is, as it were, to reflect the whole life of the times, to show the youngsters that all sorts of things were happening at the same time in such and such a year, just as all sorts of things are happening to-day, and that history is not merely a bloody chronicle of battle, murder and sudden death.

We understand that these bulletins are in actual use in certain secondary schools, it would be interesting to know with what reactions among teachers and taught. Everything will depend on the way they are used. The children, for example, might very possibly imagine that these are contemporary broadsheets, just as, on seeing *Hamlet* in modern dress, they might come to the conclusion that the Prince of Denmark wore plus fours. This conception will, no doubt, be carefully guarded against.





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NOTES

The Post-War World

Officially the global war has been over now for an appreciable period and judging from the home-going activities of American troops stationed in this part of the world, some people are already on the way towards enjoying the fruits of victory. But taken as a whole, politically and economically, Peace has yet to travel some considerable distance before she contacts this planet. The victorious powers are still at loggerheads on the questions of policy regarding the conquered nations and there is considerable conflict of opinion regarding the status of subject nations. As yet the Imperialistic Powers are not inclined to make any concessions to their subject peoples that might stand in the way of loot and exploitation in the traditional method. The old stock phrases and arguments are still being trotted out and old shibboleths being repeated *ad nauseam* in defence. France and Holland, two countries that were under the heel of the Axis for a considerable period, do not seem to have benefited much from their experience of foreign dominance.

Strange though the cases of France and Holland might be, stranger yet seems to be that of the British under the Labour Government. We do not profess to know all the terms of the Alliance between the "democracies" of Europe—specially about the secret treaties if there be any—but we confess that we have been unable to find any justifiable reason for the open aid given by the British to French and Dutch imperialism in their attempt at crushing the spirit of Freedom amongst the subject peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia. The case of U.S.A. is still more complex. President Truman has just recently made a statement of the principles for which the democratic peoples of the U.S.A. are supposed to stand. But in that statement there is no declaration of any kind regarding the attitude of the American Government toward delinquent erstwhile Allies. The peoples of Asia have had enough of noble sentiments served out from the Capitol at Washington for world-consumption. What they would like now and then, is a modicum of positive direct action in support of such declarations. Mere non-co-operation with erstwhile Allies will merely lead to another League of Nations and, by the same token, another World War.

The Russian Sphinx seems to have adopted the Asquithian motto of "Wait and See" regarding the affairs of the world abroad. We have had no indication of the Soviet views on the world situation of late beyond that they have disagreed with all and sundry regarding this and that policy in Europe and Asia. Perhaps the paucity of news is due to the control of the news agencies by the democracies or perhaps it is because the Soviets do not want to make any open declarations until all that they want from the non-Soviets' world has been attained and converted into a *fait accompli*. In any case the executive of the Soviets seems to be working its will upon the peoples and countries that are their European neighbours, while Stalin is still meditating in the Caucasus. At the other end of Asia, China faces civil war of a particularly bitter type, with no prospect of any quick solution.

Economically the old world is now definitely heading towards chaos, with the New World scratching its head and looking on. As things stand the U.S.A. might decide to weather the storm by throwing all its International cargo—Lease-lend, loans, etc.—overboard and by retiring into isolationism, while the European world degenerated into political and economic cannibalism. The British cabinet seems to be slow in realising that the Sterling Bloc is in reality a road-block in the path of economic regeneration.

Indonesia

The Dutch seem to have taken to heart the moral inherent in the statement of Mr. Churchill that he did not intend to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. They have themselves felt the weight of the heel of the conqueror, and the gaining back of their independence was achieved almost solely through the efforts of their Allies. Yet they do not seem to understand that independence is the birth-right of every human being, whatever be his creed or colour. Greed and power-lust are ailments which with their accompanying symptoms of cruelty, treachery, and lying propaganda afflict every nation bent on Imperialism. And the lesson of history teaches us that Imperialism in the long run means degeneration even to the extent of oblivion. No nation has escaped that dread fate once it had trod the path of treachery and conquest, and we

do not believe that there can be any exception to that rule. It is about time Mr. Attlee and his cabinet realized that the liquidation of British Imperialism means the liquidation of past sins and offences against humanity and a return to grace.

There is an Indian proverb that thieves do not listen to moral sermons, so perhaps there is no point in moralising. But there are matters of great import to us in the affairs of Indonesia which are far from being ethereal or abstract. The Dutch depend for all their fat dividends and undeserved wealth on the exploitation of Indonesia and the Indonesians. The British oil interests are equally concerned about the sources of their share of the loot from those unhappy islands. We Indians have neither the desire nor any incentive, sinful or otherwise, to oppress and injure the peaceful inhabitants of Indonesia, who happen to be our nearest relations in the matter of cultural heritage of the past. We owe nothing to the Dutch, or for that matter to the French, that we might be called upon to help them to regain territories that they acquired wrongfully from the people of the soil. They lost their empire almost overnight to their adversaries and they have regained their "right" to it with hardly any effort worth the mention, militarily speaking. And yet we find Indian soldiers being used to beat down the effort made by the Indonesians for the regaining of freedom. Further there are reports that Indian seamen have been forced to load ships carrying munitions to the Dutch East Indies at the point of revolvers by the Dutch.

We are powerless at the moment to aid the Indonesians in any way excepting by expression of sympathy for their cause. But we shall not remain in this miserable state of slavery for long. Indeed the dawn might be much nearer than most people imagine. Let us register a vow that we shall not forget these wrongs, unless the offenders make amends now.

Sm. Satyavati Devi

Sm. Satyavati Devi has died a martyr's death. She was, as the *Hindustan Times* rightly says, a jail casualty, having spent a substantial portion of her life in prison as a rebel against the British *raj*. Her last imprisonment crushed her frail body. To her, service of the people and suffering in the country's cause was literally and truly its own reward.

Sm. Satyavati was a revolutionary, politically as well as socially. In defiance of social taboos, she plunged into the Congress movement heart and soul in 1930, when she was just twenty-three. She was arrested in that year in connection with the Salt Satyagraha. Later, she was tried for making a seditious speech and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

During her incarceration, she contracted pleurisy which later developed into tuberculosis. She came out in shattered health but that did not deter her from resuming her normal Congress activities. In 1940 and 1941, she was tried twice for sedition and imprisoned. She had hardly been released, when she was again arrested in August 1942 and detained as a security prisoner until her condition became so serious that the doctors gave up all hope of her life. She was released, but directed by a prohibitory order not to enter Delhi. The order was so unjust that she refused to obey it and even Gandhiji supported her in her determination

to defy it. She defied the order and was arrested while travelling to Delhi. She was later released and the case against her was withdrawn.

On October 21, she died of tuberculosis. Pandi Nehru visited her in the Tuberculosis hospital two days before her death when she said, "My only desire is India's freedom." She did not live to see her motherland free but her name will find an immortal place in the national history of Free India.

Unity in the Punjab Congress

The deadlock that existed for a long time past in the Punjab Congress affairs has been resolved by the Congress President Maulana Abul Kalam Azad after prolonged discussions with the various opposing groups and individuals. This is a happy omen. We have no desire to enter into any discussion of the formula of settlement, but we are glad that the Punjab Congressmen have realised the need of the hour. At this critical juncture in the political history of India when the Congress is faced with reactionary forces, it is the bounden duty of all Congressmen to sink the differences, present a united front and speak with one voice.

Addressing the members of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Maulana Azad said :

So far as the Punjab was concerned it was second to no other province in its enthusiasm, sacrifice and loyalty for the Congress, but the only shortcoming was its party spirit and warring mentalities among the various groups of the Congress, which was a blot on the fair name of the Punjab. It was their duty to wipe out the blot and unless they had done so, the Congress could not succeed in the Punjab.

From the enthusiasm and love which the various groups had shown, I hope that the partisan spirit would vanish from the Punjab and that the province would be humming with Congress activity so much so that it will attract the attention of the rest of India.

There are other provinces who have glorious records of service and sacrifice for the Congress and the country where similar party strifes still exist. I hope they will follow the lead of the Punjab, close their ranks and present a united front at this vital hour of Indian political life.

Prospects of Defeating the League

The overall picture of the nationalist forces aligning themselves against the Muslim League, as emerges from the recent discussions of Maulana Azad has been given by the *Independent* as follows :

The Nationalist Muslim Parliamentary Board and the Congress Parliamentary Board will work co-ordination with each other, both in the Provincial and Central elections.

All Muslim parties outside the League have decided to abide by the decision of the Nationalist Muslim Parliamentary Board.

It is reported that both the Khaksars and Ahl-e-Hadith will support the Nationalist Muslim candidate against the Muslim League.

From the recent statement of Master Tara Singh that Sikhs can come to a settlement only with the Indian National Congress and from the discussions which Maulana Azad is having with Congress Sikhs, it is expected that the Sikhs also offer a united front against the Muslim League.

Visits of Sardar Baldev Singh, a Minister in the present Unionist Cabinet, to the Congress President and many reports of secret approaches by prominent members of the Unionist Party lend support to the view that the Unionist Party also is angling for co-operation from the Congress and the Nationalist Muslims.

The Nationalist Muslims of Sind have decided to put up candidates for every Muslim seat in Sind and they have set up a Provincial Parliamentary Board which is to seek affiliation with the Central Parliamentary Board of the Nationalist Muslims.

As against this, signs are not wanting to indicate the growing weakness of the Muslim League organisation. There is an open rift in the Sind Muslim League and Sir G. H. Hidayatullah and Mr. G. M. Syed have fallen out on the question of election nominations. They are now awaiting a decision from the Muslim League Parliamentary Board.

In Bengal also all is not well with the Muslim League. The recent meeting of the Bengal League Council for setting up a Provincial Parliamentary Board was marked with stormy scenes on the first day. The differences came to a head on the second day when the old guard sustained a defeat at the hands of the younger section.

Yet another significant development is the reported decision of the Muslim League not to contest election to the Central Assembly from the Frontier Province constituency, ostensibly as a protest against the system of joint electorates. In reality, it is nothing but an admission of the inherent weakness of the Muslim League in the N.-W.F.P.

In Calcutta, the Leaguers' attempt to break up a Khaksar meeting, which was being addressed by the Khaksar leader Allama Mashriqui proved abortive.

Muslim League and the Elections

The Lucknow correspondent of the *Free Press Journal* gives an indication of how the Muslim League is preparing to fight the next elections. He writes :

A foretaste of how the Muslim League is going to contest the forthcoming elections is contained in a confidential "Instrument of Instructions," which is being circularised by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary, All-India Muslim League, to the provincial branches of the League. The circular reads, *inter alia* : "This fight concerns the very life and death of the Muslim League. Whenever such occasions come in the life of a nation, its first duty becomes the preservation of life somehow or other, and for the achievement of the objective, every method of whatever kind it may be, is perfectly legitimate."

This is virtually interpreted here in the League circles as absolute liberty to use all means, fair and foul, in conducting the elections.

The Instrument of Instructions further enjoins that all local Leagues should immediately take up and raise communal questions wherever possible with a view to securing Muslim sympathies for the League point of view. The Muslims are clearly instructed not to feel worried if the raising of communal questions leads to undesirable consequences, as such issues will weaken the cause of the Congress and the Nationalist Muslims and strengthen the Hindu Mahasabha and the League.

The Provincial Leagues are also instructed to publish pamphlets containing exaggerated accounts of real and imaginary "atrocities" committed by the Congress Government in pre-war Congress regimes, while the Central Parliamentary Committee of the League itself is compiling a series of such booklets

for circulation in the provinces. These will be entitled "Living Space for Muslims", "League Not Responsible for Bengal Famine", "Achievement of League Ministries", "Place of Minorities in Pakistan", "Benefits of Pakistan", "Cripps Talks", "Simla Conference" and "Sikandar-Jinnah Pact".

The Instrument of Instructions also lays down that as large a contingent of Moulvis and Ulemas as possible must be sent out to the villages for propagating views against the Nationalist Muslims and calling the latter *Kafirs* or non-believers.

The *Dawn*, supposed to be the official organ of the Muslim League, in its issue for September 27, contains the following sentence in its leading article, "As regards the treatment alleged to have been meted out to the Maulana by the League leaders, we can only say that brickbats, rather than bouquets, are always and in all places in store for puppets and show-boys."

After the publication of this article, Pandit Nehru said, "The Muslim League is perfectly free to indulge in its own variety of polemics supported by brickbats. My only concern is to know if the *Dawn's* statement represent the official and carefully considered policy of the League." This statement remains unreplicated. Instead, reports of clashes, often of a violent nature are coming from all parts of India where the Leaguers seem to have taken a leading part.

Arab League Opposed to Pakistan

Azam Beg, Secretary of the Arab League, has expressed himself totally opposed to the idea of Pakistan and said that the Muslim League cannot expect any support from the Arab League in this respect. He said :

The Arab League does not support the Muslim League in India because the Arabs feel that the unity of India must be maintained at all costs, and the Pakistan idea is moonshine. Let Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim Leaguers realise that in the Arab League there are people belonging to all religions and yet they are all united for a common purpose.

This is how the Muslim League is judged in the homeland of Islamic religion and culture.

The nationalists of Egypt also do not seem to be pleased with the communal separatism of the League. Sending a message of goodwill to India, Nahas Pasha says :

Egypt and India have a single aim, that of realising their national aspirations. I have had many relations with India, with the Indian political parties, and with my many Indian acquaintances, Muslims and Hindus. The advice I give them is to set aside all questions of conflict and of religion and to get together in a close frank union and co-operation, to realise their national aspirations.—*Bombay Chronicle*.

Religion Cannot Be the Basis of Self-Determination

In a statement to the press, commenting on the sommersault of Mian Iftikaruddin of the Punjab, Prof. Abdul Majid says :

It is tragic but true that those Muslims who join the Indian National Congress with mental reservations or with ulterior motives are apt to sink back at the time of elections under separate electorates which throw up the worst type of fanatics, and deepen discord. That is why Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, essentially a man of peace who disdains picking unnecessary quarrels, as a true lover of free-

dom and democracy, believes in combating unflinchingly the fascist and aggressive mentality behind the slogan of Pakistan.

Prof. Majid points out that Muslim "areas" have been brandished in order to support the League's self-determination claim, but the word "areas" where the Muslims are in a majority has been deliberately left vague by the League. He then adds :

Obviously "areas" do not mean boundaries of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, which in terms of the Muslim League Working Committee resolution of April 1942, have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis. Besides, in Assam the Muslims constitute a minority of 33 per cent. What justice-loving nationalist India rightly dreads is that if a minority of 33 per cent, is allowed to disregard the wishes of 67 per cent inhabitants of Assam in 1945, then, in 1950 the Muslims who form about 25 per cent, of the entire population of this country, will completely dominate 75 per cent non-Muslims.

In the history of the world, it is something unheard of to give the right of self-determination to a minority section of the population, only on the basis of religion. Self-determination means the wishes of the inhabitants who are in a geographically contiguous area and have the same race and language. In the Punjab both Hindus and Muslims belong to the same racial stock and speak the same language and similar is the case of Bengal.

Self-determination, Prof. Majid rightly asserts, can never imply that a religious community of 59 millions should be determined to disfranchise another community of 49 millions on a tremendously vital issue like the vivisection of their country. There is no denying the fact that the Muslim Leaguers are out to reduce the majority community to a state of permanent political impotence or to the status of mere grass-cutters. The latest pamphlets published from Cambridge by Rahamat Ali, the originator of the Pakistan idea, shows that the next plan is to use the Pakistan areas as jumping ground for the conversion of the entire country into an Islamic land. The name of India will be changed to Dinia.

Punishing Corrupt Officials

Corruption in officialdom from top to bottom, is now a common feature of the present-day British Administration in India. One or two honest and well-meaning officials express their uneasiness here and there, but they seem helpless against a machinery steeped in wholesale corruption. In Bengal, the Rowlands Committee has admitted the existence of widespread corruption in the administration and suggested that an official found in possession of property and wealth which is unusual for a man of his position should be asked to explain how he came about it. This very sensible suggestion was not accepted and enforced by the Bengal Government. Only a pious wish for the eradication of corruption has been expressed from time to time.

Administrative corruption is rampant all over India, and particularly in these war departments which deal with ready money. Nobody is immune, whether Indians or Englishmen. Recently, the Secretary of the Civil Supplies Department of the Punjab has gone a step further and in a press conference tried to explain what he did for dealing with this menace. Here is the substance of what he said :

In the very difficult matter of bringing corruption to light and punishing corrupt officials engaged on civil supplies work, figures show a marked progress from year to year. During 1943 one official was suspected of corruption and discharged. During 1944, eleven cases were detected. Six of them are still under enquiry and the staff concerned is under suspension. This includes one Civil Supplies Officer and an Office Superintendent against whom a judicial enquiry is in progress. The cases which have been decided include one Civil Supplies Sub-Inspector, who was found guilty and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. In the other four cases, employees were dealt with departmentally and punished in various ways including discharge, dismissal from service, reversion to original appointments, etc. None of them is now in the Civil Supplies Department. In the current year there have up-to-date been 20 cases. Nine cases are still under enquiry, and the persons involved are under suspension. The cases already decided include that of one Civil Supplies Officer with a bad reputation who has been discharged from service. Departmental punishments include discharge, reversion, and in some cases dismissal from service.

The above figures do not include action taken by District Magistrates against the clerical staff of the department.

In some cases action has been taken, against officials abusing their privileged position to get a larger share than is due to them of commodities in short supply for themselves and their friends.

On the Rationing side, there have been about 20 cases of corruption or allied mal-practices during the current year. The offenders included officials of all grades, including one Ward Rationing Officer. Judicial enquiries were instituted in five of these cases while others were tried departmentally, punishments given departmentally include dismissal from service.

Government welcomes public co-operation in exposing dishonesty whether on the part of officials or non-officials and is determined to punish corruption with severity but a very important difficulty had been the collection of adequate and reliable evidence on which to base action. Punishment is only possible where reliable information is forthcoming and people are willing to give evidence even at the cost of some personal inconvenience. On the other hand, in order to encourage honest officials it is most desirable the false and malicious complaints based on hearsay should cease.

Sir Archibald Rowlands on Corruption

We appreciated the Punjab Secretary's well-meaning intention to stamp out this dangerous evil, but in his concluding remarks, we are sure, one would read the working of the unrealistic mind of a British civil servant who has no connection whatsoever with the people. It is absurd for the Government to expect help from a person whom it has tied down to one particular shop for its rotten food, to another shop for its adulterated mustard oil and to a third for his coarse garments. Sheer instinct of self-preservation will compel him to humour his suppliers in order to get better supplies for himself. It is a strange mind that can imagine that such a harassed man will ever come forward with "reliable information" against those very persons on whose favour his existence depends. He cannot risk it for helping a "State" which he finds working for the benefit of foreign interests and on whom he has lost all confidence. What prevents the Government to start at the other end ? Why do they not follow the valuable

suggestion of Sir Archibald Rowlands who said in his Report, (para 229 iv) :

That a new offence should be created providing that if a public servant or his dependents are known to have become possessed of a sudden accretion of wealth, the public servant concerned would be deemed guilty of the offence unless he could prove that the accretion of wealth was innocently obtained.

He also suggested that offences under the bribery sections of the Indian Penal Code should be made cognisable.

None of these recommendations have been acted upon by any Provincial Government in India. Instead, under the D. I. Rules, ample protection has been granted to corrupt officials indirectly by making a government sanction necessary prior to launching a prosecution against that class of officials who in this country are known as public servants but wield the master's power over the public on behalf of a foreign absentee landlord.

The Punjab Secretary like all other similar secretaries, has lamented about the "inadequacy of reliable evidence." Sir Archibald has himself replied to such lamentations in para. 228 :

Officers should exercise the strictest supervision of those staffs employed on duties likely to expose them to temptation. In such cases, the officers in charge should inspect their offices not only frequently but thoroughly.

Much more resolute action should be taken in any case where suspicion is aroused. Evidence has been tendered to us that, at present, *officers in authority are little disposed to pursue prima facie cases for investigation.*

We firmly believe that corruption can be stamped out in no time only if the superior officials exerted themselves actively and created conditions under which public confidence to the Government could be restored. It is the defeatist attitude of the top rankers in the civil service which is primarily responsible for this state of affairs, Sir Archibald remarks :

So widespread has corruption become, and so defeatist is the attitude taken towards it, that we think that the most drastic steps should be taken to stamp out the evil which has corrupted the public service and public morals. Anything less is a denial of justice to the poor people of the province, who comprise the bulk of its population and who, in the end, have to pay for the bribes which go to enrich the unscrupulous and dishonest.

Some months ago, a European writing in the *Statesman* calculated that Rs. 60 crores annually pass as bribes. The Government want the public to believe that the British officials of the steel-frame called the Indian Civil Service and the British Police Superintendents called the Indian Police know nothing of it and a Government which seeks to crush four hundred millions of human beings under their heels, is powerless to detect and punish thieves, swindlers and profiteers :

Clive on Corruption

Corruption in the administration is nothing new in India, particularly after the rise of the Christian power in this country. Corruption might have existed in India before the coming of the British, but we find no historical evidence that they were so widespread

and deep-seated as they have been since the British East India Company became administrators of Bengal. The only change that may be noticed is that the Indian nuts and bolts fitted to the British steel-frame have become equally rotten. We give below an account of the state of affairs prevalent in Bengal when Clive came for the last time. His own words are :

Upon my arrival, I am sorry to say, I found your affairs in a condition so nearly desperate as would have alarmed any set of men whose sense of honour and duty to their employers had not been estranged by the too eager pursuit of their own advantage. The sudden, and, among many, the unwarrantable acquisition of riches, had introduced luxury in every shape and in the most pernicious excess. These two enormous evils went hand in hand together through the whole presidency infecting almost every member of each department. It is no wonder that the best of riches should readily embrace the proffered means of its gratification, or that the instruments of your power should avail themselves of their authority, and proceed even to extortion in those cases where simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity.

The sources of tyranny and oppression, which have been opened by the European agents acting under the authority of the Company's servants, and the numberless black agents and sub-agents acting also under them, will, I fear, be a lasting reproach to the English name in this country.

Imperialistic Science.

The contributions of Prof. A. V. Hill to the advancement of scientific knowledge have earned him the admiration of the scientific world. He has been awarded Nobel Prize in recognition of his researches in physiology. This scientist was an M.P. in the last Parliament. He had come to India some time ago and it is really painful to find him in company with traducers of truth about India like Sir Jeremy Raisman and Mr. J. C. French who seem to hate everything Indian except Indian money.

In an article in the *Picture Post*, Prof. Hill has given a "study" of the Indian population problem. His study is as follows :

In the year 1600 the population of India was probably about 100 millions, by 1750 about 130 millions, by 1850 about 150 millions, by 1900 it was about 300 millions, to-day it is over 400 millions and increasing by 6 millions annually.

He does not quote his sources from where he drew his comfortable figures for 1750 backwards but coolly presents it with a very clever "probably". Then he goes on to deduce his conclusion :

We must remember that the increase from 150 to 400 millions in 100 years is a consequence of orderly government and of transport, communications, irrigation, agriculture, public health and the control of famines and epidemics ; and of the fact that India, for the first time in her history, has been working more or less as a single organised unit.

Even as an attempt to "dress" truth the above effort is crude, and it is all the more painful because they come from a scientist of the highest order, holding the responsible office of the Secretary of the Royal Society of London. We wonder if the professor in his sallies into demography had ever heard of the unique researches made by the Princeton Office of Population Research

and the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Their studies reveal that the world's population has quadrupled itself during the last three centuries from 500 millions to over 2000 millions. They again say that whereas population growth has slowed down in the western countries as a result of rapid rise in the standard of living, population in the Asiatic countries has been increasing "at an abnormal rate". This increase has been for biological reasons, had no relation whatsoever to good government and is perfectly natural. The following percentages of increase of population in various countries during 1881-1931 will show that the increases in Asiatic countries like Japan and India has not certainly been "abnormal". They are :

England	..	..	50
Holland	..	..	90
U.S.A.	..	..	186
Japan	..	..	74
India	..	..	35

Infant mortality rate, which is greatly reducible in the modern world, may surely be taken as a test of good government. Here are figures for three countries :

	Deaths per thousand		Mean expectation
	Infantile	Maternal	of Life
U. S. A.	54	8.5	62
England	58	4	63
India	162	24.5	27

We have on the authority of the All-India Conference of Medical Research Workers, 1924 and 1926, the statement that in India the number of deaths annually resulting from preventible diseases is about 5 to 6 millions ; that the average number of days lost to labour by each person from preventible disease is not less than a fortnight to 3 weeks in a year ; that the percentage loss of efficiency of the average person in India from preventible malnutrition and disease is not less than 20 per cent ; and that the percentage of infants born who reach a wage-earning age is about 50 whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to 90. The wastage of life and efficiency which results from various preventible diseases costs India several hundreds of crores of rupees each year. Malaria alone is calculated to entail an economic loss of Rs. 106 millions annually on account of the diminished earning capacity of the workers. While malaria thrives on the fertile soil of India, Dutch Kina Bureau continues to sell quinine in this country at exorbitant rates and the Imperial Government whose cause Prof. Hill so ardently champions holds quinine production down in India for the benefit of their blood-brother in Imperialism. This is only a fraction of the fulfilment and achievement of British rule in India.

Prof. Hill has boasted of the Indian transport and communication systems. True, they were introduced by British people and were done at a fabulously high cost. A glance at any short history of Indian Railways will convince anybody that a veritable loot went in at the early stages of Railway expansion. Indian people had to spend Rs. 8,000 millions for the few thousands of miles of railways which even to this day are operated primarily to serve the needs of the Imperial Government and the British merchants and industrialists. Indian people's voice finds a deaf ear in the running of the railways,

manning of the superior services, the fixation of railway rates or the purchase of railway stores. Only two years ago the Bengal famine had illustrated the utter inadequacy of the Indian transport and communication system and the inability of the British autocrats to act efficiently in times of stress.

Prof. Hill has boasted of the Indian irrigation system. Here are facts :

Year	Govt. Irrigation (million acres)	Private Irrigation (million acres)	Percentage of Irrigated area to total area sown
1902-03	15.6	28.5	19.5
1939-40	25.1	29.8	22.5

During two centuries of British rule, her champions can boast about a ten per cent irrigated area all over this vast sub-continent where the indigenous crude methods of irrigation by tanks and wells still account for over 50 per cent ! In a free India, irrigation was far more wide and scientific. We take this opportunity to refer Prof. Hill to Sir William Willcox's Readership Lectures in the Calcutta University from which he will find enough evidence that much more harm than good has been done to the Indian irrigation system by the British Engineers in this country.

As regards "control" of famines only a few instances may be cited offhand. During the regime of the Company, there were about 15 famines of which the most devastating were those of 1770, 1784, 1802, 1824 and 1837. After the assumption of the Government by the Crown, the great famines were :

- 1860—North-West India
- 1865—Orissa (50 millions affected and 1 million dead)
- 1868—Rajputana
- 1873—Bihar
- 1876—South India (5.2 millions dead)
- 1896 and 1899—All India, but Bombay, Madras and Central Provinces mainly affected.
- 1907—United Provinces
- 1912, 1918 and 1920—Ahmadnagar
- 1943—Bengal (5 millions dead).

According to one calculation, the number of deaths caused by wars in the whole world in 107 years from 1793 to 1900 is 5 millions, while the number of deaths caused in India by famines in 25 years from 1876 to 1900 is 19 millions.

Besides regular famines, there has been in large parts of India a perpetual scarcity, a state of chronic starvation. From 80 to 90 million people do not know what a full meal means.

Prof. Hill has lastly asserted that "India for the first time in her history has been working more or less as a single organised unit." We are sorry to find that the learned professor had not had the opportunity to come across even a small school text-book on Indian history, not to speak of bigger and better volumes. Even British traducers of Indian history have fought shy to utter a nonsense of this magnitude. The Maurya and the Gupta Empires under Hindu Rulers and the Moghal Empire under Akbar down to Aurangzeb, to name only a few, were wider and more organised than the present boundaries of British India.

Prof. Hill's final judgment on the Indian question is :

There is no doubt of our responsibility. Hundreds of millions of people are now alive who would not be there at all had we never gone to India. And if, like Pilate, we washed our hands off the whole business and cleared out (say) on October 1, 1946, it is more than likely that faction and disorder would set in and the population of India would have to revert to what it was before India became a single organised whole.

These observations clearly identify Prof. Hill with the group to whom he has sold his conscience and therefore does not call for any further reply. Let him read the sign of the times. Almost all the leaders of Indian Nationalism of the early nineteenth century had faith in British sincerity and goodwill. Today *Quit India* is the only slogan on every Indian lip and there is nothing but unmitigated hatred for the British "Trusteeship" claim.

Mothers-in-Law for British Industries !

The extreme difficulty felt by the British Labour Party in proceeding right along Imperialist lines with anti-Imperialist slogans in their mouth is now manifest. The few questions answered by Mr. Attlee and Lord Pethwick-Lawrence on their India policy and the nationalist conflicts on the Asiatic Continent have removed all doubts as regards their political ideas and aspirations. The formation of working parties for British Industries as a half-way measure to placate both the capitalist and the labour, and a straight declaration by the President of the Board of Trade that nationalisation of major industries would not be undertaken has made it quite definitely clear now that they have finally decided not to go against the capitalist vested interests.

The *Commerce* gives a good account of the Working parties. Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, has made a statement to the House of Commons that "the major industries of Britain will gradually come under the investigation of tripartite Working Parties who are to examine means of improving organisation and output." Working parties have been proposed for cotton, pottery, hosiery, furniture and boot and shoe industries all of which are export industries. This, we are told, is only the first batch, and it is proposed to pick up month by month new ones until all the major industries are subjected to a searching review.

The fundamental object of appointing Working Parties, is, to quote Sir Stafford Cripps, "to get the industries of this country (U.K.) in the best position to meet the very hard competition which is coming in about two years' time. When this easy sellers' market is over, we shall come up against it and I want industry to be ready, highly organised and in fine mettle to meet competition." The Labour Government of Britain, therefore, in the words of *Commerce*, "realises not only the necessity of exports to the country but also of the importance of maximum productive efficiency as the surest and the most effective method of regaining and then retaining its export markets." By its decision not to nationalise major industries, the British Government realises that it would be better to leave clear to private capitalist enterprise that field which depends on a world of competitive economy.

In the post-war economic competition, Trusts, Cartels and Rings would come to play a very impor-

tant role. If British industries want to live, they must make common cause with the other big capitalists and enter as many of the rings as they possibly can. Peace must remain on the labour front. The present Labour Government has shown that it is easy to demoralise the whole labour movement if the vocal sections of the Labour are admitted into the administrative machinery and thus given a finger in the pie. The differences among the British Labour Party ranks and the World Trade Unions are unmistakable pointers to this new development in Labour politics. The Working Parties are being formed ostensibly with the object of doing team work to solve Britain's post-war industrial problems but we are almost sure that its main result will be to split Trade Unions in order to weaken them. In a meeting of the Associated British Chambers of Commerce, Sir Stafford Cripps elucidated his ideas in the following words :

The team consists of employer, employees and the government, all equal partners, each of whom has its peculiar contribution to make. Employers must see that their business works in the national interest, for that is the keynote of the team objective.

From the employees, we ask their intelligent interest in their work and their continued application to the job in hand. We need their skill and craftsmanship and their contribution to the efficiency of the productive processes. This means good understanding co-operation in the factories themselves, and this can only be brought about by up-to-date machinery of consultation.

The Government is now coming wholehearted in as a third partner, representing the national interest and stressing the consumers' needs. For the purposes the *Government must create the order conditions by which private enterprise can make its most effective contributions to the nation's economic welfare.*

So far as the constitution and functions of the Working Parties are concerned, only those relating to the cotton mill industry have reached us. The Working Party for cotton consists of four representatives employers, four of the trade unions and four independent members and an independent Chairman appointed to the Board of Trade. The four independent members consist of an economist, a labour welfare worker, a scientist and an efficient expert (management). The Chairman of this Party is Sir George Schuster, Finance Member of the Government of India. The functions include everything except the question of nationalisation.

The British Labour Party had, till the end of the war, been champions of democracy and freedom. In office, they deny the same freedom to subject peoples for which they pretended to fight. The Labour Premier of England now talks about "our obligation to Allies" and supplies men and arms for the suppression of freedom movements in Asia and the restoration of lost territories to their former Imperialist Government. In this context, Sir Stafford Cripps' intention of betraying labour for the perpetuation of Imperialism is understandable. But how he expects a heterogeneous body, like his newly produced Working Party, to have successfully has been beyond the comprehension of many in this country as well as in England. We quote only one comment which is sufficiently illustrative

Financial News, (now *Financial Times*) of London, writes :

For many years, the technically practicable field of stage management, as against indirect control must be severely limited and can cover at most two or three of the major industries. What then of Working Committees in all the rest of the industries? Is it necessary to have a mother-in-law billeted on every branch of private enterprise? Will it be conducive to the greatest efficiency? It depends partly on the mother-in-law, of course, but the prospect is not particularly inviting.

Finance for Building Houses

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Planning Member for the Government of India in the course of his recent address to the General Policy Committee, referred to the building industry in this country, which came to a standstill during the war and which has to be revived and expanded. He stated that the Government of India was actively considering a scheme for the housing of its industrial labour and that a Building Research section was being set up by the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. In the usual official manner therefore, the Government of India were only considering what other countries were translating into action. An account of how Australia has set a splendid example in the matter of providing financial assistance to stimulate construction of houses, has been given by the *Commerce* :

Early this century, Australian State Governments began to recognise the need for better provision for housing the low income group, and in the various States, legislation was passed to establish State or semi-State authorities with power to make advances to assist persons of limited means to buy or erect houses to live in. The legislation which these bodies administer was expressly intended to give people of limited means the opportunity to rent or buy a home on easier terms than those offered by private enterprise. Australian banks have taken an active interest in this matter. Five banks have administered Government funds for both building low cost homes and lending sums on liberal terms for home purchase. These are, the Agricultural Bank (Tasmania), the Rural Bank (N.S.W.), the State Savings Bank (Victoria), the State Bank (S.A.) and the Savings Bank of South Australia. The Commonwealth Bank also has made funds available for housing in four ways : by overdraft to individuals from the trading bank department, by advances to individuals from the savings bank department, by advances to co-operative building societies and by advances to housing authorities. Besides all the nine trading banks also, which operate in Australia, make advances for housing, generally by way of overdraft. As a rule, advances are not much higher than 60 per cent of the bank's valuation of the land and dwelling, with the result that people of low incomes are seldom helped. Life insurance companies are a little more liberal, and advances are made on table mortgages for periods of up to 30 years and up to 75 per cent of the security. In addition, a large number of private building and investment companies make finance available for home building but their interest rates are high.

In addition to these, there is also in existence two types of building societies. The first, called a

"terminating" society, receives subscriptions from members and makes loans free of interest to members. The second type is a permanent holding society which is of indefinite duration and is purely an investment organisation. It issues shares and makes advances for building in the same way as any other investment organisation.

These organisations have, however, been found inadequate to meet the housing needs of the people, and it has been felt that the increasing demand for building construction called for State assistance. Accordingly, the Federal Government set up in 1943 a body called the Commonwealth Housing Commission to report on the subject of house-building. This Commission has now submitted its Report recommending that the Federal Government should subsidise houses erected by Government authorities, so that the payment made by the occupant should not exceed one-sixth of the family income for rental and one-fifth for home purchase. It says that a subsidised dwelling should not be of less than the approved standard. It hopes that the payment of a subsidy will stimulate investigation into approved building methods and eventually cause the cost of building to be reduced to a level where the payment of a subsidy will become unnecessary. The Report also states that persons buying houses, which are not Government financed, could be helped in the following ways :

- (a) Abolition of Sales tax,
- (b) Government advances to semi-Government institutions and certain private organisations for lending for home purchase on easy terms and conditions,
- (c) Making technical advice and services available at a low cost, and
- (d) Government guarantees of an approved portion of advances made by certain financial institutions for home purchase.

The Australian Government regards it as necessary that the State should render assistance for house-building although it does not express its opposition to private agencies undertaking the task.

It is not yet known whether all these proposals have been accepted by the Federal Government, but available reports suggest that they will be very favourably considered.

The Elections

The Congress has been flung willy-nilly, at very short notice and with very severe handicaps, into the Elections. As such we have to regard all its moves with a far less critical eye than in normal contests. One word of caution has to be uttered, however, regarding nominations. The record of all candidates should be critically examined as far as possible and there should be every attempt to bring in younger men with a fresh and vigorous outlook on the nation's political life. Mere obedience to party manifesto and similar old standards that obtained in the previous elections should not prevail now. The Congress must realize that this election is only the first move in the terrific contest that lies ahead and a great deal will depend on the right selection of men. Men of action are needed everywhere and we hope we shall not again see a galaxy of "yesmen" replacing actual workers.

Louis Fischer on Coming Indian Elections

Louis Fischer, the famous American writer, in an article specially contributed to the *Tribune* (Oct. 7), discusses the Indian political problem and the coming election campaign. In the beginning he gives a vivid picture of Churchill and describes him as a product of the nineteenth century. He says that contradiction between democracy and poverty does not torment Churchill. Contradiction between freedom in England and bondage in India does not bother him. Yet these contradictions must go if democracy and peace are to be preserved on this planet. The British people know that. It is clear now that the people in Britain fought a two-front war. They defeated Hitler with Churchill. Then they defeated Churchill. The historic purpose of Churchill's defeat is to take England out of the nineteenth century and move her into the twentieth century. This, Fischer believes, is the Labour Government's primary task.

Fischer thinks that this is also India's greatest problem. Independence is India's urgent need. But independence will merely open the door to a solution of India's numerous problems. All those problems can be rolled together and expressed in one sentence: India must lift herself out of the sixteenth century (feudal and autocrat native States) and out of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (agrarian and industrial backwardness) and start living in the twentieth. India is, therefore, the testing ground for the new British Labour Government. The results so far have not been much encouraging, but it is not yet time to pronounce the judgment.

Fischer points out that the statements which Premier Attlee and Lord Wavell made on September 19, have aroused unusual interest in the U.S.A. This is explained partly by the importance of the matter itself and partly because the negotiations now proceeding between American experts and Lord Keynes on England's financial future are intimately related to the immense sterling credit which India has accumulated in London during the war. Fischer expresses Indian mind when he says that Attlee made a mistake in emphasising continuity between the new policy and the Cripps proposal of 1942. Actually the new policy is different because the war has ended and the Cripps offer containing a most unsatisfactory interim arrangement for the duration of hostilities has therefore no validity.

The most significant portion of his article is given below :

Lord Wavell's declaration of September 19th makes it plain that he will consider with Indian representatives any alternative to or modifications of the Cripps proposal which they care to present. Also, he said that the form of the constitution-making assembly is subject to change. In effect, this means that the Cripps offer can now be altered and, possibly, altered beyond recognition, which would certainly be all to the good.

These stipulations in Attlee-Wavell announcements afford Indians an opportunity for constructive statesmanship. At least for the next period public opinion outside India expects Indian leaders and parties to be engaged in constructive thinking and show the British Government how the rejected Cripps scheme can be amended to meet requirements of the present situation.

From all I was able to learn in India in 1942 and since leaving India Sir Stafford Cripps did not

negotiate skilfully. His line of 'take it or leave it' could not promote understanding. It is much better to negotiate with the Viceroy than with Sir Stafford Cripps, who, to put it mildly, did not enjoy the co-operation of the Viceroy. In India in 1942 I had several talks with Lord Wavell and Lord Linlithgow. Wavell is an improvement on Linlithgow. The Labour Government, one hopes, is an improvement on Churchill's Coalition Government.

Indians have ample reason to regard Britain's intentions sceptically. But a person or a party that never deviates from the strategy of erecting road blocks is condemned to political sterility and frustration. The order of the day is a fair examination of the potentialities of Attlee-Wavell declarations. There will be plenty of time to return to attack, in case circumstances warrant it.

The central issue in the forthcoming election campaign is India's future, not India's past. A re-warming of bygone grievances, mutual recrimination and demagogic appeals to narrow communalism will produce much heat, but no light to guide the country's forward progress. Positive programmes are now of better service to India than fruitless wrangling.

The real job is to expose the undesirable and unacceptable features of the Cripps proposal and show why they should be discarded : Secondly, to advance new features in place of those discarded. The weakest and most dangerous provision in the Cripps plan is the right accorded to any province or State not to adhere to the new constitution. No constitutional assembly operated on this basis can ever draft a constitution. Any group of provinces or States, indeed any important province could, by threatening to secede, terrorise and paralyse a constituent assembly bent on establishing free unified India. Any province, certainly several provinces together, could dictate to the assembly by using their right to secede as pressure. This provision, therefore, should be dropped. Instead, constitution must grant the broadest possible autonomy, inside federation or confederation, to all provinces and States. Each province or State, however, will guarantee fair treatment to minorities. Any province or State may withdraw from the Indian Union after the trial period of five or more years.

We cannot agree with the concluding remarks of Fischer. We firmly believe that any provision which might be construed as granting the right of secession under any pretext whatsoever will be detrimental to the best interests of the country. Whatever might be the degree of centralisation that would be agreed upon between the parties at the coming constituent Assembly, it must be clear, specific and thoroughly understandable. The dubious language in which Congress resolutions on self-determination are still being clothed, ought to be finally shed, and it must be plainly told that no secession would be allowed during the formative period of Indian independence. Since the Muslim League's Lahore resolution of 1940, there has been enough talk on secession these five years, and every political mind, Hindu, Muslim or Christian, with reason and without motive, has expressed itself against the creations of Pakistan. Secession and Pakistan has been the battle cry only of the worst reactionaries who have entered the political field for gains in cash and kind.

British Export Drive of Consumer Goods to India

The slow and steady trickle of British-made

consumer goods into this country is being rapidly transformed into a growing stream. The success of the Hydari Mission is now apparent. British cloth and other goods are now on the market. Free from the fetters of the rationing orders, it will be easy for British cloth to fill the carefully maintained vacuum in the cloth market.

The Special London Representative of the *Leader* writes :

The Labour Ministry has eased the situation regarding coal for the winter and accelerated the demobilization programme so that on the domestic front the Government stands on solid ground. It has made a particularly good impression through the activities of the Board of Trade in promoting a big export drive.

Yesterday I visited about a dozen wholesale shops. 'What is the price of the nice overcoat', I asked in one shop. 'No sir, these coats are to be sent to Calcutta and Simla', was the reply. These are nice frames for glasses, can I have one of them?' 'No, sir, they are booked for export to India, we have none better than what you are wearing for our home trade.' Wholesalers in ties and socks told the same story. Their best material has been allotted by the Board of Trade for exports particularly to India. Well, there is a mighty drive for exporting *consumer goods* to India and *not capital goods*.

It has been difficult for the consumer to forget that during this war, the Indian manufacturer has let him badly down. He had to pay five times the normal price for putting an additional five per cent in the war profiteers' pocket. But the present danger is far more serious. For every rupee sent out of the country, the manufacturer and the consumer will be equal losers. From the newly started Buy Swadeshi campaign, it appears that our manufacturers have at last come to realise their blunder. Let them now atone for their past wrongs and jointly with the consumers devise means to guard against the avalanche of British exports coming to India.

Industrial Expansion in Indian States

A meeting of the Princes and their Ministers has recently been held in Delhi. A delegation of the Princes met the Viceroy and had talks with him on the constitutional position. As the members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have withdrawn their resignation, the old impasse has automatically come to an end. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* reports that important questions, apart from the political ones, concerning the future industrial policy of the States have emerged as a result of these talks. The States feel that their attempts at industrialisation had been obstructed by the Government of India during this war. Sir Manubhai Mehta was the Chairman of the Ministers' Committee. The correspondent writes :

The States are anxious to develop industrially and for that purpose have already sent delegation to Europe and America for purchasing machinery. In an article which recently appeared in the *Asiatic Review*, Mir Maqbool Mahmud, Secretary of the Princes Chamber, made a special appeal to British industrialists and financiers to help in industrializing the States. The Government of India have, however, been insisting that the States should bring up their taxation and other economic laws and regulations to

the same standard as British India. They are certainly right in principle in demanding that as there can be no such thing as industrial planning or economic unity for the whole country without this approximation, the States should not lag behind British India. With low taxation, cheap labour and such other advantages, the States may, for the time being, prove very tempting for the starting of new industries, but in the long run it is bound to unhealthy competition and conflicts which in their common interest they would both do well to avoid. Sir Manubhai Mehta accepted the need for approximation, but he asked whether it was fair on the part of the Government of India to ask them to follow policies and measures in the shaping of which they had no voice and whether the States should not be given sufficient time for the levelling up process. It is clear that some machinery has to be set up for facilitating this process of consultation and proceeding with industrial expansion on a basis of friendly co-ordination. At the same time it cannot be forgotten that if the Indian States are also to develop economically and raise the standard of living of their people, they must also embark on big schemes of industrial expansion. Sir Manubhai complains that the Government of India had been using their powers during this war period to obstruct industrial growth in the States.

The Princes have come to realise their political and economic helplessness. They, however, lamentably lack the boldness to present a united front against encroachments on what they consider their rights. The sooner they realise that their real interest is identical with the larger interests of the country, it would be the better for all. Subservience to the "Paramount Power" has earned them nothing but humiliation and degradation.

Strangling of Indian Industry

Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning, Government of India, has announced that the Government had under consideration the establishment of a Tariff Board to examine the claims for assistance or protection to wartime industries. India, therefore, has decided to do something after the end of the war what other countries in the British Empire itself accomplished shortly after the outbreak of hostilities.

Sir Ardeshir stated that the Government were also considering the establishment of a Government ship-building yard for the building of merchant ships as well as vessels required for the future Indian navy; an industry for the building of aircraft for civil aviation as well for the requirements of the Indian Air Force; an Indian Finance Corporation for financing medium and large-scale industries; and provincial institutions on similar lines for financing small-scale and cottage industries.

It is now quite clear that the industrialisation of India will have to take place in the face of strong opposition from: (a) the constitutional protection enjoyed by the British capital under the Government of India Act and (b) a combined denial of capital equipment to India by the U.K. and U.S.A. Sir Ardeshir's statement to the Policy Committee on Industries shows that there was capital equipment available in the U.S.A., Empire countries like Canada and Australia, and "neutral" countries like Sweden and Switzerland. In the scheme for the registration of capital goods 651 applications, totalling Rs. 34 crores and 90 lakhs had been accepted.

India needs capital goods and there are countries who could supply; but they cannot be brought because U.K. does not want India to build her own consumption industries instead of purchasing consumer goods from her. This is plain enough even to the man in the street.

The relevant portion of Sir Ardeshir's statement is given below, which is revealing :

There was one source, he said, from which it might be possible to secure capital equipment in the near future. "When in the U.S.A., I had interviews with the American disposals authorities, who informed me that nearly *ten billion dollars worth of industrial plant and machinery would be rendered surplus at the end of the war.* I have made arrangements with the Supply Mission at Washington to keep in touch with the disposals authorities and to inform the Government and industrialists in this country of the character and amount of the material that may be available for disposal from time to time.

Apart from the U.K., there are two countries in the British Empire from which *capital equipment may be available*, namely, Australia and Canada, and investigations for this purpose are being made. It is, of course, open to industrialists to make their own enquiries. The Government will render any assistance that they may require. *Switzerland and Sweden are two other countries from which there are some possibilities of securing capital goods*, but in their case the question of the availability of exchange will have to be fully examined.

Indian industrialists should now change their outlook. Instead of depending on foreign countries for the supply of capital goods, they should start in earnest to manufacture such goods in India with whatever materials they now possess. We are glad to learn that such attempt has already begun. Sir C. V. Raman, in an address to the Indian Chamber of Industries and Commerce at Bezwada, said that Mr. C. V. Reddy of Bezwada had produced complete machineries such as oil expellers and many such useful things in his own factories. The whole course of our economic negotiations is likely to change as soon as our industrialists unite and make an earnest start in manufacturing machinery in this country.

Quit India and the Official Economic Plans

With the intensification of the Quit India slogan, the provincial governments have been busy in producing grandiose schemes of economic reconstruction costing several crores of rupees. As was only to be expected the government of Bengal has produced the costliest scheme. A realistic note about these schemes has at last been struck in Orissa by Pandit Godavaris Misra, ex-Finance Minister of the Province. After the Governor had delivered his inaugural address constituting the Planning and Reconstruction Board saying that the popular ministry, when it would come, would be able to consider the materials prepared to the best interests of Orissa and that the continuity of the effort would remain intact, Pandit Misra expressed the fear that the continuity which the Governor wished to last might not be respected by the popular Ministry which would be formed after the elections fought on the issue of Quit India. He thought that the most important plan before the country was the Quit India plan.

Pandit Misra pointed out that Congressmen were invited to join the Board but they refused, evidently

because they had their own National Planning Committee under the Chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who had lately written to the Government of Orissa for the resumption of the usual grant to their committee. The speaker emphatically added that this planning under Pandit Nehru would have precedence over all other plans. That was why he doubted the continuity of the present plans after the advent of the popular Ministries.

We have had opportunities to go through only telegraphed summaries of other provincial plans, and to glance through the Bengal Government's plan. At the first sight this planning does not seem to be balanced according to people's needs. Thus Scheme No. 178 aims at the provision of "greater hospital facilities, especially in rural areas" and admits that the existing number of 6,400 permanent beds for 60,000,000 people is "most inadequate". It has, therefore, been planned to provide 500 new permanent beds during each of the five years of the plan, putting the target of the increase at 2,500 more beds only. The planning authorities, therefore, probably believe that 8,900 beds for 60 million people would be "adequate" and they feel content, in providing a total sum of Rs. 125 lakhs out of the total planned amount of Rs. 159 crores for this most important and urgent reform. Rough estimate of cost for this plan will be :

Capital	—	Total Rs. 50 lakhs
Recurring	—	Rs. 75 lakhs
		<hr/> Rs. 125 lakhs

This may be compared to the cost of only two items of reform provided for the Police Department. These provisions are :

	Total
Construction of building for the Police	Capital cost Rs. 64 lakhs
Construction of building for Calcutta Police	" 52.5 lakhs
Strengthening of the Calcutta Police	Recurring cost " 85 lakhs
	<hr/> " 201.5 lakhs

About Rs. 44 lakhs have been provided for the expansion of jails alone.

Every provincial government has, in declaring the plans, made it clear that the newly constituted Planning and Reconstruction Boards will be only Advisory Bodies, and will have nothing to do with the execution of the plan. Bengal, in its usual way, has gone one step further and has already imported a British expert to advise them as to whom they should invite for shouldering this arduous and difficult task. Two British civilians were entrusted with the drafting of the plan and presumably on these or similar people will rest the power of execution. Good advice is inevitably lost with them. The public have been kept completely dark about the report submitted by Dr. L. K. Elmhirst who had offered his honorary services for the drawing up of an Agricultural Improvement Plan. Will the Bengal Government tell the people if he had submitted his report and if not why not? We have seen Mr. J. R. Symonds, Deputy Director of Rehabilitation, leave his job in disgust. He finds it impossible to do any good to the people of the land with the help of the present

machinery at work at the Government Secretariat. Here in Bengal, the more inefficient a District officer is, the bigger and the more important is the nation-building portfolio allotted to him.

The people have come to believe, with good reason, that most of these provincial plans are mere camouflage calculated to hide the gross inefficiency and failure of the administrative machinery during the past six crucial years.

Reward for Yes Men

The *Associated Press of India* has expressed the view of certain political quarters that the appointment of Sir Chandulal Trivedi as Governor of Orissa marks the "beginning of the Labour Government's new policy." The special correspondent of the *Bharat Jyoti* says that well informed political quarters at New Delhi do not share this view. He says:

These quarters say that Sir Chandulal Trivedi has been the ideal Indian Civilian from the British point of view during the 1930 movement and as Chief Secretary to the C. P. Government when the Congress was in power. Moreover, he has been a loyal War Secretary to Lord Wavell and General Auchinleck.

It is well-known in Delhi that Sir Chandulal belongs to the old school of Indian Civilians who believed in carrying out the British policy in India without a dissenting note even in files. He was selected as the Secretary of the War Department in preference to Sir Gurunath Bhowar who had been appointed Secretary to the newly created Defence Department, as it served the Government better to have a "yesman" without political or social contact than an Indian Civilian who was popular among the members of the Assembly.

Thus it is believed that the policy of the Government is to appoint as Governors only those Indian Civilians who have unbroken records of loyalty to the British regime in India.

Another significant high appointment also deserves notice. Mr. M. K. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, who has succeeded in maintaining the much desired vacuum in the cloth market under a garb of bungling, has been appointed to hold the office of Deputy High Commissioner for India in London. Manchester and Lancashire most certainly need a man of his description, experience and "loyalty" at a moment when shipments of British cloth has just begun. A Churchill government could hardly have made better selections.

So far as Labour's new policy is concerned, India remembers that only a year ago the Labour Party Conference endorsed the right of India to independence and demanded the liberation of India's political prisoners. The people of this country have not failed to notice that Labour proposals for India declared by Mr. Attlee and Lord Wavell have carefully avoided the word *independence* and thousands of political prisoners still remain in jail.

A Typical Case in Bengal

The kind of communal partisanship indulged in by responsible Imperial officials holding charge of districts has recently come to light in a case in Bengal. The case arose out of a rioting in a village in the Mollahat Police Station in the district of Khulna which is a few hours' journey from Calcutta. Ninety Hindus were

being tried for nearly three months on various charges including rioting, burning of houses, causing grievous hurt and killing a number of Mahomedans. They have all been acquitted by the Additional Judge of Khulna.

The prosecution case was that on April 25, 1944, there was a serious rioting between the Hindus and Muslims in a village within the Mollahat Police Station. The officer-in-charge of the police station, a Hindu, appeared on the scene and succeeded in quelling the riot by resorting to firing. Next appeared the District Magistrate, a Muslim, named Mr. Hamid Ali and the Superintendent of Police, another Muslim named Mr. Ismail in another village near the village of occurrence on April 26, the day after the riot. They interviewed some leading Muslim residents of the place. Next day, i.e., on April 27, fire broke out in the Hindu locality of the village a place within two miles of the spot where the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were staying. Towards the afternoon of the same day, some Muslim houses in the village were on fire and this was followed by looting of Muslim houses and murder of a number of Muslims. Ninety Hindus were then arrested and sent up for trial.

It transpired in evidence that the District authorities on their arrival took no step to prevent the recurrence of the riot or to find out the real culprits of the riot of April 25, but simply contented themselves by interviewing some influential Muslim residents of the locality. The defence suggested that the presence of the authorities who were all Mahomedans and their interview with the Muslim leaders encouraged the Muslim rioters to begin the riot afresh and they commenced their atrocious activities by burning and looting Hindu houses and murdering a number of Hindus in the morning of April 27. The Hindus being exasperated at this sought for police help in vain and had no other alternative but to run away leaving their hearth and home behind and the District authorities appeared on the scene only when rioting and incendiarism spread out in Muslim areas. It appeared in evidence that no attempt was made by the authorities to stop the fire in the Hindu houses and the Hindu dead bodies were said to be lost. No inquest was made to identify them.

It also transpired in evidence that on the evening of the day of occurrence the officials assembled in a house, the owners of which were the leaders of the local Muslim community and dead bodies were also kept there. The dead bodies were not sent to Khulna or Bagerhat for postmortem examination but to Gopalganj in the district of Faridpur, the medical officer of which was a Muslim. The defence suggested that the Hindu dead bodies were not really lost but passed for those of Muslims. Some of the injured persons got first aid at Patgati dispensary in the district of Faridpur (which is very near to the place of occurrence) but the doctor who gave the first aid was not examined and the defence suggested that he was not brought in because he was a Hindu.

All witnesses on the prosecution side were Muslims. A special arrangement about the trial was also made, though whose exertions we do not know. Although Khulna is a "jury district", the trial was held with the help of assessors which was done under a special notification of the Government of Bengal. We have not seen that notification; it matters little whether the Muslim League Prime Minister or the League's patron—British officialdom—passed it.

The Judge found all the accused not guilty on all of the charges and acquitted all of them.

Such cases only illustrate the rotten state of affairs in the present-day administration run by British officials and grounded on communal system of recruitment.

A Document on Indian Settlement in South Africa

The Pegging Act in South Africa is now in operation. One Indian has been convicted and the second case is proceeding. After a violent outburst of wordy anger, Dr. Khare is silent. The Pegging Act is the culmination of a prolonged attempt by a section of the White people in South Africa to oust the Indians from that Dominion. A letter from C. F. Andrews written to Nepal Chandra Roy, which has just come into our hands, shows how important men in South Africa have protested against the vilification of Indians and have expressed ardent desire to have Indians in their midst. Of the two documents referred to in the letter, one is presumably lost. It could not be traced among the papers of the late lamented Nepal Chandra Roy. The other is given below :

Mombasa,
January 10th, 1920

My dear Nepal Babu,

These are two very important documents, which completely dispose of the Economic Commission Report finding against Indian settlement in Africa. The first is that of Dr. Albert Cook, who is perhaps the most famous Doctor in all Africa, and has written much on the subject of venereal disease in Africa. This disposes of the charge of moral depravity and vice against the Indian.

The second is the signed document from the Uganda Parliament, stating that they do want Indians. As this is the only articulate and self-governing body of Africans in Central Africa, their voice should be quite final in such matters. I am sending both documents to the Colonial office and also copies to the India Office.

Yours very affectionately,
C. F. Andrews

P.S.—Could you get these explained and published in the Bengali vernacular papers if you think well. The greatest proof of all that the change of immorality brought against the Indians, is false in this that in the whole volume of evidence of the Report there was not one single word (in all the indexed passages about Indians) on the subject of immorality at all.

The first document, Dr. Cook's letter could not be found. The second one, written by the Prime Minister and the Chief Justice of Uganda to C. F. Andrews is as follows :

Lukiko, Mengo, Uganda,
22nd December, 1919

Dear sir,

With reference to our meeting with you in our native Parliament this morning, we beg to confirm in writing our opinion we expressed on the following two points which came out, namely :

(a) We do want the Indians to remain in our country, as we consider that their being here would improve our country, and would do us a lot of good, and would do no harm to the country. Besides, we find them moral people. We would of course like better Indians.

(b) We do not want our country to be united to any other Protectorate, for, we consider that if this was done it would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1900, and our customs. We have other reasons besides. Therefore, we would very much like this protectorate to remain as it is.

We thank you for your coming to see us and our native Parliament, and we wish you a pleasant voyage.

Yours truly,
Apolo Kagwa, Prime Minister,
Staislos Enganya, Chief Justice,
Ministers of the Native Parliament.

Neglect of Bengal Fisheries

Bengal lives in villages and fish is a vital food for a Bengali. At no time in the history of Bengal did fish become scarce and a luxury food for the rich and the profiteer. In an address to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. S. L. Hora, Director of Fisheries, Bengal, gave reasons for the present high price of fish. He attributed several reasons of which we consider one, viz., the daily offtake of a constant maundage of fish from the market to be the most important. With the progress in the demobilisation plan, this offtake is gradually diminishing and the fish prices are showing definite signs of weakness. To this might be added another important reason, transport difficulty and shortage of ice. With the removal of these difficulties, the price of fish is bound to touch the normal level in no distant future.

An energetic Fisheries Department can no doubt do much good to the people. Unfortunately, however, this Department has suffered much neglect. Any talk of activating this department has resulted in a multiplication of fat-salaried officers. Some months ago, Dr. Baini Prashad had been appointed Fishery Adviser to the Government of India. He had recently been travelling in the U.S.A. arranging for seats for prospective Indian students who might go over there to study about fish. This was, and still is the kind of attention bestowed by the Central Government to the development of fisheries. This is what Dr. Hora said about the past neglect of the fisheries department :

In spite of great efforts that are now being made and honest and hard work that is being put into the development of fisheries, some of my intimate friends, either jokingly or in earnest, attribute the present scarcity and high price of fish to the establishment of a Fisheries Department in Bengal and to my appointment as its head. I think, even after the revival of the Department of Fisheries in May-June, 1942, if we had not suffered from neglect on the part of Government we may have been in a much better position to-day to handle the present problems more effectively. In 1923, when the defunct Department of Fisheries was axed, it had a technical staff of two Superintendents, two Zoological Assistants and four Fishery Officers. Hope was then expressed that in order to make an impression on the problems presented by the fisheries of the province, besides an expert head, a much larger organisation was required. From the time of its revival in 1942, the present Department was starved for two years and had only two District Fishery Officers and 5 Field Assistants. Schemes for its expansion, worked out by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst jointly with myself were agreed to only about a year ago. In the organisation of a scientific department, both money and material play an important part but, above all, there is the necessity of trained personnel.

The development of fisheries should, therefore, be regarded as a long-range project to be worked progressively according to well-planned 5-year programmes. Short-term schemes for immediate production could be dove-tailed into long-ranged projects. What the public must realise is that fisheries cannot be developed in a moment and that continued and fully sustained efforts will be needed over several decades to achieve the desired objectives. Collection and collation of scientific data must precede the formulation of any policy of fishery development.

We have doubts about the success of the Department simply by adding more officials. We believe that best results will be obtained by developing fisheries along co-operative lines. The fisherman ought to be aided in his day-to-day activities and his needs for improved equipments met. What he really needs is help and sympathy and not lessons in his own job from inexperienced foreign experts. Time, men and money will certainly be needed to develop any comprehensive scheme. The expansion must be made from the foundation upwards as Dr. Hora seems to be doing.

Mr. Casey's Attempt to Reform Bengal Administration

Mr. Casey had a Press conference to announce his scheme of Bengal administrative reforms. An enterprising Anglo-Indian contemporary has published the report of an exclusive interview granted by Mr. Casey while in England on leave. The people must be grateful to Mr. Casey for the thoughts that he had been giving on the different problems of Bengal—economic and administrative. They must be still more grateful that he has ventilated his views through Press conferences and special interviews to specially selected newspapers. It must be admitted that Mr. Casey had a distinct advantage over his predecessors in office. He is an Australian and thus he is not an out and out partner of the exclusive Imperialist British group that normally shoulders the "white man's burden" of a far-flung Empire and shares in the profits accruing therefrom. But as a nominee of Mr. Churchill's Tory Government, Mr. Casey was always looked at with diffidence by the average Bengali. In spite of various initial difficulties, Mr. Casey has been unflinching in his attempts at the betterment of this province but has failed in every sphere because the machinery of his government has been singularly unsuited to undertake any task which may lead to the welfare of the people. Besides, he failed to acquire local knowledge in spite of his incognito visits to markets and bustees. He had further started with a handicap under the trained tutorship of a hardened group of people known as the Indian Civil Servants. In reality, however, they are neither Indian, nor civil and certainly not servants. The Montague-Chelmsford Report rightly called them the "Ruling Corporation". Certain Indians have no doubt been taken in this group in order to Indianise the I.C.S. but great care had been taken to de-Indianise the Indians who were permitted to enter the service. Any Indian who gave the slightest sign that he wanted to remain an Indian found the door to the Executive Branch of the Service shut. It is but natural that this service will be unable to solve any single problem or to carry any nation-building scheme to fruition. Any scheme drawn up by these men means forging of some new fetters and the addition of some more weight on the over-weighted back of not the Bengal Camel but the Bengali Skeleton.

The British bureaucracy is the agency through which Imperialism in this country is exercised. The complete centralisation of all powers in their hands—the hands of the white bureaucracy—has been the one single aim right through the administrative change of the nineteenth century. The complete sterilisation of national aspiration in the government services and an absolute dependence on this group of officials have been the inevitable result of this process. The consequences have been disastrous to this country.

Mr. Casey's remedy is bound to be abortive. His whole scheme is a further multiplication of office and officers from Union Boards and Circle officers to Additional Chief Secretary. He will split up districts and multiply thanas. He will split up the Secretariat and multiply portfolios with an additional contingent of fresh hierarchies. He will have a Development Board and that completely manned by officials with a show of Advisory Bodies who will certainly be the usual nincompoops that are found gathering round officials with some personal axes to grind. The whole scheme is absurd and is calculated to strengthen the white bureaucracy's stranglehold on the entire system and reduce the powers and influences of the nation's representatives to a bigger mockery than what it has been for all these years. The Secretariat's sinister eagerness on the eve of the formation of a new popular Ministry, to arrogate all powers to themselves with a pretension to leave the Ministry free of all administrative burdens has been too thin to cloud even a fool's vision. The unseemly haste with which this tightening of the grip is proceeding is clearly manifest and is bound to be considered as indecent.

It is not in the number but the quality of men—not the foreign careerist but the national worker—on which depends the future of this country. A complete change of the administrative machinery from a foreign bureaucratic ruling system to an indigenous national corps devoted to the service and resurrection of a Free India is absolutely essential now. No repair, not even an overhaul of the present system will do. Mr. Casey believes that "too much has been expected from too few", but the people will return the answer that "too little has been done by too many" of the officials, towards real national regeneration for this past one century and over. The Bengal famine has been a visual demonstration of the so-called efficiency, competency and capacity of the whole bureaucratic ruling system. What is really needed is a complete liquidation of the present system and a substitution of a real, genuine and national system in its place.

Social Inequity a Prime Reason for Islamic Proselytisation

A very revealing statement made by Mr. Krishna Rao, Secretary, South India Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Madras, about mass conversions of harijans into Islam has been published in full in the daily *Nationalist* of Calcutta, dated October 12. We give below a summary of this very important document which shows how obvious the Hindu Society still is about its own welfare and how through sheer neglect mass conversions into other religions are taking place. The Hindus must have themselves to thank if they still permit such mass decay in their numbers which is having serious political and economic repercussions. Mr. Rao says:

Tinnevely is the headquarters of the district

with a population consisting of 90 per cent of Hindus, 6 per cent Christians and 4 per cent Muslims.

Depressed classes of this district consist of Pallans, Pariahs and Chucklers of whom Pallans are considered to be a little superior. Nadars who are in large numbers though considered as non-Brahmins are not allowed into the temples. Besides the Brahmins, there are Vellalas and Marawars. The latter were once a warlike nation and are still considered to be such. The Marawars are economically poor though there are certain rich people and some are zamindars. Criminal Tribes Act is applicable to certain groups of these people.

Nadars are the people who fall an easy prey to the Christian missionaries on account of the disadvantageous social position among the Hindu community. As for Pallans the main reason for changing the faith is on account of their being oppressed and suppressed by the Hindus on account of their birth. This tendency is more marked in the villages. They are not allowed, even without any exception for the women, to go into the streets with their upper cloths on. All these people are illiterate having no knowledge as to what caste is.

Of late the Muslim League has been carrying on a vigorous propaganda and a special mission is working backed by financiers. A magazine by the name of *Munetram* is being run for the benefit of the people of the locality. Meetings are held for the propagation of Islam where Hinduism is condemned. The immediate cause for the conversion appears to be the poor social and economic condition prevailing among the Pallans and the facilities which the Muslims were ready to give. In spite of the exertions made by the various people, only one family stuck to their original faith in spite of the tyrannies of the Hindus and assault by the new converts. I met all the members of the new converts including the leader and also the old Muslims of the village. The new Muslims seem to be satisfied with the new religion and they may not come back unless the attitude of the Hindus towards their community entirely change, since the Muslims are giving them equal treatment.

Scheduled caste people appear to be neglected. Unless the Hindus of the place are educated about the disadvantageous position they will be put into if the depressed class people go out of the Hindu fold, we cannot stop this mass conversion at this place. I had a talk with the leading men of this village and their attitude was very encouraging and any movement started by us at this place will be helped by the people of the locality. Their immediate requirement is the starting of a school for the children of these villages.

The next village I visited was Chemangulam. Here 20 out of 50 Hindu Pallan families and 70 Christians from 15 Christian families numbering about 90 persons have embraced Islam. I met all the new converts. Their main cause for yielding to this conversion is only their oppressed condition. Even the Christians have complained that they are in no way better in Christianity than the Hindu Pallans because even in Churches there is separate treatment for Vellala Christians, Nadar Christians and Pallan Christians while they are treated equally in their new faith.

In all the villages where I met these new Muslims, I find them fully dressed in lungis and shirts, saluting in the Islamic fashion in contrast to the Hindu Pallans who walk about with their loin-cloth and without any covering for the bodies. This is really an inducement to the uneducated Hindus who do not know the A. B. C. of religion except their own poverty-stricken condition and social degradation.

In general, I can say these conversions are mainly due to the acts of the Hindus who never took these poor people to be human beings. Added to this is their poor economic condition.

In the history of Bengal for the Muslim period we notice one very significant fact. Two waves of serious proselytising attempts have passed over this province resulting in mass conversions and both of these attempts were led by two Hindu converts into Islam. One of them is Sultan Jalaluddin, son of Raja Ganesh and the other Murshid Quli Khan, a Brahmin convert into Islam. Social inequity in the Hindu society and the social and economic oppression of the low caste Hindus by the higher castes provided the most fertile ground for this proselytisation. Intelligent observers might have noticed another significant fact in Bengal. Most of the scheduled caste members in the Bengal Legislative Assembly have as a matter of course sided with the Muslim members and it has been very difficult for Caste Hindus to win them over to their side.

Rationing Under A Bureaucracy

Bombay had so long been held up as an example to the rationing world. All eyes turned to that fortunate city and official after official ran there from Bengal to gain knowledge and experience in the working of the Bombay Rationing Scheme. Shrewd observers, however, wondered how a beneficial measure could work to the benefit of the people of the land under a bureaucracy manned and run by foreigners who had virtually no sympathy for the people of the land. Recent revelations made in the Bombay Municipal Corporation have still more confirmed the popular belief that no nation-building measure can work with success unless it functions under an administrative machinery which is a part and parcel of the nation and enjoys the full confidence of the people.

Two resolutions were passed. The first one reads :

That the Mayor be requested to submit a suitable representation to Government, inviting their attention to the inferior quality of foodgrain supplied under the Rationing Scheme resulting in adversely affecting the health of the citizens as could be seen from the increase in number of cases of scabies and other itching ailments, etc., and to stress the desirability of providing good quality of foodgrains in the interest of the health of the citizens.

The second resolution is :

That the Mayor be requested to submit a suitable representation to Government, inviting their attention to the bad quality of Rationed Rice sold at Re. 1-8-0 per Pylee which quality of grain is mixed up with dirt and stones which when removed leaves about half a Pylee of good grain available for consumption, and to prevail upon them to consider the desirability of getting these grains cleansed before they are distributed to consumers at such a high rate.

In the course of the discussion it was alleged that apart from foodstuffs, sugar supplied at the rationing shops was entirely unfit for human consumption as it contained dust and earth. One councillor pointed out that vegetable ghee supplied to the city was also responsible for the deterioration of public health. He said his information was that vegetable ghee contained fish-oil which was responsible for skin diseases. Another councillor alleged that Bajra was not sold at all for some

time and the Jowar sold to the public was four years old. This Jowar, he said, was sent to B'apur for famine relief last year or year before last. The surplus stock had come back to Bombay and was being sold to the public. The same trick was applied in Calcutta rationing last year. Sale of wheat at the local ration shops was restricted in order to get rid of a large stock of rotten atta. A general enquiry made by the Calcutta Relief Committee showed that it had resulted in a wholesale deterioration of public health all over the city. The enquiry was conducted by eminent men like Dr. B. C. Roy and Mr. Jnananjan Niyogy and the informations were obtained from practising physicians including the foremost practising medical men of the city. A general summary of the inquiry was published in these columns some time back.

Capitalist Ownership of Newspapers

Speaking at the Journalists' Club, Bombay, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand gave an impression of the British Press to-day. He said :

Journalism in the west since nearly ten years before the war had failed to live up to the nineteenth century ideals of promoting the idea of true democracy. This was very blatant when the non-intervention policy with regard to Spain was being followed and a tissue of lies was being foisted on the people. The Press in England was concentrating in the hands of just three or four people who owned 22 out of the 25 national dailies. This fashion of perpetrating lies reached a classic example during the Finnish war when overnight a hatred for Soviet Russia was created in the British people who were not told why Russia really attacked Finland. It was fascinating to compare this with the second period when Russia actually entered the war and the British Press overnight became its ardent admirers.

Even now despite six years of hard war, the Press is still being welded in a way different to what the people will. The Labour Party came to power despite 22 big papers being ranged against them and indulging in the most mendacious and putrid propaganda that had ever taken place.

With regard to India, Dr. Anand said that very scant attention was being paid to it. Even the Bengal famine trickled in only after 6 months. When the British people did hear of it, a wave of sympathy arose and they became conscious of their guilt. They came to believe that after all a slogan like "Quit India" meant somehow or other that they were not wanted in India. He said that the British Government had poured more money into propaganda against India after 1942 than ever before. That was why the British people never get to know of the real happenings in India.

This undesirable feature, the ownership of newspapers by big business, is appearing in India as well. Indian journalism, for the last one hundred years, has developed along the lines of service to the country. The profit motive was singularly absent. During this war, things have entirely changed. A newspaper is now more a profit-making machine than a vehicle for the organisation of public opinion and the ventilation of public grievances. The acquisition of newspapers by big business must portend a dark menace for the Indian public life.

Press Advisers Must Go

The *Tribune* reports that Madras has won the distinction of being the first province in the country to

abolish the post of Press Adviser. The functions of the Press Adviser were usually those performed by the Press censor. If he was not called by his proper name that was because camouflage was in vogue and the bureaucracy did not want the world to know that the Indian press was a censored press. Many items of news did not see the light of the day or came out in a mutilated form virtually devoid of any meaning because they were not 'press advised.' The lead of Madras should be followed by all the other provinces, as well as by the Central Government, without any further loss of time.

Employment to be Alternative or Additional ?

Mr. Gaganvihari Lal Mehta writes in the *Social Welfare* :

Agriculture undoubtedly is and will continue to be the most important industry in the country. While industrial development can only be broad-based on a strong and progressive rural economy, it is also true that planned industrialisation is essential to lift the people off the overcrowded land. We need industries in order to provide alternative sources of employment and augment the productive capacity of the country. We require them for developing national resources and utilising raw materials so as to raise the people from the subhuman level of existence to a decent standard of living and to achieve a balanced economy reasonably free from dependence on foreign markets and foreign sources for its economic well-being. But today we also want industrialisation for stability and continuity of employment as well as to prevent the collapse of economic activity leading to a deflationary spiral.

We have doubts regarding Mr. Mehta's idea of what he calls planned industrialisation. The real need of the Indian villager is the restoration of his additional employment through the age-old cottage industries. An alternative source of employment granted to him by uprooting him from his land will not certainly augment his economic condition. Such alternative employment ensured in factories has not so far succeeded in removing the dire poverty and uncertainty of life among that class as well. Indian economic life from time immemorial, had been based on two simultaneous sources of employment, agriculture and industrial activity at the hearth.

English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy

For about half a century, the works of Raja Rammohun Roy are out of print. It is regrettable that the writings of this great leader of modern Indian renaissance are beyond the reach of the people whom he had served. Many of the Raja's English tracts are of enduring value. His tract on modern encroachments on the ancient rights of females according to the Hindu law of inheritance will be of special value at the present moment when the Draft Code on Hindu Law is before the public. We are glad to find that the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj has undertaken to publish the English works of Raja Rammohun Roy under the joint editorship of Dr. Kalidas Nag and S. Debajyoti Burman. The first part has been published and it contains the Raja's tract on Hindu female's property right just referred to.

THE DEMAND FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

"Full employment in the United States is the first step on the road to permanent world-wide peace. Other nations look at the tremendous economic power of the United States, at the violent fluctuations in the American business cycle, at the previously demonstrated ineptitude of the American Government in dealing with the problem, and after seeing all this and looking toward the future, they shudder and pray—pray for full employment in the United States, not because they love the U.S. but because they know that without full employment here there is worldwide trouble." With this broadside Henry Wallace opened the campaign for full employment in the U.S. which nearly lost him his present job, and even when the job did come to him it was with all its dollar-teeth pulled out. But in spite of all the panic and furor of the big interests, the idea seems to have come to stay and in fact is taking definite shape. President Roosevelt's target of 60 million jobs and senator Murray's Full-Employment Bill are the direct result of this idea.

The sinister background which has led up to this must not however be lost sight of. It may stagger a good many conventional-minded people to be told that the U.S. is regarded as the economic sick man of the post-war world by all thinking individuals in every country. Its titanic productive capacity can make or unmake the rest of the world. If the U.S. lapses back into its old malady of flooding the world markets through exports, giving credits freely while at the same time raising high tariffs and restricting imports, then it will once again disorganise its own economy and begin exporting unemployment as it did in the early thirties. The solution is therefore obviously "Full Employment".

A similar slogan is echoing in other parts of the world. At San Francisco two of the British Dominions, Australia and New Zealand, were amongst those who sponsored the establishment of the economic and social council, one of whose functions would be to create conditions for "Full Employment" on as large a scale as possible.

Its need has already been stressed for Britain by Sir William Beveridge in his scheme, for his plan makes full employment an indispensable precondition. Without this achievement his plan falls to the ground. Sir Beveridge has followed up his earlier report on Social Insurance and allied services by a very thought-provoking treatise on this burning topic of Full Employment. To Britain as to the United States, this problem has become one of crucial interest. Britain's economic power has become considerably crippled as the result of this war through the liquidation of her major assets abroad, loss of the means of production due to destruction during the war, decline in the shipping and financial services and the like. Several of the essentials that Britain depends upon such as food, dairy products, certain types of textiles, wines etc., have to be imported from abroad. These up to the outbreak of World War II had been met by the income from investments abroad and the various services. With the present decline in both, it is obvious that Britain has no option except to

either borrow or increase her exports. As she is already a heavy debtor-nation, she has no stomach for further borrowing. So she is forced to fall back upon a 50 per cent increase in the exports to meet the deficit. This again means adequate demand and working at full productive peak which is possible only with full employment.

Thus Full Employment has long moved from an academic issue to one of immediate practical realisation. Thus on January 22, we find Senator Murray introducing his Bill in the U.S. Senate, the major objective of which may be briefly stated as follows:

"The full utilization of the national resources of the country and provision of full time employment of all those seeking work. The responsibilities of the Federal Government for achieving these objectives would be: adoption of policies and programmes calculated to stimulate the highest avenues of employment through private and state effort; preparedness for federal investment and expenditure to ensure continued full employment. For this purpose the Bill provides that the president be required to transmit to Congress a national production-and-employment Budget, which would estimate the total number on the labour market, the aggregate value of expenditures required to provide employment opportunities for this number, the anticipated value of expenditures both private and public, and where the last is not large enough to provide full employment, the President to recommend legislation toward contributing to filling up this gap through monetary, trade and fiscal policies; and finally if this is inadequate, the Government to suggest additional federal expenditures and investment to provide for the potentially unemployed."

But before we understand the full implication of this we must be clear as to what is meant by full employment. According to Beveridge, in a free society, it means an overwhelming number of employed over the unemployed. According to his definition, full employment is designed to operate in the institutional pattern of private enterprise, the price system, and freedom of choice of occupation for each individual. It must be realised that under these pre-conditions as envisaged in a "Free Society" (as opposed to totalitarian) the problem in a way becomes more complex than under rigidly worked out regimented procedures of a dictatorial state. Flexibility both in the selection of jobs as in mobility of movement being a pre-condition of free society, under the present economic structure, a certain amount of unemployment at any given moment is inevitable. Sir Beveridge thus argues that England must expect even at theoretical full employment, not less than 3 per cent of the labour force of the country to be unemployed. This is governed in the main by seasonal fluctuations by frictional unemployment and by the tides in overseas demands, which could not be overcome completely even by planned programmes. On this basis the figures for unemployed at any given moment in the United States would be 2½ to 3 million or 5 per cent

of the total U.S. labour force. This inevitable feature can therefore be met only by unemployment insurance.

The first condition of a full-employment programme is adequate demand or theoretically, "total demand. The second, controlled location of industry and allied to it, organised mobility of labour. The first is greatly dependent on the purchasing power of the largest section of society, which means that money wages shall rise as rapidly as productivity increases. But it should not be to the extent of increasing prices, for that merely works back adversely to the workers. Thus a machinery has to be devised for the purpose of regulating wages through strong, well-organised unions and the practice of collective bargaining on the one hand and maintaining stability in the cost of living on the other.

But to start with, all of this works back to the realities of production, that is outlay to ensure the creation and maintaining of the required number of jobs to secure full employment. The responsibility for this is increasingly coming to be recognised as that of the State, and this to be achieved through a national policy. This calls for a cardinal break with the old conventions which have regulated the past economy in keeping down State expenditure. In fact a government which aims at full employment should be ready to spend more than what it takes away from the people in the shape of taxes. The State outlay must be designed with a view to laying low the social evils that haunt society today such as want, disease, overcrowding, ignorance and the like through a bold and comprehensive programme of public investment and construction. The economic returns will be as big and sound and real as the social. Economists are agreed that planning this way on an expanding scale will reduce the cyclic fluctuations. We shall presently see why.

Full employment gives each individual who is able to produce, the opportunity to do so. Thereby we ensure the maintaining of the desired standard of living for as large a section of society as possible through the supply of the required goods. It also means non-wastage of economic resources. Moreover, a condition under which there are more jobs than worker-applicants, is of greater advantage to the workers and likely to augment their bargaining strength. The outlay is in no way an additional burden as is often mistakenly supposed: Therefore, the question whether a government can afford the plan or not hardly arises. In reality unemployment is caused by the uneven distribution of spending power which gets transferred from the pockets of the many to the pockets of the few. With the result, demand declines and industry deteriorates and workers get thrown out. For full employment this process has therefore to be reversed so that the national income may be redistributed to increase the purchasing power of the many who are today deprived of it. Where private enterprise falls short of the volume required to keep industry up to the mark required for full employment, the gap must be filled by government investments and constructive schemes. In fact the principle now recommended by several economists of note is for the government to maintain the normal procedure of keeping all factors of production in full operation. At all times unemployment can only be tackled by the government undertaking expenditure. It would be decidedly more economic in the long run to prevent unemployment than institute inadequate measures, such as the WPA, PWA, FERA, etc., in the U.S.A. Keynesian economists therefore insist that

unless measures to keep spending up to income earned in a given period are enforced, there will not only be unemployment but it is bound to spread cumulatively. For instance, if in a certain period the income is 100 million and the spending only 80 million, there is bound to be a 20 million reduction in demand and those affected by this drop must in turn reduce their expenditure and thus the cycle of depression widens.

Although the first condition to a full employment programme is total demand, certain other requisites are equally necessary. Location of industry for instance is of the utmost importance not only from the point of rational planning of land and resources, but also of solving the complexes of structural unemployment. Where industries spring up haphazardly especially in and around large cities, groups of communities are left without jobs in other parts. At the same time overcrowding in itself creates so many serious social problems and a high mortality.

The third condition is mobility of labour, that is movement of labour from trade to trade, and industry to industry, which means flexibility of the labour supply and sufficiency of demand. That is labour in accordance with the requirements of dynamic economy, will be moved rapidly and directly to new jobs when required, in an organised manner. This implies removal of all restrictions that make such movements rigid, and provision by the state for the necessary training which can make such required changes possible. Otherwise there may be an over-supply in an old industry and scarcity in a new one, with considerable economic damage to industry and labour alike.

Basically however we work back to total demand, for without it the rest fall to the ground. For this all economists, social and labour workers are agreed that the responsibility must devolve on the government essentially and to an increasing extent. For what Sir Beveridge describes as a free society has yet to be realised, in which there would be free competition, no monopolies, with flexibility of prices and wages, and complete mobility of capital and labour.

The struggle to achieve this, however, gets primarily centred round the basic right of every adult to a job versus the supremacy of private enterprise. It is, however, now clearly recognised that private enterprise by itself cannot fulfil the conditions for full employment. In fact it is being found increasingly difficult to fit private enterprise into any systematic planning. It is to achieve this that the new type of budget is now called for, one in which are included: private consumption outlays; private investment outlays at home; balance of payments abroad; tax-financed public outlays; loan-financed public outlays, etc. But where private concerns are involved, the factors become uncertain, although some like Sir Beveridge have hopes of securing a high degree of stability through the regulation of a National Investment Board, for internal private enterprise, is problematical in itself not to speak of the fluctuations of foreign balances, which are admitted on all hands to be almost beyond control. The only alternative seems to be socialised State control. For that would ensure not merely the increase of production and adequate jobs, but at the same time the best use of the productive resources, the highest standard for the largest number and above all, social priorities in the financial outlay itself, that is expansion of the public sector of the economy in terms of social services.

SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM

Some Aspects

By PROF. ANATH GOPAL SEN

MARXIAN socialism, as we all know, does not recognise private property or personal profit. All instruments of production such as land or factory must belong to the State, and all trade and commerce have also to come under its management. The role of all citizens there is to work as paid employees under one single all-embracing employer—the State. The underlying object of this revolutionary concept was to do away with the invidious distinction between the rich and the poor, the exploiter and the exploited, or to use the more precise terminology—the Bourgeois and the Proletariat and to place all members of the human race on an equal footing by removing all inherent causes leading to this painful inequality by means of offering equal economic opportunity, political power and social status to all. It was even decided to do away with all honours and titles savouring of special power and prestige. And as the Church formed a subsidised adjunct of the State and lent its great moral support in all its activities and upheld and glorified the submissiveness and docility of the poor and the oppressed with a halo of sanctity in the name of religion, so religion also came in for much criticism and was a taboo in this newly conceived society. They went further, and lest the softer feelings, the nobler instinct or the old traditional moral precepts and practices make the members of this new society susceptible to any kind of weakness in their revolt against all past principles and practices, all sentiments and emotions which reflected our moral urge and guided our social relations so long, were declared counterfeit. So it was permissible for a husband to divorce his wife or a wife to divorce her husband by dropping a post-card in the Post Office and to take a fresh wife or a fresh husband was only a matter of a few minutes by attendance at the Marriage Registrar's office. It followed therefore that love was a kind of undesirable weakness or a sort of prejudice which should not be acknowledged as the basis of relation between the two sexes. And to parade their view that the sex only mattered in their relations, many young people intoxicated with such ideas went to the length of molesting the other sex in broad daylight in public thoroughfares (p. 215 of *Mother Russia* by Maurice Hindus) : The immortal literature of Tolstoy, Pushkin, Chekhov was also to be boycotted lest they might weaken our minds through our finer aesthetic sense and sensibility. What bitter and fiery feelings of revolt against the past,—thanks to the vice and corruption, hypocrisy and heartlessness, exploitation and oppression rampant in the so-called civilised society of today ! But it must be admitted that these dangerous and extreme feelings having achieved their object through a process of terrible vendetta were trying to curb and readjust themselves in a more dispassionate frame of mind. Strange though it may seem, the swing of the pendulum is now rather on the opposite direction. The past history and culture which were abandoned for their association with the old Bourgeois class, are

now being reintroduced with new zeal and vigour from which the heroic tales and parables of the long-dead kings and Emperors, of the much-hated Tsars even, are not excluded. Internationalism which was the very basis of this new powerful creed is already giving place to an intense feeling of nationalism. Internationalism now exists there almost in name, as a political stunt, as in other imperialistic countries. Inequality in wealth, power and status is already making its reappearance, the only difference being that in place of the old rich and aristocratic class, a new class has reared its head from amongst the Proletariats as Managers and Directors of collective farms and State factories. This new class is now confronted with a new kind of problem. Their problem is how to spend or invest the large income which they are now permitted to draw as wages from the State, as both the old methods of expenditure and investment are yet denied to them. There is a limit to the purchase of consumers' goods in case of each individual within the country and their export from abroad by private citizens is not permitted. How are they to spend or invest money—is therefore their problem. It may be invested in interest-bearing Government bonds, but if this additional income cannot be utilised in any private enterprise or spent according to individual desire for purchasing movable or immovable property or any other fanciful thing, it will be an additional burden to him making his brain a devil's workshop, as his materialistic creed does not permit him spiritual or even aesthetic pleasure. On the other hand, there is already the problem of surplus production in some industries in Russia. Thus on the one hand, there is surplus, unusable money in the hands of the richer people, on the other, there is unwanted production in some spheres. The probable tendency of such a situation is towards reopening of foreign trade on capitalistic basis. That is to say, production should be only for consumption of the people and not for sale in terms of money throughout the world with a view to making profit,—this fundamental principle of socialism is to be abandoned and they are to revert to the first step towards State capitalism and international trade rivalry. The next step is Imperialism and inevitable recurrence of world war. Of course, they are trying their best to avoid such a deplorable situation but the circumstances in which they find themselves today, seem to be beyond their control and it is doubtful if they will be able to keep some of their most fundamental principles inviolate.

Let us now examine why it is so. They were trying to mould man and society like cast-iron in a new steel-frame and with that object in view they proceeded to enunciate their theory based on certain assumptions which are unfortunately themselves untenable. Let me state these assumptions one by one. First, there are two and only two classes of people living in human society, the rich employer and the poor employee and the one oppresses the other. Besides these two, no

other class, nothing else exists. Secondly, the physical hunger of the man alone counts and the history of human civilisation is the history of the physical struggle for existence. The eternal search of man for the divine unknown and the unknowable has little or no place in it. Thirdly, all inequalities in human society have resulted from the present social arrangements and can be entirely removed by a radical change in social structure. Here also they seem to take no notice of the existence of natural inequality. Fourthly, they take it for granted that the end justifies the means and if the end is noble, means,—foul or fair, violent or non-violent, do not matter. Last but not least—the sense of possession ingrained in men, is capable of being uprooted completely. Basing their faith on these a priori assumptions, they brought about a terrible bloody revolution in the conspiring darkness of the night and by confiscating all private property by force, transferring them to the proprietorship of the State, reduced all men to the same level and prepared the ground for a fresh race for existence for all citizens of Russia from the same starting point. Though terrible, it is a great and memorable landmark in the history of human society and we take our hats off to the leaders of this revolution. So long, the struggle for existence was an extremely unequal one; some were on bike, some on horseback, some were riding motor cars, some even were flying in planes, while the overwhelmingly large masses of toiling, starving people of the world equipped only with a dangling pair of legs, were asked to keep pace with them! This is an intolerable situation and undoubtedly deserved radical change. Marx, Engel and Lenin have established their claim to eternal gratitude of these dumb, down-trodden millions of mankind by raising their thunderous voice of protest and unfurling the banner of revolt against this inequality and inequity born of murderous greed and loathsome selfishness. They have opened a new chapter in the progress of social ideas and concepts on behalf of these countless havenots and all thanks to Russian revolution for that. But lo and behold! What is again happening there? Even after the most unexpected had happened—after the poorest and the lowliest have secured equal opportunity with all his fellowmen, to start life's race from the same point, the race is again taking a bad turn for many. For, to offer equal opportunity to all is not the same thing as to keep all people's growth at the same height for all times. While the former should be the ideal of human society and is the foremost demand of the times which should be carried into actual practice without delay, the latter is impossible of achievement even by force. If we however insist on this impossible demand, we shall have to prepare steel jackets of the same size and imprison all men in them just as the Chinese would cripple the lotus feet of their womenfolk by putting them in iron-shoes. In that case we may have all men of the same standard height just like the lilliput feet of the Chinese girls. But what specimen of humanity! Can such fight against nature succeed or if it succeeds, what good can it bring to us except suicide of the human race by an indirect slow process.

Gandhiji fully realises this and hence he says:

"My ideal is equal distribution, but so far as I can see, it is not to be realised. I, therefore, work for equitable distribution."

He further says,

"The idea of inequality, of 'high and low' is an evil, but I do not believe in eradicating evil from the human breast at the point of the bayonet. The human breast does not lend itself to that means."

The truth is we can not maintain the physical and intellectual capacity of all men stationary on the same level for a pretty long time. Even if all of them are given the same opportunity and equal start in life, some are bound to go ahead and acquire more power and influence than others in course of time. The remedy does not lie therefore in keeping them suppressed by force or violence or by doing away with private property and private enterprise altogether, but in so remodelling our economic structure and social ideal which while allowing reasonable outlet for the human instinct of personal enterprise and possession, will serve as an automatic check to the accumulation of all wealth and power in increasingly fewer hands as at present. Russia has realised the weakness of her methods and are now trying to retrace her steps and readjust herself as I had already indicated. But as some of her basic propositions are weak and unsound, I am afraid she will no longer be able to lead the suffering world to her original goal of international and classless society based on true democracy though she has attained for herself a first rank position in the world and may retain it for some time. She is again before cross-roads.

Let us discuss her position in more detail. The obsession that human society is divided into two classes only—the capitalist and the labourer—was one of her weaknesses; because although this obsession may be considered natural in view of all the miseries and sufferings that followed the nineteenth century Industrial Revolution from widespread social disintegration, it was not essentially true. If it is at all possible to classify humanity into different groups according to their qualifications and professions, then I think its division into four classes made by Sree Krishna in the *Gita* is more scientific. It would probably not have mattered much if instead of four, Sree Krishna created eight or more Varnas; because in so doing we would only be recognising the diverse character and manifold activities of the human race. But it does matter when any state or society cannot provide all classes of its men and women with a reasonable standard of food, clothing, education and medical aid along with the fullest scope for self-development. The Marxian socialists thought that if out of the two classes of people which comprised the entire human race, they could exterminate the one, i.e., the Bourgeois by appropriating their property and making them slaves of the State, there would remain only one class and a classless society would therefore automatically emerge. But the job was not so simple as they originally thought it to be. And although they had succeeded in exterminating the Bourgeois class by a bloody revolution, neither classless society nor democracy, nor internationalism has yet resulted therefrom. The old aristocratic class has no doubt gone to the wall, but a new similar class is growing in its place. The Tsar was killed with all the members of his Royal family, but a dictator, many times more powerful than he, has taken his place. Our hearts became dry and desolate like deserts and were yearning and longing for some things which we could regard as our own, decorate and beautify as we wished and whereon we could bestow our love and tender care. Now we have got them back,—

my cow and my hen, my garden and my home have been returned to me. I have also got back my motor car and my bank pass-book. We denied and decried religion, showed scant courtesy to the old accepted moral principles but the late American President had forced us to swear again by religion in a moment of national crisis during the last war. We wanted to efface and black out completely our culture and history of centuries, prior to October revolution; but we are now again busy with the past ransacking it for all our inspirations. We wanted true democracy wherein disciplined men and women could live with their full personal liberty in complete mutual understanding and co-operation, and where the State would exist only in name, ultimately to wither away. But we have received in its place a ruthless dictatorship. We wanted world revolutions so that the peasants and labourers of all the countries might be free and happy, but we now find that that chapter must now remain sealed, as we have got to appease our friends, Anglo-America. Our resolve was to crush imperialism out of existence from under the sun and to establish close-knit fraternity among the Proletariat class of all countries. But by a strange irony of fate, we now find that the greatest imperialistic nation of the world is our friend and ally. We thought that we should be able to offer some amount of leisure and peace to our workers and peasants but alas! war intervened and this hope was also dashed to the ground. The tragedy is that we see no prospect of peace and leisure even in the near future, because who knows, that he who is our friend and ally today, will not unsheath his sword against us and be our bitterest enemy tomorrow. So we must remain armed to the teeth and also learn to make and use the devil's bomb in six months' time. We did not want aggression but self-defence has forced us to surrender some of our cherished ideals. What could we do? This is western politics. I must live myself first before I can think of such nobler things as world salvation.

We quite understand but our apprehension is—will anything remain of your ideals if this fear complex, mutual distrust and armament race are not brought under control, with a sort of come-what-may determination? Here we are to turn to Gandhiji for this complete fearlessness and trust. Even if they betray him, they cannot harm him one thousandth part of what distrust, fear and modern war can do and are doing. Because we have seen that victorious or vanquished, little of what we value in life—material, moral or spiritual—can be saved by fighting modern wars. Once we deviate from truth and follow in the slippery path of European power-politics, the ultimate fate is bound to be what has overtaken Soviet Russia today. There is no escape from war or from its attendant horrors, however much we may swear by the highest ideals of socialism. I will not speak of non-violence here, because our rational mind and scientific conscience are likely to be shocked. But I can not help mentioning of truth, though here also practical men of affairs have no faith in it as a guide. They dare not condemn it openly but to them truth also smacks of spiritualism and they don't like its stench in business affairs. But whatever their conviction about the utility of truth in political or worldly matters, we cannot live without it. In fact, truth rightly understood is not really a spiritual thing but truest science and highest logic. It is the concentrated essence of rationalism of which we are so proud as modern men. The function of science is to ascertain the law

which upholds and directs this universe. The correct knowledge about that law is truth. In this living universe when we find the existence of both matter and spirit, there is no reason why physics alone and not metaphysics should be regarded as science and why the forces working in the mental, moral and spiritual spheres, the story of their actions and reactions, their growth and decay should be regarded as irrational faith or a blind prejudice. If we fail to recognise the spiritual forces and do not care to develop, control and utilise them, the fate of all human efforts for the uplift of human society will be as fruitless as ever and socialism to the extent that it is not based on truth, can not also reach its desired goal. So long we have watched with admiration and wonder the amazing achievement of Soviet Russia, but we are afraid we have to watch with a grievous heart her grand preparation for suicide along with other capitalistic nations unless there is a complete change of heart on their part. However noble and high, the goal of Soviet Russia may be, no power on earth can fight against the law of nature and achieve lasting results by the strength of man-made laws.

Now let us turn to Gandhism. To secure the rights and liberties of the underdogs is also the life's mission of Gandhiji. But to achieve his goal he is not prepared to use any means which can not stand the test of truth and non-violence. What is truth and what is non-violence is the subject of his lifelong research and for the political and economic salvation of India, nay of the whole world, he is experimenting with them in a spirit of an ascetic or a Fakir keeping himself above all personal desire, possession and greed. We underrate truth and non-violence, even deride them, because we have never cared to understand or study them. Truth is not the exclusive property of the spiritual world not to be introduced in matters mundane. It is an equally powerful weapon in politics, if one desires permanent peace and eternal strength for mankind. Neither non-violence is cowardice or a meaningless fad, having no application in national struggle or in war of offence or defence. To quote Gandhiji,

"Non-violence is not passivity in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understand it, is the most active force in the world. Its hidden depths sometimes stagger me just as much as they stagger fellow workers."

These are no vain words of a vain politician but they are words wrung out from the deepest depths of a lifelong seeker of truth, of a great hero and a lifelong fighter. It is not possible for me to unfold here in detail the hidden strength and beauty of truth and non-violence which Gandhiji has been able to explore by his untiring experiments with them by means of total self-denial and self-effacement.*

He has realised this much from his experiments (with truth and non-violence) that the life-current of the universe can not be ordered by any human power to flow in a particular channel according to his desires. This evolutionary force is not subject to any convention or theory however carefully prepared and adopted by the most learned men. He has seen that by divine will, light and darkness, truth and untruth, life and death, live side by side, one as the counterpart of the

* Those who are interested, will kindly read his *Non-violence in Peace and War*; *The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, published by the Oxford University Press; *Practical Non-violence* by Mashruwala; *A Discipline for Non-violence* by Gregg.

other. You can not think of one without the other. But the eternal march of man is from darkness to light, from untruth to truth, and from Death to Eternal Life and Bliss. We cannot drive darkness, untruth and death altogether out of existence by force, but we can rid them of much of their poison and make them harmless. Because we can do it, so has it been possible for us still to exist. However much and aloud jealousy, greed, egotism, senseless bigotry and strife may shout and proclaim themselves as the masters of the situation, the principal actors of the stage, they are not the real heroes, or the moulders of the world-destiny. They are not even in majority, though it may be admitted that in recent times their activities have increased to a fearful extent. But the tragic fate of Hitler and Mussolini, of Tojo and many others ought to serve as a timely warning to those who are still blinded by greed and power. The Anglo-American and Russian heroes may also learn lessons from it. Churchill's fall from power is also a good pointer. The writings on the wall are quite clear.

In this setting, the advent of Gandhiji is probably not a mere accident. There may be a divine purpose behind it, *viz.*, to save humanity from the kind of tragedy we are passing through. But how will he do it? He has no army, no police at his back. He would not apply any force on the miscreants. He would not take away the wealth of the rich by force and give it away to the poor. He does not believe in such gifts. He thinks that it only leads us from one injustice to another, from one oppression to another oppression; because two wrongs do not make one right. Yet he must improve the lot of those who have not, who are dust-trodden. But the question remains, how can he succeed, if he will not apply any force or violence? The rich will not give away their superfluous ill-gotten wealth to the poor simply because Mahatmaji wants it or by mere sight of him? Quite true. But who says that Gandhiji has no power or will not apply force? If he had no power, how could he move and sway millions of Indians as he pleased, how could he be the undisputed leader of the largest mass of humanity in the present-day world, though half-naked, with a crutch as his only outward support? Why does the mighty British Government have to declare war against him again and again and negotiate a settlement with him, in spite of an Indian army of one crore of men and all the valiant and learned Indian Knights standing behind and in support of the Government? His power is a dangerous power; it does not cut outwardly, but causes internal haemorrhage. We do not know that power, nor have we tried to know it. So he has not yet been able to gather the laurels of victory for us, but he has neither been defeated, because the cause of Truth can never be lost. Look at the West. See how they are losing their costliest victories attained by beastliest methods. That is the way of God, the way of Truth. So, Gandhiji, though outwardly defeated, is really advancing. You may depend on it. The enemy has no peace of mind even after achieving so-called victory over him. They know the brute force, can fight against it without any qualms of conscience or any weakness of heart, can enjoy a brutal pleasure after victory. But by shooting the followers of Gandhiji, breaking their heads or putting them in jails in thousands, there is no peace of mind. Besides, the people of the world have begun to behave strangely! Their heads sometimes ache for Gandhiji, Jawaharlal and Azad and they do not even

refrain from asking unpleasant and unsavoury questions about India, in spite of crores of rupees spent in world propaganda in favour of our friends' benevolent activities here! Truth is inexorable. It is not afraid to face the combination of all the dangerous weapons of warfare invented by men, not even the atom bombs; because truth is divine law, or if we are shocked in the name of divinity and think it as 16th Century trash, then call it the law of nature or the law of the universe. So, if we deviate from this law, we are sure to come to grief in the long run, though we may achieve temporary success. "Permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence," says Gandhiji. To him, to quote his own words, "There is no wall of separation between means and end . . . Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means."

It is in this respect that Gandhism differs fundamentally from socialism. It is for this reason that he is against forcible expropriation of the wealth and property in the possession and control of private individuals, although he is equally eager that the existing inequality and inequity must cease without delay. To achieve this object we need neither kill the capitalists or the rich, nor seek their favour. We are only to rouse the dormant consciousness of the working masses to enable them to realise their strength, only to impress on them a very simple truth, which they have been made to forget that "no person can amass wealth without co-operation, willing or forced, of the people concerned. The moment labour recognises its own dignity, money will find its rightful place, *i.e.*, it will be held in trust for labour. For labour is more than money." Gandhiji proceeds:

"If capital is power, so is work. Either power can be used destructively or creatively. Either is dependent on the other. Immediately the worker realises his strength, he is in a position to become a co-sharer with the capitalist, instead of remaining his slave."

Let me quote also from a well-known western authoress, Ethel Mannin:

"The masses, the world over, do not have to seize power, since it is by their toil that the wheels go round and the earth brings forth; this is their power; their strength lies in their realisation of it. With the withdrawal of their co-operation the whole machinery of the social system ceases to function, and the power of politicians breaks, eventually, under the pressure of the moral force of public opinion. No general strike, no rioting, was necessary on the part of the British working classes in 1920 to break the Government's intention of intervention against the revolutionaries in Soviet Russia; the Government was defeated by the great weight of opinion of the common people who poured out into the public squares and into meeting-places in mass protest. The shameful Hoare-Laval pact during the Abyssinian war was similarly defeated by the great weight of popular opinion against it. The power of moral force has not yet been fully tried out, though in India one old, frail man has demonstrated its potentialities—as the early Christians demonstrated the potentialities of co-operative living according to the law of love."

So, we have not to use bombs and revolvers, we are simply to withdraw our two arms of co-operation. But the question will arise—How can we arouse these

feelings in the minds of the common men? The Agents of the Imperialists and exploiters are standing on the way. But whom will they oppose; and for what offence? Nobody is conspiring a bloody revolution to overthrow the exploiters. What we are expected to do is to organise and improve agriculture, village crafts and industries, primary education and health of the villagers in a true spirit of service and non-violence without greed, without rancour. Where is the crime? If even this is considered a crime, then how many people will they imprison without real offence and without trial? A few years back, it was dangerous to utter the word *Swaraj*. It is now on everybody's lips, in every line of the newspapers. It may be still intolerable for our rulers' underlings. But how many mouths will they gag? And how many pens will they snatch? They are multiplying unmistakably and outnumbering and outwitting the police. Where there is no crime, no sin, on the contrary, where sin and crime lie on the other side, there Truth must slowly but surely establish its own victory in its own inscrutable way.

What we require today for our victory is the return of our active faith in the invincible strength of Truth. If we can invoke or rekindle that faith in us, no power on earth shall be able to resist it. The day has come when Truth should be resurrected from the cold storage of spirituality and applied on the material plane.

That is why Gandhiji considers the expropriation of the existing private property by violent means unnecessary and wants to treat the rich as the Trustees of public funds and thus give them a chance for using their wealth for the good of the people. If they do not behave themselves, they will be removed from the trustee's position by a court of law. If, on the other hand, they discharge their trust conscientiously and honestly, they may be entitled to draw a remuneration of 5 to 6 per cent out of the net income or profit of the trust property, applying the rest to public cause. According to Gandhiji's idea, the highest income of any one should not be more than 12 times the lowest income, whereas in Soviet Russia the disparity between the maximum and the minimum incomes is already 80 to 1! Their highest figures compare quite favourably with the corresponding figures of the richest capitalistic country, U.S.A.! The question may be raised—where is the sanction to enforce Gandhiji's formulae against the rich so far as we, Indians are concerned? Our reply is that if the power of Truth and the non-violent war can achieve *Swaraj*, then it would be an incomparably easier job to deal with the rich capitalists and landlords of the country. But if we fail to achieve the substance of self-government, then the question of what to do with the capitalists and other Indian exploiters becomes irrelevant. Because they will continue as before to thrive under the patronage of the ruling Imperialist power. Those who talk of crushing the Indian exploiters first and dealing with the British afterwards are playing into the hands of our enemies in order to dupe the poor Indians under Moscow garb.

Gandhiji is called a visionary and his ideas are described as utopian by many. But in reality he is one

of the most farsighted practical men that ever lived. That is why he writes:

"I cannot picture to myself a time when no man shall be richer than another. Even in a most perfect world, we shall fail to avoid inequalities, but we can and must avoid strife and bitterness."

That is why he says in advance that though his ideal is equal distribution, he works for *equitable* distribution. And his method of work does not follow the line of violent treatment (आसुरिक चिकित्सा) after the malady has been allowed to flourish by the patient's own folly, but offers automatic check of the disease itself by means of timely preventive measures. As long as there are huge machinery and monster factories for mass production, whether under capitalist or socialist system, so long there is no escape for humanity either from greed or from war. Not that he wants the people to go to the primitive conditions of life or to live without modern comforts; but he thinks that unless we dismantle these huge factories and send them to the countryside in small manageable forms and parts, capable of being handled and managed by common people, we cannot transfer power to the proletariat nor stop their exploitation and slavery.

Decentralisation of production in smaller units in villages (barring of course production of machine tools, and other heavy industries under State management) along with the decentralisation of constitutional machinery, shall be not only in keeping with the natural creative instinct of all men and their urge for personal enterprise, but it shall also automatically stop accumulation of fabulous wealth and enormous power in the hands of the few. Millions of men and women will not then have to hand over all their earthly possessions to an all-powerful State under a Director and in lieu of food and clothing serve as slaves of the machine-monster as before, deprived of personal liberty and personal initiative. So long as socialists pin their faith on brute force and rely on mass production and competition, they will have neither peace for themselves nor for others and the world chaos and anarchy will continue in spite of their new panacea which once raised so much hope in the minds of have-nots of the world.

We should do well to remember before we conclude that though Gandhiji is against confiscation of private property by violent means, he himself renounced all his personal properties moveable and immoveable, before he threw himself heart and soul in the fight for the oppressed and down-trodden Indians in South Africa, about half a century ago. Personally, he is the greatest out-and-out communist that ever breathed; but as a practical man, he recognises the constitutional weakness and needs of human body and mind and have, therefore, been striving for India's freedom and world brotherhood on the basis of Truth and Non-violence. All other ideologies and "isms" of the world seem to have resolved themselves into "atomism" and the coming conflict is probably between the forces representing atomic bombs on the one hand and Gandhi's Truth and Non-violence on the other.



THE BANKING BILL

By U. S. NAVANI, B.A., B.Sc. (Econ.) Lond.

THE Government of India is shortly calling a number of banking experts to tender their advice on the Banking bill before the present Assembly. In order to understand the implications of this bill which is of far-reaching importance, I have endeavoured to analyse its main provisions which may be of interest to the general reader.

First, we shall briefly examine the recent progress of legislation in the direction of control of Indian banks. The first landmark was the Reserve Bank Act in 1934. According to this Act, the practice of scheduling banks which fulfil certain requirements and come up to a certain standard was started. These banks were required to submit weekly returns of their liabilities and to keep 2 per cent of their time liabilities and 5 per cent of their demand liabilities as statutory balances with Reserve Bank, failure to maintain which resulted in the imposition of certain penalties. This measure was not intended to safeguard the depositors by laying down adequate provision of liquid assets, but was meant to give the Reserve Bank a certain amount of control over the banks. It has now practically lost its utility as the banks are maintaining far more reserves with the Reserve Bank than statutory balances. In 1936, the Indian Companies Act was amended and provisions specially applicable to banks such as the form of balance sheet, submission of returns and statements to the Registrar of Companies and such minor matters were attended to. In 1944, at the suggestion of the Reserve Bank, some very important measures were passed by an amendment of the Indian Companies Act in the addition of a new Part XA. The most important provisions in this were (1) the prohibition of employment of Managing Agents, (2) prohibition of issue of shares other than ordinary, (3) restriction of the right of voting at shareholders' meeting in exact proportion of the capital contributed by each shareholder, (4) prescription of the minimum limit of paid-up capital at half the subscribed capital and of the subscribed capital at half the authorized capital. Then there was also the capital control order issued in 1944 under the Defence of India Rules which prohibited fresh issue of capital except under permission from the Central Government. The present bill before the Legislature takes account of the rapid development of Indian banking and is intended to safeguard the interests of the depositors. It provides for the repeal of the provisions of Part XA of the Indian Companies Act (mentioned above) as they are incorporated within the present bill. We shall now examine its main provision in some detail.

Section 4 empowers the Central Government to suspend the operations of the Act on representation by the Reserve Bank in an emergency. This power is wisely taken and is an improvement on the practice which prevailed in Britain in the later half of the nineteenth century, when the operations of the Bank Act were suspended by a letter from the Treasury but had to be later confirmed by Parliament.

Section 5 defines banking as the accepting of deposits repayable on demand and differs from the earlier definition in the amendment to Indian Com-

panies Act, as deposits withdrawable by cheque. This section also defines a managing agent in wider terms so as to include Managing Directors and/or person, firm or company entitled to the management of the whole affairs of the bank by virtue of an agreement with the company.

Section 10 prohibits the employment of managing agents (defined above) and of persons whose remuneration or part thereof takes the form of commission or share of profits in the company or whose remuneration is on a scale disproportionate according to the normal standards prevailing in banking to the resources of the company (this is a sweeping classification and vague and is likely to lead to disputes between the banks and Government) or any person having a contract with the company for its management for a period exceeding five years at a time. This section is a salutary provision designed to prevent the evils of the managing agency system, (the bane of Indian industry), in banking. By limiting the period of contract for Managing Directors to five years at a time, it places a useful check upon the latter, who by virtue of a long-term contract are apt to become irresponsible.

Section 11 prescribes the minimum capital standards and has caused a good deal of controversy. Clause 1 lays down that a bank having branches outside its province must have a paid-up capital and reserve of not less than twenty lakhs. This is a commendable provision, as it will prevent the growth of mushroom banks whose Directors forgetting their meagre resources indulge in increasing their branches. Clause 2 provide for a minimum capital of Rs. 5 lakhs if the bank is to be located (head office or branch) at Bombay or Calcutta and a capital of two lakhs, if it has a place of business in towns having a population of over 100,000 in respect of each town and a further Rs. 10,000 in respect of each place of business elsewhere. So far as these provisions apply to banks with branches, no weighty objection can be adduced against them. It has been pointed out that prescribing the capital of the bank in relation to the number of people in the place of its business is not scientific but then this is the only satisfactory and simple way. The controversy centres around the addendum to clause (c) which lays down that banks operating only in towns of population less than 100,000 people and having no branches shall have a paid-up capital and reserve of one lakh. This provision is deemed to militate against the small banks and has aroused protest from all over the country. In his presidential address at the South Indian Bankers' Association last year, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari pointed out that the small banks had played their part well in regions where the big ones could not profitably operate and were gradually ousting the rapacious moneylender. Every opportunity should be given to these banks to develop rather than that their existence should be out short with a legislative measure prescribing an abnormally high figure of capital and reserves for them. On the other hand, a tremendous number of small banks can be a source of danger as they fall more easily into the hands of unscrupulous and uneducated people and

in any event can hardly stand a crisis. The experience in America has proved to be highly unfavourable to the establishment of small banks. However one lakh, considering Indian conditions, is rather high for small banks which are doing useful service. Clause 2 requires foreign banks (except British) to deposit a sum equal to the minimum capital prescribed in case of Indian banks with the Reserve Bank. Clause 3 repeats the minimum standards of 1944, Amendment of Indian Companies Act and further lays down (a) that the capital of the banks shall consist of ordinary shares only and that voting right should be in proportion to the capital contributed by shareholders. These provisions are most welcome as they will do away with certain evil practices noticeable among new banks. For example, in some banks, voting has been confined to only one particular class such as ordinary or deferred shares the majority of which are held by one or a few persons. The control by a small group is made easier by the comparatively smaller capital raised on such shares.

Section 13 prescribes that non-scheduled banks shall maintain a reserve fund and out of profits of each year transfer 20 per cent to the reserves until reserves equal the paid-up capital. I do not see why this benefit should be reserved for non-scheduled banks. In fact the need for such a provision in the case of scheduled banks is even more imperative for a number of new scheduled banks are not making much provision for reserves. I trust this section will include scheduled banks as well if indeed the object of this bill is to provide greater security to depositors. Section 14 provides for maintenance of a cash reserve by non-scheduled banks at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of time liabilities and 5 per cent of demand liabilities. This obligation cannot be deemed too harsh especially in view of the fact that non-scheduled banks are also now having a greater proportion of demand deposits than time deposits. Section 18 provides for the maintenance of liquid assets by all banks at 25 per cent of their total deposits. These liquid assets comprise of cash, gold and unencumbered approved securities. There will be a good deal of controversy around this provision. Some would regard the fixing of 25 per cent ratio as too high and would argue that a statutory limit cannot make for flexibility in the day-to-day working of a bank. In a time of crisis particularly this hardship would be great and a bank technically insolvent may yet be very solvent, given sufficient time. On the other side it may be urged that in terms of this clause banks are already maintaining as much as 65 per cent liquid assets for their investment in approved securities alone is as much as 50 per cent or more. They are also maintaining a cash ratio in the neighbourhood of 15 per cent. Even before the war the liquid assets of banks were wellnigh 30 per cent and we may therefore say that 25 per cent is the bare minimum below which no bank should normally fall. A satisfactory feature of this clause is the word unencumbered, as it may very well happen that a bank may show its securities pledged with other banks as a part of its liquid assets when in fact it is not so, for clearly the pledgee bank is entitled to count its holdings of securities pledged with it as liquid assets. It is also pointed out by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, M.L.A., in his article in the 1944 *Annual Review Number of Commerce* that this section (14) militates against small banks engaged in the financing of agriculture which particularly during the harvesting season work on a much lower basis of liquidity. Secondly, in the absence of a bill market, and ready

availability of rediscounting of commercial and agricultural paper these banks would find it difficult to maintain this percentage. It is clear therefore that the small banks may be justifiably excluded from the operation of this section or bonafide commercial and agricultural paper bearing two signatures may be included in the list of liquid assets for the purpose of these small banks. Section 15 prohibits the forming of subsidiary companies by a bank, except for the execution of trusts and prohibits their holding more than 40 per cent of issued and subscribed capital of other companies. This is a very satisfactory measure in view of the evils of intertwining interests with other companies. Section 16 prohibits a bank from giving a loan on the security of its own shares or granting unsecured loans to directors or firms in which the latter are interested. *In order to ensure the carrying out of this requirement as also of others noticed above a periodic or a surprise inspection of bank's records will be necessary.* Section 17 requires companies incorporated outside British India and United Kingdom to obtain a licence from the Reserve Bank which is empowered to cancel the licence if there is infringement of rules laid down in the act. The only snag here seems to be that while banks from the United Kingdom will be exempt from the provisions applying to Non-British Indian banks, banks floated in Indian States will obviously have to obtain a licence like other foreign banks. Section 19 prescribes that the assets of every bank in British India shall be not less than 75 per cent of its total liabilities in British India. This provision may be found to be hard for banks floated in Indian States but which have majority of their deposits in British India, for clearly they should like to employ more of their funds in their states rather than in British India. Section 28 lays down the rules regarding inspection. The Central Government if it has reason to believe that the interests of the depositors are in danger or that a bank is unable to meet its obligation or commits an offence in terms of the Act may direct the Reserve Bank to inspect its books and report to the Central Government which may prohibit the bank from accepting fresh deposits or direct the Reserve Bank to apply for the winding up of the banking company. The provision in respect of inspection is not sufficient to deal with the situation that has arisen on account of the new banks. It appears that in the interests of the banks themselves the procedure will be found to be cumbersome and it will in practice prove to be, calling in the doctor after the death of the patient. Inspection should be a regular feature of the control of banking and whether periodic or casual will do a lot to remove the present unhealthy practices of a number of new banks. I do not see why the banks should object to such a course for if they really are run on sound lines they have no reason to be afraid. It does invest the inspecting authority with a great responsibility which may only be shirked at the cost of grave consequences. The inspectors should be appointed by the Reserve Bank which will be in a position to direct particular lines of enquiry if need be. Section 38 empowers the Central Government to make rules consistent with the Act.

These are the main provisions of the Banking Bill before the legislature and we have seen their strong points and shortcomings. It is to be hoped that our legislators will give this bill the attention it deserves; for a sound banking system is a prerequisite for any drive for prosperity, such as one to which we are pledged.

WAR-TIME BANKING IN INDIA

By K. P. THAKUR, C.A.I.B. (Bom.), C.A.I.B. (Lond.)

Yet another year has rolled by, adding momentum to the velocity of increasing Bank profits in India, I mean 1944. The net profit on the working of the premier Indian Joint Stock Bank, the Central Bank of India Ltd., during the year ended 31st December, 1944, was Rs. 1,17,00,000 or above, a record achievement in the annals of Indian Banking. The second place of honour goes to the Bank of India Ltd. with Rs. 65,00,000 or above at its credit. The Bank of Baroda, Ltd. and Punjab National Bank Ltd., have been able to show a net profit of Rs. 24,00,000 and Rs. 23,00,000 respectively. The contributions of other big and small banks are also satisfactory: Statistics of their working would provide an interesting reading no doubt but for want of space. Thanks to war conditions and inflation.

No survey on Indian Banking would be complete without reference to the Imperial Bank of India. But, I think, Imperial Bank of India, except by its name, does not, in fact, represent what we should understand and mean by an Indian Bank. By virtue of the supreme position which it occupies by being once the Government's Central Bank prior to the inauguration of the Reserve Bank in 1935 it stands as a class by itself and even to-day it acts as a Bankers' Bank of last resort in places where Reserve Bank is not established. The working of the Imperial Bank during the half year ended the 31st December, 1944, resulted in a net profit of over Rs. 94,00,000 but this figure must include the colossal amount of commission earned as a result of its acting as the agent of the Reserve Bank. Although it is difficult for insufficiency of details furnished in its published Balance Sheet to apportion the exact amount earned during the period we may get a fair idea of it from the statement made by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in the Central Assembly on the occasion of the debate on Banking Bill in November, 1944, that the amount of commission under the above head amounted to Rs. 56,00,000 in 1943. The privilege of being the sole agent of the Reserve Bank functions like an "Aladin's lamp" to brighten the prospects of the Bank even in the dark days of depression, if they are to re-appear in the post-war era. Readers, I presume, will agree that owing to the difference in status the Imperial Bank of India does not represent the state of affairs obtaining in an institution what we call Indian out and out; and therefore, in dealing with the activities of Indian Joint Stock Banks I shall leave the Imperial Bank of India out of the orbit of the present discussion. The gravity and significance of the problem appears to have lately received the attention of the Reserve Bank authorities. As reported in *Capital* of the 3rd May, 1945, the agency agreement between the Reserve Bank of India and the Imperial Bank of India which was due for revision at the end of April last (1945) has in fact now been revised and under the new arrangement the latter will get considerably less than what has been the case in the past.

Were profits earned the only factor in the monetary observatory to report on the weather condition of the financial firmament it could have been established that

the prospects of Indian Banking have come to stay. But that would have been a layman's outlook. Just as the financial stability of a concern does not depend entirely on the extent of the dividend paid by the company, so also the soundness of a bank does not rest exclusively on the profits earned. To feel the pulse of a bank we must see how profits are earned and how these are spent. We must see the expense ratio for earning such profits and also the distribution of these and thus finally to weigh the efficiency with which Indian banks are managed.

The economic outlook of India has been dynamically changed due to the impact of war. The peace-time economy of the country has gradually been replaced by war-time economy. The dear money of the pre-war era yielded place to cheap money of the present days. Notes in circulation as on 29th December, 1944, stood at Rs. 1009.60 crores which represents an increase of 453.38 per cent over the pre-war figure of Rs. 182.44 crores. And where can this money find a shady nook? Part of India was then under Japanese menace. Owing to shortage of supply of building materials house construction was checkered. Conversion of currency into land and buildings was not appreciable. Value of scrips of companies dealt in the Stock Exchanges reached to such an un-precedented high pitch that genuine investors felt shy to put in any money in any fresh deal: only buying and selling of a speculative character was undertaken by bulls and bears. Sales of gold which provided an outlet for investment have been undertaken only lately by Government. Thus part of this enormous inflow of currency was consumed by subscription of public loans, part of it was buried in the ground and the remaining had to come, without any other alternative in the hand of banks. The deposits of scheduled banks were in the neighbourhood of 236 crores of rupees in pre-war (Sept. 1939) days which by the end of December, 1944, grew up to the staggering figure of 819 crores of rupees, an increase of 583.00 per cent. Aided by such deposits, it is natural to expect that bank-profits will tend to rise and against such a background we are to test the efficiency of banks.

The increase in bank deposits has been commensurate with development of banking both in regional exploration and numerical expansion. The number of scheduled banks in India was 61 in 1939 and by the close of 1944 they were 84. The number of branches of scheduled banks was 1277 in the first year of war (1939) and by 1944 they had 2443 offices; out of which 1943 offices are owned by scheduled banks, 80 by Exchange Banks, the rest belong to Imperial Bank of India. The position is explained in the tables below:

TABLE No. I

Number of Scheduled Banks		
	1939	1944
Exchange Banks	16	16
Other Scheduled Banks	45	68
Total	61	84

TABLE No. II

Branches of Scheduled Banks (including Head Offices, Pay Offices and Sub-Offices, etc.)

	1939	1944
Imperial Bank	No details	420
Five Leading Joint Stock Banks	"	563
Exchange Banks	"	80
Other Scheduled Banks	"	1380
Total	1277	2443

Now let us see how the assets and liabilities of banks are distributed as compared with the pre-war days. The position will be well-explained in the comparative table below :

*Scheduled Banks' Consolidated position
(In crores of rupees)*

	29.12.44		1.9.39	
	Rate p.c. to total Liabilities	Amount	Rate p.c. to total Liabilities	Amount
1. Total liabilities in India		819.01		236.60
2. Cash & Balances with Reserve Bank		106.07		31.87
3. Advances	28.81	236.00	44.91	106.00
4. Bills Discounted	1.58	13.00	1.69	4.00
5. Excess of balance with Reserve Bank over statutory minimum		38.74		16.41

The first impression that a reader gets from the above figures is that the volume of advances in India has increased considerably since the outbreak of war. Enough has been said about this mounting up of

advances in the last few years and even the Central Board of Directors of the Reserve Bank as early in June 1943 struck a note of warning to banks against erratic and fitful advances by them. Series of measures to put a stop to the activities of banks to help speculation were adopted. Banks were advised by circular letters not to encourage loans against bullion and as a result of various controls introduced under Defence of India rules advance against commodities and produce became a business of the past. Consequent on the foregoing reasons and due to transport difficulty the bills portfolio of banks could not thrive. Although it cannot be denied that figures under both these heads have gone up I do not agree that there has happened anything unusual or frightening in these matters. The ratio of advances of scheduled banks in 1939 was 44.91 per cent to their total liabilities whereas the same in 1944 is 28.81 per cent only. Similarly the percentage of bills discounted was 1.69 per cent to the total liabilities in 1939 which in 1944 stands at 1.58 per cent. Then where is the increase? Figures, however, tell a different tale.

The published accounts of the scheduled banks in India suffer from a great deal of paucity of information: among them is the want of details of their investments. The proportion of their investments to total liabilities is a problem to find out. When statistics for the consolidated position is not available we may look for the next best alternative i.e., investments of certain representative banks. By this method our understanding of the matter would not be absolutely complete but it would throw a good deal of light into the affair. In the table below are given the deposits, and investments of a few banks in India which have earned the prestige and goodwill of being sound and solvent, as on 31st December, 1944 are compared with their figures in 1938:

Figures in lacs

	1938			1944		
	Deposits	Investments	Percentage of investments to Deposits	Deposits	Investments	Percentage of investments to Deposits
Central Bank of India Ltd.	3102	1450	46.74%	9449	5687	60.18%
Bank of India Ltd.	1724	805	46.69%	6082	4136	68.00%
Bank of Baroda Ltd.	712	334	46.80%	2693	1639	60.86%
Punjab National Bank Ltd.	678	181	26.60%	3776	2270	60.11%
Indian Bank Ltd.	336	147	43.75%	1052	574	54.56%

It is, therefore, seen that whereas in 1938 investments represented about 46/47 per cent of the deposits, in 1944 investments represent about 60 per cent of them. Even then banks are not short of funds. The excess of the scheduled banks' balance with Reserve Bank over the statutory minimum amounted to 60.54 crores and 38.74 crores of rupees in 1943 and 1944 respectively as compared with 16.41 crores of rupees in 1939. And this is obvious. Owing to ever increasing currency inflation and with the various controls in force, banks do not see their way how best to utilise their funds.

The high percentage of security portfolio of banks on the other hand, has beset the financial aspect of the country with some difficulty. Once the controls are withdrawn there will appear a great demand for industrial finance. Naturally banks will be approached with proposals for advances against diverse projects. The unloading of securities now held by banks may have

a depressing effect on the giltedge market. Such a situation is not welcome either to Government or to investors whose steadiness in price is what everybody desires.

In England, however, this contingency is removed by the issue of T.D.R. The Treasury Deposit Receipts represent loans to Treasury repayable in six months. This method gave the Treasury a direct access to the Joint Stock banks for short-term accommodation without the intervention of the discount market, and to the consequent savings of unnecessary expenditure on the Exchequer by way of commission. In case of need these are rediscountable at the Bank of England at the official rate though with certain reservations they carry interest at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The issue of T.D.R. has changed considerably the distribution of assets of London Clearing Banks. The following table published in the *Economist* shows the

gradual change taken over British Banking during the years 1938-43.

Combined Statement of London Clearing Banks
(£ million).

End of	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Deposits	2254	2441	2800	3329	3629	3032
"Quick"						
Assets.	723	901	1196	1598	1812	2214
of which						
T.D.Rs.	—	—	314	758	896	1307
Investments	635	609	771	999	1120	1154
Loans	966	1002	906	807	773	743

Thus it will be observed that loans and advances due to war conditions are on the wane whereas "quick" assets which comprise of cash, cheques, call loans and short bills are growing in volume and represented by the close of 1943, 55 per cent of deposits in comparison to their 1938 figure of 32 per cent. With the return of peace and with the abolition of war time measures industrial finance will be provided with the proceeds of T.D.Rs. on maturity. The method is likely not to disturb the market price of Consols and other Government Securities.

To return to Indian condition, dealers in money cannot keep it idle pure and simple just as a businessman may not sit over his stock without turn-over. The deposits in current accounts call for provision of interest except in the case of Imperial Bank of India; cost of stationery, paper, etc. being high, expenses have gone up. Expenditure under the head of salaries is now greater due to war and emergency allowances paid to staff. To provide for these extra cost, competition is keen amongst bankers to secure as much business as possible providing simultaneously as much facility to parties. Now that banks of sound standing are more than one, clients also do not forget to take advantage of the situation with threats to close the account if their demands are not fully complied with. It is, indeed, a matter of regret that in contra-distinction with the English companies Indian business houses on whom the scheduled banks bank, do not exhibit by their action any special attachment to the institutions with which they happen to be associated for long. The bigger banks have some sort of unwritten law which they endeavour to observe. The smaller or the newer banks cannot expect to snatch any customer from the field of the old banks unless their rates, terms and conditions are more favourable. The Indian customers are prone to fall victim to such proposals and unhesitatingly transfer their business partially if not in whole to the newer institutions. Just as Indian houses have not in reality what is known as "goodwill" except in rare instances of the Tatas, Birlas, Singhanias, etc., it is difficult for Indian banks to place confidence on any customer as being their own. It is not understood why customers attached to one bank should ordinarily go in search of another. The relationship between a banker and a customer is of reciprocity. Customers require banks for facility of their business so also banks need customers without which they have no *locus standi*. If any cause of misunderstanding or complaint really arises, it is desired that customers should also take steps and co-operate with the bank authorities to remove it and revive the old relationship rather than leave it. The cause of complaint may arise from the action of an individual officer or clerk—but that can be set right without any loss or damage to the customer.

By adopting this shifting mentality customers, in a few cases, may no doubt reap little benefit and instances are galore where the axiomatic truth repeats—I mean the adage—Penny wise Pound foolish.

The effect of this movement has reflected adversely on the earning possibilities of banks. Today rates of Commission and Exchange charged by banks for remittance and agency work are on an average low in comparison to the rates prevailing in prewar days. We may feel complacent thinking that service to community has become more humanitarian today than what it was before. But banking, it must not be lost sight of, is also a class of business with a difference that its stock in trade is money instead of commodities. In the absence of any suitable expression we may quote the analogy of "what the traffic will bear." Unless the rates charged by banks are remunerative at least to the extent of the expenses incurred and a reasonable profit for the shareholders there may not be any idea behind running the institutions till nationalisation of banking is declared as the accepted official policy of the land.

Another evil of a far-reaching character is that the cumulative effect of rate cutting has moved the monetary machine out of gear, I mean the bank rate. With the outbreak of war, cheap money condition was the target of the fighting nations. Among the other measures adopted the bank rate in Britain and U.S.A. was reduced on the 26th October, 1939, and 29th October, 1942, from 3 to 2 and from 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent respectively. In India, however, although on 28th November, 1935, the bank rate was changed from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent it has since then remained unaltered. This may appear to be creditable to the Government but a rate which has no existence which exercises no control over the market rate is tantamount to having no rate at all. For a long time past, the scheduled banks have been lending against Government securities below the bank rate varying between 2 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as against 3 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in pre-war period. The rates for one year Fixed Deposits do not go above $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent as compared to 2 per cent quarter of a decade ago. The Treasury Bill rate has not been above 1 per cent whereas during the pre-war days, such rate used to go up to 3 per cent. It is admitted that under easy money conditions bank rate is seldom effective and on the short-term money rate it has no direct bearing but undoubtedly the bank rate indicates how and where the wind blows. Readers will also fall in line with the argument that the present Reserve Bank of India rate is lop-sided and is on the high scale. It is also true that unless steps are taken to create a regulated and organised discount market, the bank rate has no prospects of ever being effective. Instead of being the regulator of the financial meter it shall have to play a second fiddle in the game: not making the market rate follow it but itself following the former or lie ill at ease unconcerned with the movement abroad. Against the avowed Government policy of borrowing at low interest rates, an early reduction in the bank rate will give it a more realistic colour from its present fancy accoutrements.

Now let us see how this lack of cohesion between the bank rate and advance rate of Scheduled Banks have affected the earning aspects of them. For this matter also want of statistical details stand in our way in order to form an idea of the consolidated scheduled banks' position and here again we are to depend on certain banks who may be accepted as representatives

in their lines of business. We shall try to find out whether the percentage of gross profit and net profit in proportion to the bank's aggregate resources, capital reserve deposits, etc., are increasing and whether the expense ratio is falling. If it is found that the percent-

age of net profit on the total liabilities is increasing, we may arrive at the conclusion that banking is thriving else we should be jubilant over an achievement which is illusory. Let us consider the following comparative figures :

	Ratio of gross profit to total Liabilities		Ratio of expenses incurred to total Liabilities		Ratio of net profit to total Liabilities		Percentage of salaries to Gross Profit	
	1938	1944	1938	1944	1938	1944	1938	1944
Central Bank of India Ltd.	2.15	2.55	1.33	1.48	.82	1.07	34.3	25.03
Bank of India Ltd.	2.01	1.74	.88	.72	1.13	1.01	27.1	18.01
Bank of Baroda Ltd.	1.74	1.41	1.08	.59	.66	.81	32.5	28.08
Punjab National Bank Ltd.	2.91	2.94	2.22	2.43	.69	.41	—	32.06
Indian Bank Ltd.	2.35	3.00	1.57	2.01	.78	1.01	57.1	25.30
United Commercial Bank Ltd.	—	1.64	—	.98	—	.65	—	24.37
Hindusthan Commercial Bank Ltd.	—	1.82	—	1.38	—	.43	—	36.81

Thus from the foregoing table it appears that except a negligible fractional increase in the case of the Central Bank and the Indian Bank Ltd. the rate of gross profits has gone down in the case of the Bank of India Ltd. and the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., and on an average it has remained practically stationary. Similarly with the exception of Bank of India Ltd. and Bank of Baroda, Ltd. expense ratio of the Central Bank, Punjab National Bank and Indian Bank, Ltd., has gone up and on average it has increased.

As a result, the percentage of net profit to total liabilities does not show any remarkable augmentation to the extent of the funds available with banks. The working of the Bank of Baroda, Ltd., the Central Bank of India, Ltd., and the Indian Bank, Ltd., shows a better return in 1944 compared to their 1938 activities whereas that of the Bank of India, Ltd., and the Punjab National Bank Ltd., shows a decrease.

The older banks in spite of their earlier start and greater experience have not been able to testify their better business capabilities vis-a-vis banks started recently. On the contrary, figures show that the working of the newer banks, say United Commercial Bank Ltd., and the Hindusthan Commercial Bank Ltd., are not worse off in their line of business. The obvious reason for having no great disparity is that the scope and sphere of activities of banks in India are more or less alike. There may be a difference in degree between banks and banks but not of substance. Indeed banks in India, according to the established practice, borrow money from the public at a low rate, maintain adequate cash reserve to meet day-to-day drawings of their customers, employ as much as possible in loans, advances, cash credits, bills, etc., the residue being converted into giltedge, debentures, and other marketable securities. This stereotyped routine of business has given us the best it can and unless newer ways are explored prospects of banking in the post-war era will be lack-lustre. Banks should launch in foreign exchange business despite the fact that the path is beset with difficulties and probable opposition from foreign banks who were enjoying the privilege of monopoly in the line. We have no industrial bank in our country except a few only in name whose activities are nothing else but of a commercial nature and their name makes themselves ridiculous in their own eyes.

A uniformity of practice is however observed in the fact that all banks have been able to reduce considerably the percentage of salaries to gross profits to a strikingly low level in comparison to their pre-war figures. The war allowance paid to the bank's staff in

comparison to their colleagues in other commercial and industrial undertakings fall too short in proportion to the risk and responsibilities undertaken by them. Indeed the safety and soundness of a bank depends on the satisfactory discharge of duties right from the token clerk to the Bank Manager. The weakest link of the chain may have opportunities enough to saddle the bank with loss or damage. Howsoever alert and efficient may be the Board of Directors and topmost men they cannot go ahead successfully unless each of the office-bearers is true to his job and faithful to the institution whose banner they carry. To cite an illustration : of the services rendered by banks, collection of negotiable instruments on customers' account is one. The volume and frequency of the business does not overshadow its importance and responsibility, which banks carry as "Collecting Bankers". But who does the job ? A clearing Babu with a pay of Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 and at any rate not exceeding Rs. 100. Alas, this important item of the managerial portfolio does not attract the attention it deserves. Bank-clerks are still low paid. The uneducated or poorly educated bank-employees of the past decade are being gradually replaced by educated young men of the universities. Every year hundreds of bank candidates are obtaining qualifying certificates from the Institute of Bankers but in giving position and promotion something else than qualification seems to be the standard. Although the Indian Institute of Bankers is composed of a council consisting of the "head men" of important banks the very same person do not seem to pay attention for promoting the prestige of the institute in their distribution of responsible positions to their staff without discriminating between qualified and unqualified members. Appreciation made only on office files does not encourage a worker unless it is accompanied by better pay. Of late much is being talked of trained personnel of bank staff. Banking is a highly technical business. Theoretical and legal knowledge is pre-requisite of a successful banker. Unless due recognition is given to deserving candidates the profession will fail to attract new competent entrants.

In fine, it may be pointed out that wanton competition between banks should go once for all. What we should think is that the different Indian banks are but branches of one big enterprise. If one Indian bank does well that should not be the cause for jealousy to another institution, what we should guard against is the diversion of business from Indian to non-Indian hands. Our aim should not be clash amongst ourselves but co-operation on a wider scale for protection against foreign competition.

June 7, 1945

THE UNITED NATIONS

By NAGENDRA NATH CHANDA

THE organisation of the United Nations, as evolved at San Francisco is apprehended to be a plan for ensuring economic and imperial domination of the Big Three, who really hatched the scheme at their Dumbarton Oaks conference in August, 1944. The promised fight for Four Freedoms has overnight changed into a definite conspiracy against Four Freedoms so far as small states and dependencies are concerned, peoples with whose sacrifices the war has been won. The United Nations like the old League of Nations, which it replaces, has an Assembly, a Council and an International Court of Justice (for disputes of legal nature), but unlike the old League it has an Economic and Social Council as well. But the institution is far from being democratic in frame and spirit. The Assembly in which every member state has a vote is not the sovereign body though it is vested with powers of electing the non-permanent members of the Security Council, all members of the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council as also of making recommendations with regard to maintenance of international peace and security. It is the Security Council that is clothed with real powers, for it will not only regulate armaments but settle international disputes by blockade and ultimately by military force (with the help of the Military Staff Committee as composed of the Chiefs of Staff of only the permanent members of the Security Council, namely, Britain, U.S.A., Russia, France and China) to which the contribution of each member state is to be determined by the Security Council itself, in all this vital work the Assembly having no control. And though in the old League of Nations every State had a veto, here it is the above big five only that have been given that monopoly as a result of which without unanimity of the big five no enforcement action would be possible to be taken though non-permanent members passed it by a majority. And further there can be no amendment of this constitution without the unanimous support of the Security Council. This will show that the scheme is not democratic in spirit and conception, but is only a show of the big five of whom the big three count actually.

But experience shows that international disputes have often been sought to be settled by big powers in furtherance of their individual interests. That does not encourage any impartial settlement of disputes by this machinery. Here of the big five some are notorious for their designs of imperialism and exploitation. In view of this what sense of security the smaller powers may have in the intervention of this coterie? Unanimity of the big five (which may prove a myth) being an essential condition in enforcement action, their intervention may at least be in the common interest of all the five precluding one-sided encroachment by one of them to some relief of the smaller nations at times. Anyway the conflicts of smaller nations may be possible to be composed (no matter in the interest of whomsoever) by this organisation as was also possible by the old League of Nations.

But the disputes of the big ones are calculated to break down this organisation as they broke the old League. The bigger powers have ever been the greatest

scourge of world peace. When the big few will prefer selfish encroachment to joint encroachment on smaller nations or on themselves, the United Nations will be impotent to prevent it, for any such prevention will require the consent of the aggressor here. In the contingency of such a conflict the old custom of different blocks and groups of States will automatically glide in. The real cause of both the world wars has been not encroachment of the big on the small but rivalry of the big. The real test of the United Nations will be in the success of composing the disputes of the big.

Unlike the old League this organisation by dint of having a common military force and an Economic and Social Council has assumed the character of a loose world federation no doubt, but it is after all a League of the big few, the smaller nations being tagged to it as ever to subserve their will. The whole tragedy is that this constitution was stated by the big three in their self-interest and the smaller powers had to agree to it willy-nilly. It is for this that the veto has been preserved and that for the big five alone. It is for this again that intervention in colonial hegemony has been tabooed.

The unanimity provision (of the big five) is some guarantee against unilateral encroachment no doubt. But there is little practical provision in the scheme of eschewing encroachment itself. Unless designs of imperialism and exploitation are forsaken and outlawed, it can not secure the world against further wars. In this tempo of the situation disarmament even will not serve as a deterrent to such future wars. Where selfishness remains entwined with brutality, wars are bound to accrue any way, with nails and teeth if not with arms. In the above background of self-aggrandisement and mutual fears proposed disarmament efforts also are bound to fail as did the Disarmament Conference of 1932-33 and the Naval Treaty of 1936.

One test question of the utility of this organisation will be furnished by the Japanese war. As a menace of world peace the United Nations should arbitrate in the matter and eventually if required declare war against the recalcitrant party, be it Japan or the Anglo-American bloc, which may mean Russia going into war against Japan in spite of her neutrality pact, for in Chapter XVI of the constitution of the United Nations it is specially provided that "in the event of a conflict between the obligations of members of the United Nations under the present charter and any other international obligations to which they are subject, their obligation under the present charter shall prevail." This delicate question will perhaps be shelved by the veto provision of the constitution. Or will this issue be sought to be kept even outside the competence of the Security Council in the name of "regional arrangements" as per provisions of Chapter VIII of the constitution?

World peace demands that it should not be merely an organisation of the victors and their satellites. Permanent world peace can not be secured by designs of self-aggrandisement on the ashes of others. It must be broadbased on the due recognition of the importance of all powers as divested from colonies. Without powers

like Germany, Italy and Japan as also Spain, Ireland and Thailand this world fabric can not be complete. It is curious that Russia, who was expelled for attacking Finland from the old League of Nations (which allowed war after failure of arbitration), has been given, in spite of her swallowing one-third of Poland, a permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations (that outlaws such grabbing for good).

Portents show that war as an instrument of setting national disputes is not going to be forsaken. It is apprehended that if the policy of self-gratification of the big few be obstructed any way, by the United Nations, they will perforce secede away from it (as did the Axis group from the old League) and form a bloc of their own. Egoism of the big will thus write the final epitaph of this altruistic cloak.

The sham of the show has been further exposed by the position of India. The United Nations is an organisation of free nations with "sovereign equality of all its members." And India is an original member thereof by virtue of her war sacrifices. How can the subjugation of a member, namely, India, may be tolerated by it when it is specifically mentioned in the charter that

"fundamental human rights" are to be ensured and that "all members in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present charter." Winning India's contribution (both annual fee and war help in case of any war of the U. N.) or giving a second vote to Britain is not certainly the point. India's subjection under Britain comes under the category of international disputes and calls for necessary action against the subjugator. If India were not a member of the United Nations, her case could have been precluded by the mischievous provision of non-intervention in the "domestic jurisdiction" of a state, namely Britain, as envisaged in Chapter I of the charter. India's case is not merely a case of sacrifice of ideals as in so many cases pointed above, but one of constitutional compulsion. In enforcement of its own constitution of "sovereign equality of all its members" the United Nations can not but guarantee the independence of India now. It has only cause of fear in keeping India under subjection to the falsification of the ideals of Four Freedoms.

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THE CALL OF THE COUNTRYSIDE IN MODERN POETRY

By PROF. PRADYUMNA C. JOSHI, M.A., LL.B.

THOSE who have read Washington Irving's essay need not be told of the Englishman's love of the countryside. Whatever be the form of literature a writer adopts, he has never been able to get away from the expression of delight that he derives from the familiar sights and sounds round about him. If there is any other theme that recurs oftener, it is as is natural for an island people the call of the sea. Never before and nowhere else are these calls obeyed with a greater alacrity than in the pages of English literature.

Love of nature need not necessarily mean the love of the English landscapes. In a poet like Tennyson we very often get descriptions—even though inaccurate at times—of places which the poet had only heard of (as the passage in Enoch Arden describing that tropical "Eden of all plenteousness"), but such departures may only prove the attraction of nature for them and only emphasise the English love of natural beauty. Even where there is an attempt at an imaginative recreation of a beautiful picture, the constituents of that picture are invariably derived from the local topography, either as symbolic of the land of heart's desire or the sublimation by a negative process. All the same the genius loci is a strong ingredient in the warp and woof of English poetry, and much more so in the modern poetry.

The call of the country has been expressed in a diversity of manner by the poets of today. Perhaps the most significant difference is the localisation of the scenes rather than a generalisation of the local landscape which we find in the earlier poets. The movement which saw its rise in fiction with the creation of Wessex in the novels of Hardy and the Five Towns in Arnold Bennet found its counterpart in the writing of poetry.

*God gave all men all earth to love,
But since our hearts are small,*

*Ordained for each one spot should prove
Beloved over all.*

Belloc therefore recalled the great hills of the South Country and Kipling took care to circumscribe his territory as

*Such lands as lie 'twist Rake and Rye,
Black Down and Beachy Head.*

It is by this means that he can call up with legitimate pride the exquisite picture of

*Our blunt, bow-headed, whale-backed Downs,
But gnarled and writhen thorn—
Bare slopes where chasing shadows skim,
And through the gaps revealed,
Belt upon belt, the wooded, dim
Blue goodness of the Weald.*

It is this same tendency that we find in the love of Devonshire in Newbolt; the love of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire in Edward Thomas, with the whole county represented in the fleeting glimpse of "willows, willow-herb, and grass, and meadowsweet and haycocks dry" and a blackbird's song, the love for the Downs with its pealing organ of the sea, the shrill ringing of the wire winding alone in its airy journey and the noisy South Wind wafted from the sea to land which we get in Davidson.

The choice of a landscape is at times very characteristic. Graves likes above all the country of the rocks and water and lean heather which he describes in the minutest details, as ruled by the bird of prey inspiring fear in its sentient population, a place beyond pity and tenderness and the sway of Time, a place not for comfort and rest,

*Trampled by no hard hooves, stained with no blood.
Bold immortal country . . .*

To Drinkwater appeals the slow regular life of the Midland valleys "wreathed under limpid hills in moving light" gradually getting clearer as day advances and showing the life that has gone on for centuries with unchanging, steady, uninterrupted pace until

*The last light upon the wolds is done,
And silence falls on flocks, and fields and men.*

Or we may take that American poet, Frost, and his delight in pale orchises, the lonely wood and the bright green snake. Only in his case the shy revelation of beauty characteristic of the English poet, which we notice in a poem like the *Linnet* of Bridges gives place to an obstreperous *bon homie* which delights in drawing attention to things that we ourselves have noticed:

*Visions of half the world burned black
And the sun shrunken yellow in smoke,*

or the golden brown gum which turns to pink between the teeth. That is due to the instincts of the town which are also manifest in the contrast that Binyon provides between the murky, gloomy surroundings and the light and gay happiness of childhood in *Little Dancers*.

Whatever the method that is adopted, and there is always a variety of approach, the delights of the poet are circumscribed within the ambit of a specified area. With Rupert Brooke, the English poets seem to say

*God! I will pack, and take a train
And get me to England once again!
For England's the one land, I know,
Where men with Splendid Hearts may go;*

And thereafter they become bards of their own particular territory. Once again we see the realism of the modern poet assert itself as against the vague, though intense desire which finds expression in poems like *O, to be in England, now that April's there*.

We may also note in this connection the love of the pastoral scene as it is evidenced in poems like the *Mowing* of Frost, or the *Poor Man's Pig* of Blunden. The accuracy of these descriptions, the desire to depict the actual, the bareness of the picture and the exactness of the phrase are the prevailing characteristics of these poems. The poet does not hesitate to complain of the poorness of this life, if there is no time to stand and stare. He shuns to rake up bogeys and feels that even in things which are usual and commonplace, beauty can be found and joy derived. He is satisfied in describing

*Nothing but simple wane and change;
Your tread will wake no ghost, your voice
Will fall on silence undeterred.
No phantom wailing will be heard,
Only the farm's blithe cheerful noise.*

And when it does bring the other-worldly note, we part company and follow the footsteps of W. W. Gibson and Walter de la Mare.

The delight in Nature has had different modes of approach. I may say that they are of four types. Firstly, it is purely a nostalgic outburst as we get in the description of the countryside in Hardy's *Weathers* or even more in Bridges or Yeats who would live alone in their bee-loud glade and allow

*No sharer of my secret
Lest ere I come the white*

Strange feet your shades defile. (There is a hill)
Here an imaginative spell is woven, a picture is invested with longings and hopes of man. It is a place of

refuge, a place of escape. The second method is a photographic description of the places we love. It is the product of our partiality which for the moment at least rests on rational grounds and the poet takes pains to exhibit all the good points and even compare them with other places. Such is Brooke's *Grantchester*, and Belloc's *South Country*. To this class also belongs Kipling's poem, *Sussex*, and even Hopkin's *Inversnaid* may very reasonably be included.

These poems are best characterised by the delightful revelations that suddenly spring upon us and take us completely by surprise:

*They see the Severn strong,
A-rolling on rough water brown
Light aspen leaves along . . .*

or

The violets suddenly bloom at her feet.

Or if we take Kipling—

*Only our close-bit thyme that smells
Like dawn in Paradise.*

In these poems we get all the flora and fauna—

*Violets of undercliff
Wet with channel spray;
Cowslips from a Devoncombe
And Midland furze afire—*

of all which no better example is to be seen than Davidson's poem, *A Runnable Stag*, with its reminder of Hardy's *Egdon Heath* and the individuality of Nature.

Though this is the commonest mode in modern poetry—a faithful representation of the place in all its splendour and magnificence, there is yet another method which is employed. It is the representation of the *genius loci*—an effort to reproduce the atmosphere of the place. Examples of such an effort are the *Listeners* of De la Mare or the *Charcoal Burner* of Edmund Gosse. It divides itself in two strains—first, where the place is invested with the feelings excited in the mind of the spectator. The feeling in this case is temporary, a result of some unusual tradition, a mental reaction in abnormal circumstances. Hardy's *Beyond the Last Lamp* is a good example of this type. Secondly, the feelings are perennial, ever-recurring, the product of associations created in the mind by some emotional necessity. It requires a mental picture, a previous acquaintance with the place to bring all its charm to the reader. This is partly shared by Kipling's *Sussex* with its local references. But the finest example of this genre will for ever remain Matthew Arnold's *Scholar Gipsy*, with its mine of immortal association for the Oxonian.

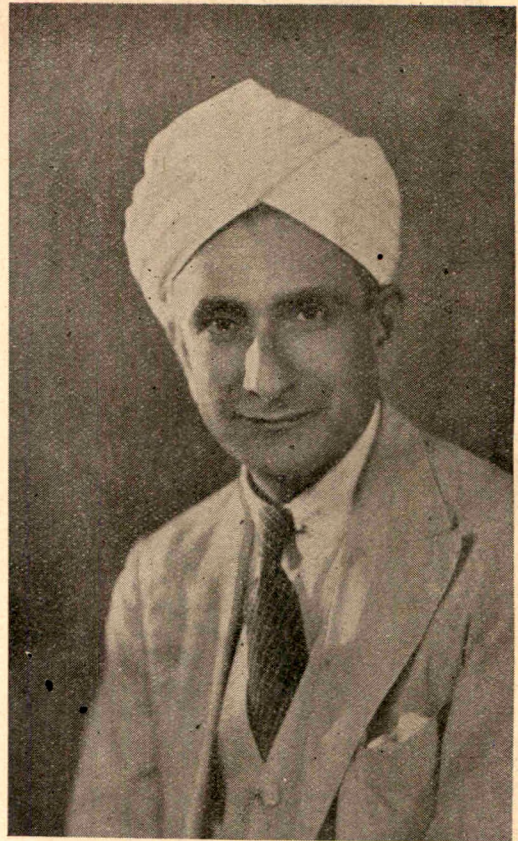
To sum up, the call of the countryside has been too strong for the poets and has invariably been obeyed, however much the difference in the outlook or the method of approach among individual poets. It has brought intimate pictures of the life in the country, of the contrast to the conditions in the town, and the sheer delight in natural beauty. In the poetry of today, with the growth of the horizon of the poet's consciousness, there has been a localization of the patriotism and a particularization of the enjoyment in Nature. But whereas the local was the background for the universal picture that the earlier poets drew up, the individuality of the modern poets in no way militates against the canons of beauty in the absolute. It was merely the product of realism and keenness for accuracy in modern writers as of the growing individualism of the age.

varieties have rightly become famous in India for their mainly the headgear of the Indian. It has its peculiar grandeur, originality and uniqueness. charm and beauty. It is worn by all sections of the

The turban or the *puggree* or the *thalappa*, as it is Indian community, the Hindus, Moslems, Christians, termed in English, Urdu and Tamil respectively, is Sikhs or Parsis. Only those who are accustomed to the



Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan,
Editor, *Indian Review*, Madras



Rao Bahadur Dr. T. S. Tirumurthi,
Retired Principal, Government School
of Medicine, Madras



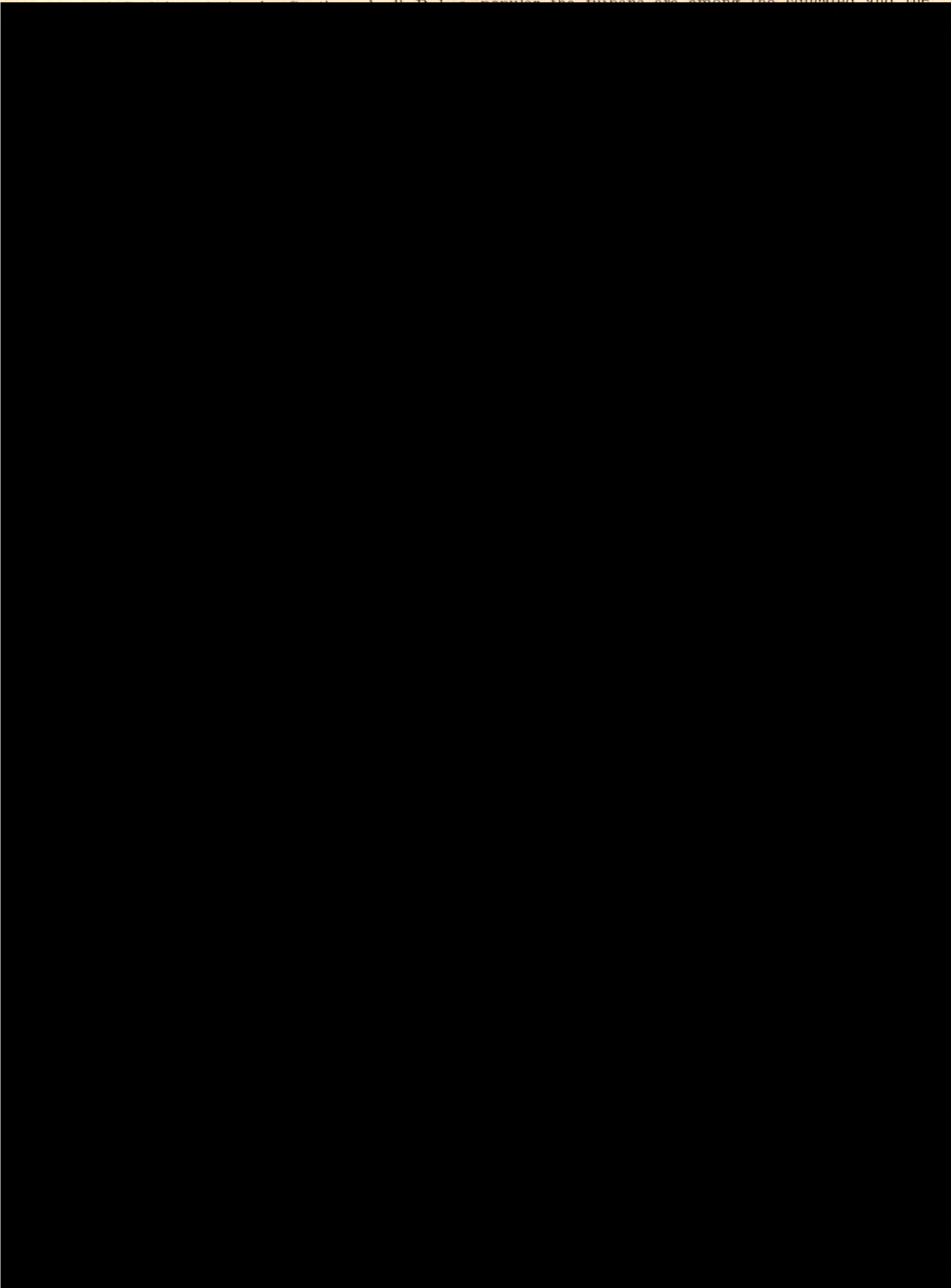
Khan Bahadur P. Kalifullah Sahib,
Assistant Administrator, Pudukottah



Dewan Bahadur T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai

European mode of dress and who follow their fashions of the Customs, Police, Excise, Salt and other depart-

the Hindus, the Muhammadans and others wear the will indicate some of the patterns of turbans worn by turban. The Ruling Chiefs of Mysore, Travancore, prominent men of South India. It only shows how popular the turbans are among the educated and the





The
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out of ten American farms had electricity. The REA was to provide financial aid on a loan basis for the building of rural electricity distribution systems and

In order to reach more than half of these unelectrified rural dwellings within five years after materials and manpower are again available for peacetime projects,

of forest products. In addition to supplementing the income of farmers, these will keep much of the processing of raw materials close to their sources.

in the Rocky Mountains state of Idaho was able to open up a limestone quarry which produces 45,000 tons of stone a year. Another, in the southern state of Georgia, turned his boyhood hobby of tanning leather

or lift hay into the barnloft. Chickens and pigs can be brooded more safely in electric brooders than the coal-oil ones and vegetables can be made to ripen sooner in electrically heated hotbeds. For the house and barn and banyard there can be electric light, lengthening the working day. Modern household appliances can be installed in the farm home. With electricity to help in their daily work, the farmer and his wife have time to improve the looks of their farm, to keep accurate records and to plan scientifically for the future.

What the full use of electricity on the farmstead means in increased productivity is shown, for example, by reports from 32 dairy farmers in a newly formed REA co-operative in the north central state of Minnesota. They increased the size of their herds of cows by 41 per cent, while with less labor they had almost 50 percent more dairy products. Records kept by poultry farmers show a general increase of 58 per cent in the size of their flocks of chickens and some farmers were able to expand their flocks 400 to 500 per cent.

Results of the use of electricity for rural community welfare are being illustrated in Upshur County in the southwestern state of Texas. In 1930 five-sixths of the 4,000 farms in the country had cash incomes that were only one-third of the national average. Less than 15 per cent of the farmers depended on anything but a cotton crop for their living. The soil in the county was badly eroded and the majority of the buildings needed repair. The farmers got together and started a rural electrification project and began experimenting with diversified farming. Today the cash income per farm, while still lower than the national average, has more than doubled. The purchasing power of the community has increased greatly. The REA co-operative has paid all its bills. Farms are better kept and the houses freshly painted. There is a community canning centre. After the war Upshur farmers are planning several co-operative enterprises, including a chain of quick

freeze and storage lockers and facilities for meat handling and processing.

DEVELOPMENTS FOSTERED BY ELECTRICITY

What electricity eventually may mean to rural communities is forecast in plans for a rural activities centre which two leading American architects recently drafted. The proposed centre, divided into business, community, vocational and demonstration farm zones, will provide a co-operative market, several kinds of centralized food-processing plants, classrooms for vocational farm training, an infirmary, shops and a cultural and recreational centre, all clustered around an REA financed co-operative office building and power station.

In addition to such possible community developments, electricity brings improved community living. Country schools get electric lights, facilities for educational motion pictures and stage performances, power for vocational-training shops and domestic-science laboratories, and equipment for providing hot lunches. In Saint Louis County in Minnesota 55,000 hot lunches have been served monthly to rural children since electric lines reached the country schools. At night, with the lights, farmers can attend expanded adult-education classes in the schools. In rural infirmaries electricity makes possible the installation of such modern equipment as X-ray machines, electrocardiographs and electric coagulating knives for surgery, without which no urban hospital would consider operating. Churches, libraries, community buildings, will be improved through the installation of electrical appliances.

Electricity, under the proposed five-year post-war plan, is expected to bring many social and economic changes to U.S. farmers. Already, because of it, a new rural America is beginning to grow, with better housing and nutrition, a better use of labor and of time and better community living.—USOWI.

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ART AND LIFE

By S. I. CLERK

MAN as a biped can live on "bread alone." Man as a human being, however, has ends other than mere physical life and these are attainable only by means of works of art ordered accordingly. Without these, there can be no intellectual or spiritual life for him. Hence, the importance of art in life.

This necessity of art in life is recognised in all civilizations from times immemorial, both in east and in west. Art has always been "the principle of knowledge by which the means of life were produced, and the physical and spiritual needs of men were provided for." Work and industry have been impossible without it.

In Asia, life itself—the diverse methods and modes of solving the complex problems of human community—has been the ultimate and the main art. Art is justified only with reference to use or value "by pointing out

that it subserves the Four Purposes of Life, viz., Right Action (*Dharma*), Pleasure (*Kama*), Wealth (*Artha*), and Spiritual Freedom (*Moksa*).²

According to the scholastic conception of art, there is little distinction of a fine and useless art from a utilitarian craftsmanship. "Just as ethics is the right way of doing things, so art is 'the right way of making things'."³ Thus, in ancient India, the ordinary workman, weaver, barber, potter or carpenter was essentially an artist. Artist in the modern sense of the word did not then exist, for an artist at that time was not reckoned as a special kind of man, but, on the other hand, every man was considered to be a special kind of artist. The Indian conception of genius differs from the modern notion as not implying a disregard of norm, but on the contrary, a perfect knowledge of all norms, and corres-

1 Why Exhibit Works of Art? by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

2 Transformation of Nature in Art by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

3 Why Exhibit Works of Art? by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

ponding virtuosity. Art is defined "as the embodiment in material of a preconceived form."⁴ The highest function of art is to express and communicate ideas. It is a way of life, responding to man's every need, whether of affirmation (*pravritti*) or denial (*nivritti*). Art is an intellectual and not a physical virtue.

Today, we distinguish fine art from art as skilled manufacture, and value the former essentially as a self-revelation or self-expression of the artist, presuming the artist to be endowed with a special emotional sensibility. By thus considering the artist to be a privileged man, in our art criticism we study the man himself instead of his art and its use. The end of art, we are convinced, is to reveal a beauty which we like or can be taught to like. The purpose of art, according to this conviction, is to give pleasure. Thus, the doctrines of art for art's sake, and the 'love for art' are merely sentimental delusions and means of escape from the serious business of life.

This decadence in art from primitive power to a refinement of sentimentality or cynicism today is due to our belief that art and work are incompatible categories. The man at work no longer does what he likes most, but has to do what he must. We believe that a man can be happy only when he 'gets away' and is at play.

"The clerk who copies entries in a ledger, the printer who sets the type for a journal, the waiter who carries plates . . . from kitchen to table and table to kitchen, the stoker who feeds the engines of a great ship—these are most themselves, not in the hours of productive toil, but when the day's work is done."⁵

Every man must have the opportunity to take as much pleasure in doing whatever he does for hire, as he takes in his own garden or family life. Then alone, can art revive as a way of life and we have an opportunity for better life.

Machine has come to stay. The fact that it is being used for destruction today ought not to make us despise it. The aeroplane used as a bomber can be used as a relief plane in distressed areas. If it is not so used to-day, the remedy is not in destroying it and returning to bullock-cart, but in removing the political and economic conditions which make possible its being used as a bomber instead of being used to increase human happiness. Same may be said about the existing conditions in our large-scale production factories and mills. If the factory-hand is not happy to-day, it is because he is not educated and is reduced to a mere automaton. He must be provided with the opportunity to be happy in doing what he does for hire. To-day, in spite of large-scale machine-production which is supposed to decrease the number of hours of drudgery necessary for the running of modern civilization, ninety per cent of the population (except in Russia) has no leisure so that the remaining ten per cent may have no work and all leisure.⁶ If the benefits of machine are to be shared

by all, and if the power of machine is not to be abused to wantonly destroy human life, a radical change in our political and economic *status quo* is inevitable. A discussion of this is beyond the province of this article, but, on the belief that large-scale industrialism can lay the foundation of a new national and international culture rich in both material and spiritual resources, we may attempt in the following paragraphs to determine the extent to which art can re-emerge to-day as a way of life.

When Impressionism reached its climax in the last century, it was discovered that the semi-scientific assumption that fidelity to appearance was the measure of art had no basis in truth. The resulting revolution freed art from the ancient grip of Greek ideal of approximating the forms of art precisely to the representation of the totality of appearance. This revolution in art was inaugurated by Cezanne; Gauguin and Van Gogh continued it. The salient features of this revolution were

"the re-establishment of purely aesthetic criteria in place of the criterion of conformity to appearance—the rediscovery of the principles of structural design and harmony."

With this indifference to representation, the modern art is no longer cut off from a great deal of traditional view of art, the implications of which could not be comprehended by "those who demanded a certain standard of skill in representation before they could give serious consideration to a work of art."⁷ For, from the scholastic point of view also,

"nature and art are alike (*sadrisya*) only in idea, otherwise irreconcilable . . . For the only thing which can be truly likened to the natural species is its reflection in the mirror of the eye, which is a sensation, not an understanding (the eye, having no understanding of its own, remains incomprehensible to intellect)."⁸

Cezanne attempted to penetrate through some underlying structural form of all created things. His experiments and practice resulted in the abstract art of Cubists for these saw in his pictures a sort of mathematical statement of structure and order. Picasso went further in pushing behind aspects to discover a more fundamental order for design. These two brought painting and sculpture to a concern with elemental form of relationships. Picasso is recognized as the first to use machine forms and mechanical laws in living art creations.

Thus we come across the new art of to-day existent in machine-made mass products which is a practical expression embodied in utilitarian forms increasingly familiar in the daily life of the man in the street. The importance of the industrial arts lies in their constant and direct contact with every individual. Obviously, the quality of objects in daily use by everyone do affect the taste and visual imagination of society as a whole. "Every article that derives good forms from efficiency helps to make the enjoyment of art an intrinsic part of living."⁹

4 *Why Exhibit Works of Art?* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

5 *Grammar of Politics* by H. J. Laski.

6 "At present we have a multitude of proletarians who are too preoccupied with their struggle for existence and their long hours of labour to meddle in politics or religion (and other cultural activities). And at the top we have people who, having no economic anxieties, no work to do, and seven meals a day, are too fatheaded to be capable of religious or political controversy." *Everybody's Political What's What?* by G. B. Shaw.

7 *Vision and Design* by Roger Fry.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Transformation of Nature in Art* by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.

10 *Art in Progress* (A survey prepared for the 15th Anniversary of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1944).

In the early days machine manufacture attempted to imitate handmade products and as a consequence, the discriminating public refused to accept machine products as anything but poor imitations of handmade originals.

"In recent years, however, it has been demonstrated that there is a whole new world of forms and designs that originate in and correspond to mechanical processes and give machine-made products a beauty of their own."¹¹

This together with mass-production inherent in the modern machine era, opens up prospects of abundance of better goods for everyone's use and enjoyment.

Inspired by the analytically minded age (which exposes new surfaces), the modern attentive creators (e.g., Dali's double image, Tchelitchev's animal-child-infested landscape, Ernst's fungi-feathered anatomy, Tanguy's furniture-pierced wastes, Matta's irradiant minerals) attempt to depict the unfolding facets of the new reality. Along with wood grains or natural decay, the new discoveries or inventions in Science are sources of inspiration to the modern artists. Particles in smoke, powdered chemicals, metal surfaces magnified 25,000 times by an instrument such as electron microscope display extremely beautiful forms. The effects of streamlining, infra-red, x-ray, ultra-violet ray photography, polarized light, inspire the artists to create infinitely beautiful variations and forms.

Simultaneous with this interplay of semi-technical forms is the attempt to achieve greater unity between the artist's creative consciousness and the environment of the spectator. This involves doing away with walls,

pedestals and frames and with devices such as cantilever supports, suspension columns, mobile and demountable installations, and with control over colour and intensity of the surrounding light, the painting is freed and is brought into the plane of existence of the spectator. Another new approach to art projects the elements of a painting towards the onlooker. The resulting four-dimensional effects modify the presentation of the physical world wherein objects look as if arranged in the order of their decreasing size. This is employed essentially to devise art forms that advance toward the onlooker rather than recede from him.

It will be apparent thus that art is progressing in response to the needs of the modern society and its large-scale industrialisation. The recent experiments by the artists bring art more and more in the daily life of the layman. According to Frank Lloyd Wright, the conception of the machine as a spreader of the blight of ugliness prevailed hitherto because creative artists failed to accept the machine as an instrument for producing its own legitimate and vital art.

This emergence and progress of what is called industrial design, is a step in the right direction, for as Ruskin puts it, "Industry without art is brutality." According to the scholastic viewpoint also, it is impossible to find the point at which art ends and industry begins. It is mainly through industry and industrial products that art can enter into the life of the common man. After this doing away with the distinction of pure or fine from applied or decorative art, and of beauty from use (which distinction was drawn in Europe only within the last two centuries), the next step is to do away with the division of craftsmen into artists on the one hand and labourers on the other. This obviously calls in for a revolution in our present economic and political conditions which reduce the majority of human beings to illiterate robots. Only then can art be a way of life; till then it will be only a luxury.

¹¹ *Ibid.* The achievements of Sullivan and Wright in America and Loos, Behrens, Gropius and Corbusier in Europe show their inclination to meet the needs of modern society through new shapes arrived at from raw materials and techniques.

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LABOUR PARTY

By ESSENJEE

Since the coming of Labour into power in Britain the question as to what is in reality the complexion of this party in the political world has been to the fore in the public mind. Perhaps a study of contemporary opinion may help. The following quotations from *Between Two Wars* by "Vigilante" go to show the steps that the Labour Party took to stop aggression against Russia in 1920.

"Labour misgivings about intervention had begun during the war. But for a long time the Labour Party was deluded by the plea that intervention was for the purpose of restoring democracy in Russia and was part of the Great War.

"In December 1918, that is just after the Armistice, the Labour Party Executive asked the Government to define their intentions with regard to Russia. They received no reply.

"At the Labour Party Conference in June, 1919, there was a discussion on the need for direct action to stop the war on Russia" (p. 111).

"Mr. Herbert Morrison (present Lord President of

the Council) had the following pungent comments to make :

He wanted to know what the party had done in the matter of the war on the Socialist Republic of Russia. . . . They had got to realise that the present war against Russia on the part of this country, France and the other Imperialist Powers, was not a war against Bolshevism or against Lenin, but against the international organisation of Socialism. It was a war against the organisation of the Trade Union movement itself, and as such should be resisted with the full political and industrial power of the whole Trade Union movement. But what had the Parliamentary Party done ? They had done so much that the matter was not worth a single reference in the report which was under discussion. This report was an insult to the energy, the intelligence and the vigour of the whole Labour movement of the country" (p. 113).

On the 9th August (1920) the Parliamentary Committee of the T. U. C., the Labour Party Executive and the Parliamentary Party met in the House and

unanimously decided to warn the Government that "the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war", notified the Executives of all affiliated organisations "to hold themselves ready to proceed immediately to London for a National Conference", advised them "to instruct their members to down tools on instructions from that National Conference", and constituted a representative Council of Action with full powers to implement these decisions.

The Conference met in the Central Hall, Westminster, four days later and fully endorsed these decisions. It "pledged itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia", . . .

Mr. Ernest Bevin (now Foreign Secretary) told the delegates at the Conference that "this question you are called upon to decide today—the willingness to take any action to win world peace transcends any claim in connection with wages or hours of labour" (pp. 115-16).

The moment the Government realised that the Labour movement meant business they promptly backed down. There was no war and intervention was ended (p. 118).

(Passages from "Vigilantes", *Between Two Wars*).

This happened twenty-five years ago. And within five years' time the Labour Party came into office (in 1924 with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister) only for a short period. In 1929, for the second time, MacDonald returned to Downing Street. Let us refresh our memory before we answer the question, as many friends have asked—"What did the Labour Government do?" "How did they help India?" John Gunther enlightens us on this point, and Francis Williams, former Editor of the *Daily Herald*, may also be quoted with profit.

"The Socialist group, whose political voice is the Labour Party and whose industrial voice is the Trade Union movement. . . . (p. 182).—Francis Williams in *Democracy's Last Battle*.

"The trade unions (who represent eight million British workmen) only became formally committed to socialism in 1924" (p. 355).—John Gunther, *Inside Europe*.

And as Brailsford has recently observed "so much water has flown down the bridges of the Thames" during these 20 years (1924-44). Thus Gunther introduced MacDonald, "the creator and the despoiler of the Labour Party, despicable or heroic as you choose, a man of Olympian or Stygian loneliness (p. 336). Churchill once called MacDonald "the boneless wonder" (p. 340).—*Inside Europe*.

The top men of the present Labour Government stand in a class by themselves and they have the further advantage—their number in the Commons is just twice that of Conservatives. Indians will be pleased to know the Prime Minister's views about India. As quoted in *The Empire of the Nabobs* (Lester Hutchinson's): "The idea that Indians must always be ruled for their own good by the lonely white man is a late Victorian sentiment" (p. 242).

"Since 1935 when he has had a chance to show himself, his capabilities have vastly improved. Attlee was of a middle-class parentage and background and became a Socialist, through intellectual conviction rather than through the hard school of poverty and direct awareness of social injustice. He has considerable grace and pertinacity and a very fair wit. Unlike most Labour leaders, he is a public school and Oxford man.

What he lacks most is colour, personality (p. 360).—*Inside Europe*.

Sir Stafford Cripps is quoted as saying: "You have only to look at the pages of British imperial history to hide your head in shame that you are British" (p. 358). Of him Gunther has a good deal to say which will be appreciated by his Indian friends and admirers.

"The best intellect among Labour M.P.'s is probably that of Sir Stafford Cripps—socialist by conviction, one of the best parliamentarians in England, and like Simon, a great lawyer and advocate. He founded the Socialist League (within the Parliamentary Labour Party); he is very far to the Left. He shocked a good many people by saying once that eventually "we shall have to overcome opposition from Buckingham Palace." Tories are afraid of Cripps, whereas few of them fear Morrison. They think that Cripps might, if he got the chance, inaugurate a real socialism-in-our-time policy, and even try to abolish the House of Lords, and rule by an Enabling Act."

"England is a country of superb surprises, for which reason one should not be surprised to learn that Cripps, the last remove from the workman-agitator, is a man of considerable wealth; he fights entrenched privilege from the inside. His fees as a K. C. are estimated at £30,000 per year. And the passionate radical sincerity of his convictions is beyond doubt (p. 358).

"Morrison is not an expert on foreign affairs, but his intuition is quick and his instincts good. He is distinctly on the Right wing of the labour movement, but even so the Leftists thoroughly respect him. He is a comparatively young man with a political future that holds out the dazzling promise of the premiership as its crown and climax. He is an astute politician with sincere convictions whose party loyalty has never been questioned" (p. 357).

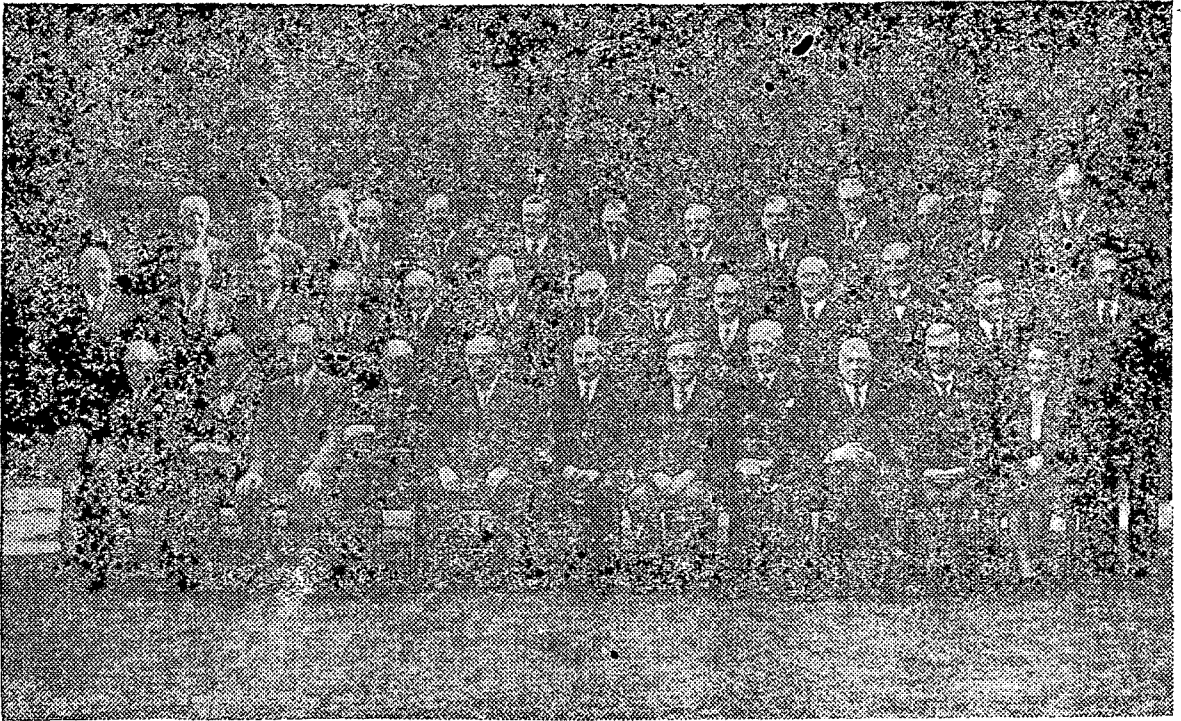
"Cripps and Morrison might be quite capable of working well together, despite their ideological differences. The former could supply theory and strategy; the latter organising power and sense of political tactics" (p. 359).

"Among the younger socialists the most interesting is perhaps Aneurin Bevan, a Welshman, a miner's son who worked underground as a child and then educated himself despite formidable obstacles of poverty. Vital, ambitious, magnetic, he is one of the most attractive characters in the Commons. His comment on sanctions gives a clue to his pungent quality; "Britain's policy is that of the successful burglar turned householder who wants a strong police force. If I am going to ask any worker to shed his blood, it will not be for medieval Abyssinia or for Fascist Italy, but for the making of a better social system in this country" (p. 360).

At the last Blackpool Conference, Bevan declared "We enter this campaign not merely to get a Parliamentary majority but complete extinction of the Tory Party for 25 years. England needs a new industrial revolution" (26 May, *Reuter*). And two months later the British Press unanimously declared that the election results mean that "Britain has undergone a silent revolution".

I have tried to show how strong is P. M. Attlee's Cabinet. The Labour Party's position and influence in the country bear no comparison. Third Labour Government seems to have come to stay.

Three of Churchill's trusted lieutenants have been displaced. Leopold Amery, Brendan Bracken and Hore-



LABOUR MINISTERS

FRONT Row (Left to right): Lord Addison, Sir William Jowitt, Sir Stafford Cripps, Arthur Greenwood, Ernest Bevin, C. R. Attlee, Herbert Morrison, Hugh Dalton, A. V. Alexander, Chute Ede, and Miss Ellen Wilkinson.
 CENTRE Row: Ben Smith, John Wilmott, Aneurin Bevan, George Isaacs, Lord Stangate, G. H. Hall, Lord Pethwick Lawrence, J. J. Lawson, Joseph Westwood, Emanuel Shinwell, Tom Williams, George Tomlinson and Alf. Barnes.
 BACK Row (Left to right): Sir E. Bridges, Soskice Hyrd, J. B. Lord Listowell, E. J. Williams, Lewis Silkin, Jim Griffiths, Lord Winster, Noel Baker, Wilfred Paling, Hartley Shawcross, and Norman Brook.

Belisha. Three 'Indian' experts have been silenced, to wit—Sir James Grigg, Sir George Schuster and Sir John Wardlaw-Milne. And three youngsters have been dispossessed in the prime of their life, let us hope never to return to the House of Commons—Churchill's son, and son-in-law, and Amery's son. I consider this defection in the Conservative rank is of especial importance where India is concerned.

Here's Robert Bernays estimate of the former Secretary of State for India. "If I were asked to name the most diehard among the great politicians of to-day, I should pass over the claims of Mr. Churchill and plump for Mr. Amery" (p. 362).—*Inside Europe*.

After politics come economics. Let us explore about Britain's industrial position. Gunther has truly epitomised: "The financial crisis of 1931 was caused, basically, by the shrinkage of British exports and the decline of shipping and oversea investments" (p. 333). Her present position shows a similar trend to-day (1945) in regard to her basic industries.

1 & 2. *Coal and Steel*: Two of Britain's major industries—coal and steel—have a grim future. (24 June, *Reuter*).

"The most vexed question of British politics—the coal problem". (House of Commons, 29 May, *Reuter*).

3. *Cotton*: Britain was unlikely to recover her export trade in cotton goods with India.—Sir Thomas Ainscough (6 March, *Reuter*).

4. *Housing*: "Really desperate". (Arthur Green-

wood, 24 May, *Reuter*). Housing is already our biggest headache.—Herbert Morrison.

5. *Labour*: Position extremely serious. Critical time is the next twelve months.—Ernest Bevin, (16 May, *Reuter*).

6. *Exports*: We must rebuild, as fast as possible, our export trade. Without that, all our post-war efforts would be in vain.—Winston Churchill (13 June, *Reuter*).

"Our export trade has fallen to less than 30 per cent, of its volume in 1930."—Sir Walter Layton.

"It was estimated that the export increase would have to be 125 per cent, in value over pre-war figures—and unless production could be increased by that figure, it meant Britain would have less for her internal consumption or else she would run into debt internationally."—Stafford Cripps, (6 May, *Reuter*).

7. *Oversea investments*: "We have lost much of our oversea investments and to make up this we must increase our export of goods."—Clement Attlee, (17 May, *Reuter*).

"Britain's existence depends upon her foreign investments" (p. 141).—Ludwell Denny, *America Conquers Britain*.

(1) In his work *The Empire of the Nabobs*, Leslie Hutchinson remarks: "The war (1914-18) had almost completely dislocated British industry, and there was therefore little competition to be feared from Lanca-

shire. . . . The India Government facilitated the development of heavy industry" (p. 203).

(2) In *England's Crisis*, Andre Siegfried observes :

"The heavy industries, especially coal, iron and steel continue to use equipment which is frankly out of date.

"It is the heavy industries—those dependent on coal and working primarily for export—that are declining" (p. 58).

"Obsolete equipment is only one aspect of the depression, for the organisation of industry itself is also at fault" (p. 60).

(3) In his masterly survey of Anglo-American relations Ludwell Denny writes :

"British heavy industry cannot obtain 'enough' new capital because it is not good investment. Hence some British heavy industrialists themselves send their money abroad rather than turn it back into their own un-economic business (p. 150).

The nice question arises as to which is the better British 'patriot', the British capitalist who leaves

British labour in the lurch so he can make bigger profits in backward countries, or the American 'invader' who provides capital to electrify British homes and industries? (p. 151).—*America Conquers Britain*.

Foreign Secretary Bevin's words are anything but encouraging :

"The methods Britain had adopted to win this struggle had left her extremely poor (20 August, *Reuter*).

The Far Eastern Editor of the *New York Post*, Darrell Berigan believes "that Britain, formerly the strongest power in Eastern Asia, has lost her leadership in this part of the world to the Soviet Union and America". (Washington, 23 August, *U. P. of America*).

Reuter's Financial Editor wires from London, 28 August : "Under any conceivable outcome of the Washington negotiation, Britain will not starve (though she may suffer serious privations). But if Britain lost her reputation for international honesty, this overcrowded and ill-endowed island would most certainly starve."

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HISTORY OF LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

THE growth of the Cornwallis type of zemindary in Bengal has been a source of unmitigated curse to this land. In complete disregard of the previous history of the country and its social system, the authors of the permanent settlement thought that they were free to construct any system of land tenure that pleased them. They had completely overlooked the millennium old Indian social, political and economic system based on the village communities. The foundation of these village communities was the joint family enjoying proprietary rights without generally an actual division of property. Indian village communities, consisting of families with these joint and several rights in property precluded the possibility or idea of the growth of the Cornwallis type of Bengal zemindary. At the date of the zemindary settlement in 1793, these village communities existed throughout India in a perfect form outside Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in these provinces only in an incipient state of disintegration, in which the zemindars had usurped the functions and proprietary rights of the heads of village communities, while the members of the village communes yet retained the proprietary rights of a perfect kind. This usurpation by powerful zemindars was quite natural in a continued state of political disturbances in Bengal. These able zemindars with their police functions maintained law and order in the province. During her six hundred years of Muslim subjugation Bengal was perpetually at war with the Delhi Emperor. Custom which had embodied the rights of property in land in the village communes remained crystallised for centuries of misrule, down to 1793. The proprietary rights of millions in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have completely disappeared in a brief period since that date. Hallingbury says¹ in 1879 :

"What, in Europe, centuries of war, rapine, spoliation and wrong or misrule could not destroy or benevolently spared, in India not quite one century of benevolence and law has dissolved in Bengal."

The revenue administration of Verelst in Bengal reveals the peculiar problems and difficulties which arose from the introduction of the dual system of Government after the grant of Dewani in 1765. Before his appointment as Governor, he had acquired experience in land revenue administration as supervisor in turn of all the three districts ceded by Mir Kasim, namely, Chittagong, Burdwan and Midnapore. On the acquisition of Dewani, the Court of Directors in London and the Company's officers in India made a series of efforts to obtain the knowledge essential for a proper settlement of the land revenue. During the past few years, the predatory character of the Company had become abundantly clear. The resistance of the zemindars has been described by Ramsbotham² as follows :

"The Zemindars and Kanungos were a powerful confederation and it is not surprising that the Company's district officers at a very early date began to experience a solid, if passive, resistance from them in order to prevent the Company, as Diwan, from obtaining an accurate knowledge of the state of the land revenue of the payments, the receipts, the particular details of its assessment and especially of the payments actually made by the raiyats to the subordinate officers of the zemindars. This opposition was strengthened by the fact that the customs of almost every single pargana differed from each other, which deprived a district officer from using

¹ Hallingbury, "Zemindary Settlement in Bengal", 1879, Vol. I, App. I, p. 12 (published anonymously).

² Ramsbotham, R.B., *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 4.

in one district the experience which he had slowly and with difficulty gained in another."

The greed of the Company had already made the assessments at a very high level. Defaults were consequently large and glaring abuses in the collection of revenue became frequent. Verelst wanted to follow the line of least resistance and advised the Company to preserve the structure of the native government "as entire and unimpaired as possible."³ But the Company desired to establish as soon as possible, their complete supremacy which culminated in the assumption of direct responsibility by the Company's own servants.

The basis of land revenue assessment had been wrong from the very beginning. The following table will show the extent of increase in land revenue demand⁴:

1582-1658 or 76 years	Increase	15½ per cent
1658-1722 or 64 "	"	13½ " "
1722-1756 or 34 "	"	29 " "
1756-1763 or 7 "	"	40 " "

This table shows only the revenue demand, and not necessarily the revenue as actually realised. It must be borne in mind that exactions by *abwabs* formed an important part in the total revenue burden of the peasant. Murshid Quli Khan was the first to introduce it. The growth of the *abwab* will be clear from the following table⁵:

Murshid Quli Khan (1702-1725)	Revenue Rs. 1,04,73,707 Abwabs 2,58,857 Total Rs. 1,07,32,564
Shujauddin Khan (1725-1739)	Revenue Rs. 1,07,32,564 New Abwabs 19,14,095 Total Rs. 1,26,46,659
Kasim Ali Khan (1756-1763)	Revenue Rs. 1,26,46,659 New Abwabs 97,36,436 Total Rs. 2,23,83,095

In the time of Mir Jafar, the *abwabs* reached a point when they were intolerable.

Calculating for the period 1756 to 1765, Sir John Shore proves conclusively that the figures of the Mughal assessment were unrealisable, and on that account probably excessive. He shows, from the public accounts, that in 1762 the revenue was Rs. 80 lakhs in arrears,⁶ and for the subsequent years, he gives detailed figures to show the proportion of revenue that was actually realised :

Year	Administrator	Assessment Rs.	Collections Rs.	Balances Rs.
1762-3	Kasim Ali Khan	2,41,00,000	65,00,000	1,76,00,000
1763-4	Nanda Kumar Banerjee	1,77,00,000	77,00,000	1,00,00,000
1764-5	Nanda Kumar Banerjee	1,77,00,000	82,00,000	95,00,000
1765-6	Muhammad Reza Khan	1,60,00,000	1,47,00,000	13,00,000

³ Letter from the Governor, Bengal Public Constitutions, Dec. 16, 1769.

⁴ Ascoli, *Early Revenue History of Bengal*, p. 28.

⁵ Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 47.

⁶ *Fifth Report*, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 174, paras 46 & 47.

Muhammad Reza Khan was known to be the most oppressive revenue administrator ever appointed in Bengal.

In dealing with the history of revenue assessment one very important fact seems to have been overlooked. The sudden increase in the revenue demand by 29 per cent during 1722-56 was not without reason. The Maratha depredations were the main cause which led to this enhancement. Feeling the weight of this heavy revenue burden, Alivardi Khan wanted the European trading companies to share it with him. He said that as they participated in the protection of his arms and enjoyed the profits of the trade, it was only fair that they should render him pecuniary help for the safety of the province. The lot of the ryot after 1740 was one of increasing misery. In 1744, he demanded from the Company 30 lakhs of rupees to clear off two months' arrear pay of his soldiers. He pointed out that the English carried on trade over the whole country and paid no customs and consequently he demanded that they must make some contributions towards the Exchequer of the State under whose protection they carried on their trade. After much trouble some sort of arrangement was made and the Patna, Chaprah and Dacca factors of the Company agreed to make some contributions. But fresh troubles began in 1748. This time, Alivardi took a very stern attitude. He adopted repressive measures against the English traders and organised a complete boycott. "The Dacca and Jugdea factories had to suffer much for want of common subsistence, as supply of food had been obstructed by the Nawab's officers. These officers took *mutchullacas* (written agreements) not only from all the traders and *poddars* not to have any transaction with the English factors at Dacca, but also from the *moodys* (grocers) not to supply them with provisions and other necessities." The English made frantic efforts to evade payment by conciliating the Nawab by offering him bribes. The restrictions imposed on the Company's trade were finally removed after the Company made a payment of Rs. 1 lakh and 50 thousand.

After the death of Alivardi Khan, complete riot and anarchy in revenue administration prevailed during 1756 to 1765. The revenue was maintained at the unnaturally high level to which it had risen under Alivardi due to Maratha invasions. After the acquisition of the dewani, attempts to establish order out of chaos were made. Ascoli divides the revenue administration from 1765 to 1793 into four periods :

Period I	1765-1773	Period of hesitation
Period II	1773-1781	Period of centralisation
Period III	1781-1786	Completion of Centralisation
Period IV	1786-1793	Decentralisation

During this period of hesitation, the collection of revenue was entirely in the hands of Muhammad Reza Khan during 1765-1772. His character and conduct have been severely criticised. He had acted as the deputy or *naib* of the Nazim Najm-ud-Daula since his accession in 1765, combining the duties both of Nazim and Dewan of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, owing to the youth and incompetence of the Nazim. On the grant of dewany to the Company, he was selected by Clive to collect the revenue on account of the Company with the title of Naib Dewan or Deputy Finance Minister.

⁷ Consultations, 23rd Jan., 1749, quoted by Datta, *Alivardi and His Times*, p. 148.

This system was not satisfactory. Grant points out⁸ that a large part of the Company's profits were passing into the hands of the Naib Dewan and his subordinates. Grant asserts that⁹ during twenty years subsequent to 1765, defalcations alone amounted to ten crores of rupees or an average of fifty lakhs of rupees per annum. Huge sums remained outstanding. On March 10, 1767, the Bengal Select Committee said :

"We are sorry to find such very considerable balances . . . the strictest inquiry should be made into the causes of such deficiency in the collections."

On his assumption of Governorship, Verelst recommended, in February, 1768, the appointment of a Deputy under Md. Reza Khan. For some time past, he was assisted by a relation of his, named Fath Ali Khan, without any emolument. On February 16, the Select Committee resolved to nominate Fath Ali as the Naib of Muhammad Reza Khan and his salary was fixed at the enormous sum of Rs. 7,000 per month at the suggestion of Mr. Sykes, Resident at the Court of Nawab.¹⁰

The problem of over assessment disturbed the mind of Verelst. He had been cognisant¹¹ of the fact that it was impossible to fix the just value of the lands unless a complete measurement was made thereof and their gross produce fully ascertained. He took an active interest in the work of survey and encouraged Capt. James Rennell, Surveyor-General to complete his mapping of Bengal undertaken in 1764 under the orders of Governor Vansittart, and to prepare one general chart from those already made by him. In consideration of his valuable work Rennell's salary was increased to Rs. 300 per month, five weeks' after the Naib's salary was fixed at Rs. 7,000. Rapid progress in the land survey was made during Verelst's tenure of office. Amidst the greatest conceivable difficulties and even at the risk of life, he could not complete his work. During one of his surveying tours, Rennell was severely assaulted by a party of Sannyasi rebels, as a result of which he received several serious cuts from their sword. He recovered from the injury but it left him partially crippled for life. So far as collecting materials for the Bengal Atlas was concerned, Rennell's labours were finished in 1776, too late to provide even a basis for land settlements.

Collections of revenue were made with utmost strictness. After the assumption of Dewani, revenue demands had been considerably enhanced and strictness in collections at this rate caused great hardship to the people. Clive himself had admitted, in a letter, dated April 25, 1766, that "to attempt further increase of the revenues will be drawing the knot too tight." On September 22, in another letter, he wrote, "The Company's revenues are already immense, nor can I think of increasing them by the least oppressive mode."¹² Sher Shah was also extremely strict in the matter of revenue collections, but his method differed from the British process in that during his reign the people were given wide and effective opportunity to appeal against any assessment which they considered too high. Once the assessment was finally settled, no mercy was shown

at the time of collection. Under the Company's rule, the assessment was too high and arbitrary; and the people had no means to appeal against unjust assessment. Verelst was always "opposed to the policy of increasing the revenue"¹³ and did recommend and enforce substantial abatements in 1769. He realised that an unduly rapid increase in the revenue demand was bound to prove detrimental to the ultimate interests of the government itself. He believed that increase in the revenues should arise only from the prevention of frauds and embezzlements, or from the growth of the population and the improvement of agriculture.¹⁴ Verelst's efforts to persuade the Company to stop enhancements proved unsuccessful. They demanded immediate rather than future increase of revenue. The extent to which total collections had been raised during Verelst's tenure will be apparent from the following figures :¹⁵

	Gross Collections Rs.	Net Revenue Rs.
May 1765-Apr. 1766	2,00,73,133	1,49,46,024
May 1766-Apr. 1767	3,38,29,494	2,24,67,500
May 1767-Apr. 1768	3,20,71,195	2,09,68,937
May 1768-Apr. 1769	3,36,64,072	2,13,52,805
May 1768-Apr. 1770	2,97,06,976	1,85,72,159

The assessments were so high that the zemindars on many occasions, defaulted. The alternative machinery employed by the Company for the collection of revenue consisted of amils and foudjars. The zemindars had a permanent interest in the land and as such could not oppress their tenants beyond a certain limit. The amils and foudjars had no such responsibility. When the zemindars defaulted these men were sent to collect the revenue. Their oppression, rapacity and plunder knew no bounds and they could not be effectively checked. *Gumashtahs, dallals, paikars, pykes, barkandazes* and other subordinates employed in the work of collections combined to perpetuate a thousand modes of oppression and taxation.¹⁶ The amil system was the worst source of oppression in the post-dewani period. Relying on Bengal Select Committee Proceedings dated February 10, 1768, Dr. Chatterjee¹⁷ states that "of the oppressive character of the revenue administration in the Dewani lands, the authorities were fully aware." The grievances were, however, never redressed and the situation continued from bad to worse.

The system of farming by means of short leases was another of worst features of the revenue administration of this period. In the Dewani lands, the revenues were settled annually on the occasion of the *Punyaha*. In consequence, lands subject to the amils who were liable to be changed from year to year, and as such no better than the worst farmers, were mercilessly rack-rented¹⁸ and impoverished. They had no permanent interest in the land and naturally their exactions were of a predatory character. Dr. Chatterjee says that Verelst was "probably the first man who raised his voice

8 Fifth Report, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 328.

9 Ibid., pp. 414-16.

10 Bengal Select Committee, Feb. 16 & 23, 1768, quoted by Chatterjee, N. L., *Verelst's Rule in India*, p. 217.

11 Bengal Public Consultation, Apr. 29, 1767.

12 Clive's Minute, Bengal Select Committee, Jan. 16, 1767.

13 Chatterjee, N. L., *Verelst's Rule in India*, p. 223.

14 Ibid., p. 224.

15 Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, p. 82.

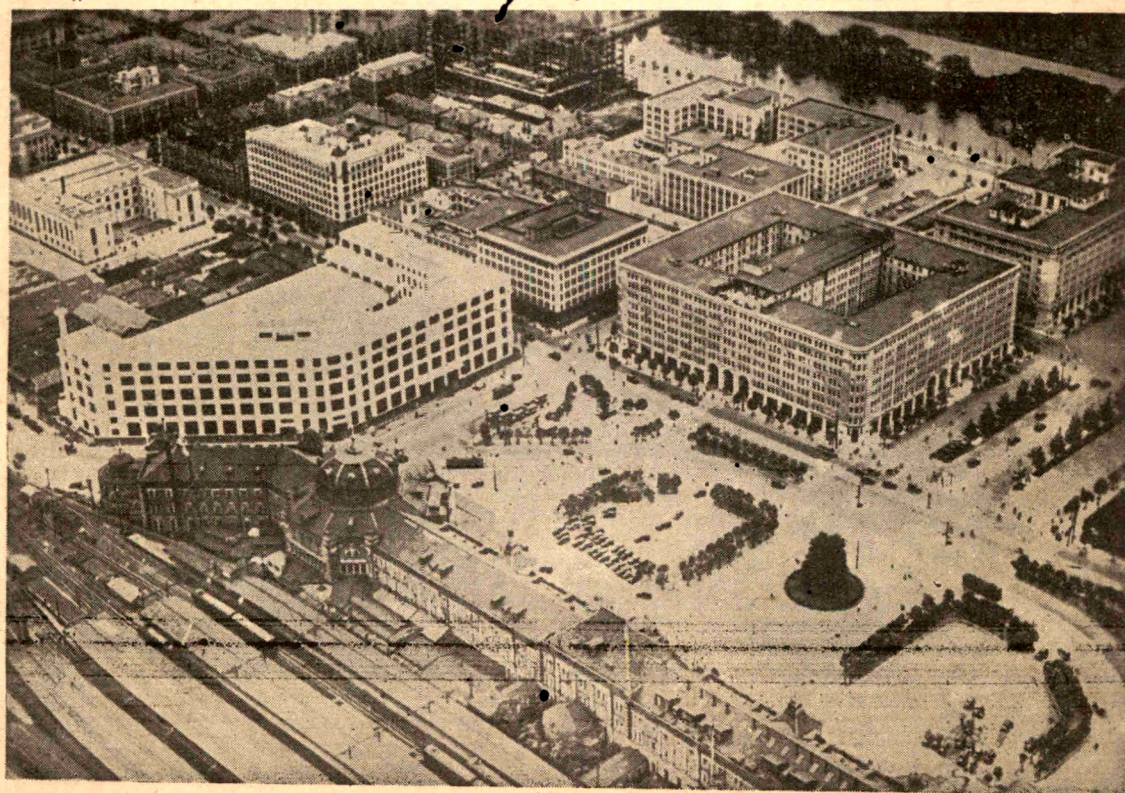
16 Ibid., p. 66.

17 Chatterjee, N. L., *Verelst's Rule in India*, p. 236.

18 Dow, *History of Hindustan*, I, p. cxxiv.



A view of the downtown business section of Tokyo



A pre-war air view of the centre of the Japanese capital shows the Tokyo railroad station. Across the square from the terminal is Marunouchi Building, the largest office building in Tokyo

[The following text is a dense, handwritten manuscript, likely a letter or a page from a book. It is written in a cursive script and covers the majority of the page. Due to the image quality and the nature of the handwriting, the specific words and sentences are largely illegible. The text appears to be organized into several paragraphs, with some lines indented. There are some markings that could be initials or small symbols interspersed within the text.]

of protest against the inequity of short leases.¹⁹ He enforced three years' farming plan in Purnea with good results. Becher, who had succeeded Sykes as Resident at the Murshidabad Dürbar, supported him. Encouraged by the success of the Purnea experiment, Becher strongly urged the adoption of his plan in every district of Bengal. The plan was, however, postponed due to the retirement of Verelst and the subsequent famine. The policy of long lease system was again officially recognised after the arrival of Warren Hastings.

In 1769, when the Company began to consider the duties of the Dewani seriously, a fresh problem presented itself, namely, how to ascertain the difference between the sum received as land revenue by Government and the amount actually paid by the ryot. This problem was never solved and the ryot's heavy burden was never really lifted during the days of the Company's regime.²⁰

British officials were employed by Verelst as supervisors or supervisors to supervise revenue collections. Hastings continued them under the new name collectors. Verelst's plan, adopted and developed by his successors, remains to this day the framework of district administration in India. The appointment of these supervisors and their continuance, under the new name was a matter of great controversy, Ramsbotham writes²¹:

"The questions which the supervisors and the first collectors were called upon to decide were the problem that baffled Hastings, Shore and Cornwallis; that produced such opposite views as those expressed by Shore and Grant in the Vth Report; and which tested the ability for more than a century of the ablest members of that famous and capable *corps d'élite*, the Indian Civil Service; both under the Company and under the Crown."

After the assumption of office by Warren Hastings, a Committee of Circuit was formed with the Governor himself, and Samuel Middleton, P. R. Dacres, J. Lawrell, and J. Graham. The Committee's proceedings for August 15, 1772 recorded new plans for the administration of justice, but the most glaring evil remained unremedied. The powers of both a tax collector and a magistrate were vested in the collectors, the very complaint which Hastings had himself brought against the supervisors. The collectors were also given powers to frame such subsidiary regulations as the welfare of their respective districts should require. The proposed new Regulations were approved by the Council at Fort William on August 21, 1772. The Committee had also proposed that the whole council should compose a Board of Revenue assembling twice, or oftener, in the week. These proposals received the assent of the Governor in Council on August 29, 1772. The whole trend of the Committee's recommendations was towards the centralisation of the revenue work in Calcutta. The Khalsa or Central Treasury Office, was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta, and an elaborate series of *daftars* or departments, partly under the general supervision of an Indian officer called the Ray Rayan was established. This officer drew a salary of Rs. 5,000 a month. Maharaja Rajballabh was the first Ray Rayan. Indian Dewans were appointed on a monthly salary of Rs. 1,000 to assist collectors, who were British officials appointed on a salary of Rs. 3,000

per month. The Ray Rayan, however, was not let alone. A British official was employed at the Central Treasury as a check against him. Ramsbotham writes²²:

"The realisation of those payments made direct to the Khalsa was the special work of a European officer of the Company, called the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records, whose work required an officer of responsibility with a good working knowledge both of Persian and of Bengali, for the Superintendent was also responsible in a great degree for the civil administration of those districts 'which consist for the greater part of a number of inferior and petty mahals'."

Alexander Elliot was appointed the first Superintendent of the Khalsa. One other important office in the Revenue Department was reserved for a senior covenanted British servant of the Company: this was the Accountant Generalship.

Other recommendations of the Committee of Circuit accepted by the Council included the following: (1) farms to be let on lease for five years, (2) farms not to exceed the value of one lakh, (3) *nazaranas* and *selamis* at first interviews to be discontinued, (4) collectors forbidden to purchase grain on pain of dismissal, (5) sepoys not to be employed in the collections, except in urgent cases, and by warrant under the public seal, (6) rents of ryots to be fixed and not exceeded on pain of the farmer's lease, (7) the farmer's rent also to be fixed according to the rent roll of the lease, (8) no mathots (*i.e.*, additional cesses) to be permitted, (9) a mohurrir to be appointed to every farm to note receipt of rents and to send monthly accounts to the Collector at the district Sadar Cutchery, (10) no peshkar, banyan or other servant of a collector was to farm any lands.

These were the resolutions of the Committee of Circuit. According to Ramsbotham²³, in the light of what was actually achieved, they could only be regarded as pious aspirations. Their fates were as follows:

No. 2 was never enforced.

No. 5 was honoured in the letter but not in spirit.

The records of the Board from 1772-4 contain frequent reference to peons and hurcaras being quartered on refractory zemindars: Confinement was common and one collector openly informed the Board that he had used all possible severity "short of capital punishment" to induce the zemindars in his district to pay.

No. 6 was nugatory. The Company never knew what the ryot paid, and never succeeded in introducing a standard lease.

No. 8 could never be enforced as the ignorance of the actual amount of revenue paid prevailed.

No. 9 introduced a fresh element of corruption.

No. 10. This could never be enforced. The banyan could, and did, always hold and farm lands in a relative's name: The banyan of the Governor himself was a notorious farmer and continued to hold his farms long after the date of this edict.

In April, 1773, the Court of Directors sent instructions to the Governor-in-Council in Bengal to recall

19 Chatterjee, *Ibid.*, p. 220.

20 Ramsbotham, R. B., *Bengal Land Revenue 1769-1787*, p. 15.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 28.

English collectors from their districts. The motive for this seems to have been a fear lest these junior officials should neglect the Company's interests and turn to private trade. These orders were carried out in the following manner. The three provinces were divided into six divisions, *viz.*, Murshidabad, Dacca, Calcutta, Burdwan, Dinajpur and Patna, each under a Provincial Council consisting of one Chief and four senior servants of the Company. The Calcutta Council was usually known as the Calcutta Committee of Revenue. The administration was thus still more centralised without making any serious effort to gain detailed knowledge of the districts which was of paramount importance. The salary of the chiefs of the Provincial Councils was fixed at Rs. 3,000 per month. Explaining the reason for this high salary, the Governor's Council recorded a memorable minute which shows the nature of corruption then prevalent and the Company's helplessness in their uttermost to prevent it. An extract from this minute is given below²⁴:

"It will be a reasonable compensation for the loss which the members of the Superior Council may be supposed to sustain by being excluded from every benefit of trade which they could not excuse, however, disposed in themselves, without some degree

²⁴ Revenue Board Proceedings, Nov. 23, 1773, quoted by Ramsbotham, *ibid.*, p. 35.

of oppression. . . . As men, the servants of the Company are not exempted from the frailties and wants of humanity. It allowed the liberty of private trade while they possess an unbounded power (and who shall bind those who constitute the Government itself) their trade will be a monopoly and an oppression. If forbidden to trade, without some reparation for the loss and some allowed means of acquiring a livelihood and even the prospects of a competency, these feeble words of a public edict will not hold them, but they will with little scruple break through them and attain those ends by unallowed means, because they will think that a decree which imposes upon them the necessity of perpetual penury could not have been really intended for their rigid observance; such having been in many instances the fatal practice of this service. We say fatal, because laws and restrictions which have no coercion and bear too hardly on the passions for the common sufferance of mankind, inevitably defeat their own purpose. They become totally disregarded, nor is it deemed an impeachment of morality to transgress them; and it is a consequence as infallible that when men are once allowed to pass the line of their prescribed duty at their own option, they will by degrees extend the latitude to the furthest extreme of corruption, embezzlement and rapine."

(To be continued)

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A SURVEY OF THE FAR EASTERN QUESTION

By MAHMOOD AHMED KHAN

THE Far Eastern Question in its essence is a counterpart of the Eastern Question in Europe. Czar Nicholas I had characterised the 19th century Turkey as the "Sick Man of Europe", who might die at any moment; and the Eastern Question, as understood in this context by the 19th century Europe, was enunciated in terms of the inheritance of this very sick man which should develop upon the various powers in a way as may not disturb the Balance of Power in Western Europe. The vital point was that Russia should not be made too powerful at the expense of Turkey.

Broadly speaking the same history repeated itself in the case of the 19th century China. China was looked upon—though not explicitly stated—as the "Sick Man" of East Asia, as for that matter she still is the sick member of the United Nations. The 19th century China in *articulo mortis* gave birth to the Far Eastern Question which enunciated broadly was the partition of China amongst Western Powers—if not in the full significance of the term, in exclusive spheres of interest—in such a manner that no Western Power may become all-powerful to impose its own Pacific policy on others. Besides these imperialistic rivalries of the Occidental powers there were, in the late 19th century, other forces at work—which Europe did not take cognizance of till 1919—which gave to the Far Eastern Question the magnitude and the touch of a *cul-de-sac* which it has for a politician of today. But for the disintegrating Celestial Empire we would not have been faced with the serious character of the Far Eastern Question.

Towards the close of the 18th century the British East India Company established trade relations with the Chinese in Canton. This was the first time the Chinese in their long history experienced the contact of civilisation other than their own. They had a mighty civilisation, and in their own way they had developed a pseudo-democratic system which was due to the influence of the Confucian Classics. The family, the guild and the gentry were the embodiments of the democratic spirit and these had proved to be adequate for their requirements. Their characteristically tolerant and compromising nature had enabled them to live peacefully. They were passionate champions of individual freedom, and throughout their history they had been governed by 'rule of action'—the good which is inherent in man. They prided themselves on their civilisation and their achievements and did not like to associate with outsiders whom they regarded as less civilised.

This attitude of the Chinese was responsible for their reluctance to give any privileges to the British East India Company when the latter established its connexions with China. They realised, perhaps, that commerce bringing in its wake a wave of immigration would not only dangerously impair their culture and civilisation but would also be a forerunner of political domination. As it was, however, the trade missions of Lords Macartney and Amherst did not bear fruit. The Chinese government resented the import and sale of opium conducted by the East India Company, and the

differences that ensued led to the "Opium War". After a protracted struggle the Chinese government had to cede Hongkong to Britain and to give various trade concessions. This was the beginning of the sordid chain of demands and concessions. In the middle of the 19th century an Anglo-French Expeditionary force landed in China to punish her government for the capture of the Chinese boat 'Arrow', property of outlaws, which was flying the British flag to evade the Chinese law authorities. The campaign ended in the sack of Peiping and the Chinese government had to cede a portion of Kowloon and to give extraterritorial rights and various other concessions and to open a number of Chinese ports to foreign trade.

During this period Russia—by no means a minor factor in Chinese foreign relations—had not neglected her scheme of expansion, and put it into execution at the expense of the Chinese who had to cede a part of their Manchurian territory, and some towns in Chinese Turkestan, and to give overland trade concessions.

Late in the 19th century France and China came into conflict over the fate of Annam (now French Indo-China). An incident in Annam between Chinese and French troops, who had been despatched to occupy the country by arms, was considered as a *casus belli* and the French navy came into operation. Ultimately China recognized Annam as a French protectorate. At about the same time the British sliced off Burma which had all along been considered as a vassal state of China.

Japan, until the middle of the 19th century, had lain dormant within her feudal shell insensible to the outer world. She now crept out and wanted Korea. Once again China was involved in war and owing to the reverses she suffered, she lost Korea, Formosa and Liaotung Peninsula. As Japanese occupation of Liaotung would have been a permanent source of menace to the Chinese capital China turned to Russia for help. As a consequence of Russian intervention the cessation of Liaotung was nullified but China purchased Russian alliance at the expense of her Manchurian territory.

Germany, the last Western competitor in the field of imperialism extorted in 1897 Kiachow Bay from the Chinese on a lease of 99 years. This gave Russia the pretext of occupying Port Arthur and Dalny in order to maintain the Balance of Power in Manchuria. Balance of Power was the accepted doctrine of European politics and as this balance had been unbalanced by the recent actions of Germany and Russia, France and England asked China for further concessions which were granted in the form of various leases.

It was considered that time had now come for the partition of China. The spectre was haunting China and she knew it. She was, however, saved by the opportune intervention of America who proclaimed the historic 'Open Door' policy for China. This was designed to provide an equal opportunity for the commerce of all nations, to minimize the chances of conflict between different nations, and to safeguard against encroachments on Chinese dominions.

China was in a worst state financially and economically. At the end of every war China had had to pay considerable sums as indemnities, and foreign trade with all its implications was doing harm to the economic life of the country. The exemption granted to foreign trade from Likin—inland charges—cut deep into the trade of native merchants. Moreover, the

Chinese revenue had sustained a considerable loss owing to the indefinitely fixed tariff which was a condition of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1858. Social conditions were far from satisfactory. Chinese society founded on the family and the guild—strictly, organs of local government—did not incite the people to look beyond, and thus failed to create a national spirit. The introduction of modern industrial and economic life had uprooted the basic conceptions of society. Politically a chaotic state of affairs obtained in China. Feudalism embodied in the conservative mandarinat, had not been discarded and all attempts to undertake reforms and modernise the country had ended in fiasco. Transition from a feudal to a modern state could only be effected by an uncompromising political revolution. Social upheaval and subsequent reconstruction came 75 years later than in Japan, where feudalism and conditions similar to China were then obtaining. "Superficially at least the difference between Japanese and Chinese historical evolution lies in the fact that the breakdown of feudalism in Japan released latent social forces which were guided by the Samurai (warrior-class) who with Chonin (merchant-class) support, and carried along in the crest of agrarian revolt, were able to destroy the Shogunate and set up a new regime before national independence was irreparably weakened. In China the interventionist forces of the Western Powers and the undivided loyalty of the ruling bureaucracy succeeded in suppressing signs of revolt and attempts at social reform so that national independence and national regeneration had to be postponed for generations to come."

The imperialist powers of the West were feverishly busy throughout the 19th century in entrenching themselves in the Celestial Empire. The Western Powers were doling out their one-sided deal and China was succumbing to the pressure. Everyone of the Powers had a definite policy not only towards China but also towards one or more of the other Powers and thus Western imperialism was faced with a real Far Eastern Question.

The advent of the twentieth century saw another factor consolidating its position in the Far Eastern politics. This factor was no other than Japan who had catapulted herself overnight in the twentieth century as a modern state. As Japan was now becoming a major factor in the Far East—which she did become in 1919—and as the history of the Far East from the end of the Great War is in fact a history of Japanese ambitions, we shall look more closely at Japan.

History, in my opinion, should take more cognizance of a nation's psychology, social character and temperament than it does at present, in determining the influence they exercise in shaping a nation's economy, political outlook, and current history. A definite knowledge on our part of the character and intellectual make-up of the Japanese and of the social conditions of Nippon would undoubtedly have given us an advantage over Japan in anticipating and counteracting her recent move in the Pacific. As will appear from a well-conducted study, Japan's outrageous rape of South-East Asia was the result of a long planning which had been determined to a great extent by the Japanese character. Perhaps it would not be out of place to give an outline of the Japanese character which has been responsible for shaping their outlook and policy.

To make a successful approach to the Japanese mentality it is essential to grasp to its utmost significance the facts that the Japs are convinced that they are descended from the Gods, that they are an infinitely superior race, and that they were commanded to realise Kakko Ichiu—eight corners of the world under Japanese roof. Japan is characterized by a rigid society, an absence of a balanced ethical thinking, religion, and moral code. The individual in Japan does not exist as an individual but as a unit of a family. This resulted in the elimination of enterprize in the individual. From times immemorial the thoughts of the Japanese have been moulded for them by others, in fact a radical change has been effected in the very character of their intellect. They were and still are taught to think along channels which those in power prescribed, and the path chosen was patriotism through their own divine origin. Japanese society always operates from the top down, and this is proved by a marked absence in Jap history of any evolution in social, religious or political sphere. Everything was dictated by those in power and as they were interested in maintaining their own privileged position they were careful not to impart anything which might be used as an instrument against themselves. In pursuance of this policy, strict obedience to authority, loyalty for its own sake and repression of self were prescribed as Law; and thought-control was practised to ensure the conduct of the masses on these lines. The people of Japan have, through the course of centuries, been reduced to an ignominious condition and it is only natural that self-repression and pent-up emotions should find a moment of evanescent outburst in the extremes of excesses such as we have witnessed lately.

Another thing which is conspicuous by its absence is religious teaching. Though Buddhism and Christianity have had their days, they did not transform the primitive in the Japanese and this was due to the distorted forms of these religions, which had filtered down from the powerful aristocracy. A Japanese is incapable of conceiving of a soul, of good and evil and sin, and of love, there is no real equivalent expression for love, as we understand it, in the whole of the Japanese language. Shinto is the creed or cult or religion in which they repose their faith. Patriotism, worship of forbears and fetishism and phallicism constitute Shinto which is a conscious fact, the very heart of which is the worship of the Emperor.

Deprived of social flexibility and opportunities for the diffusion of emotion, not rationalized by original and individual thinking, and not humanized by the elevating forces of religion and ethics the Japanese landed in the twentieth century as far removed from us as any of the uncivilized peoples. Modern Japanese mentality is that of a primitive tribe which has been trained in modern warfare, solely because the Japanese themselves chose the implements of death of the mechanical civilization, with which they came into contact. Keeping in view this social background the course of Japanese policy in the Far East should not be hard to trace.

Almost since 1868—the year of the restoration of Meiji, and of the opening up of Japan to the Western world—Japan has pursued a policy of expansion, covering it with the excuse of her rapidly multiplying population. Colonial expansion, as a matter of fact, presumes a highly developed industry and a necessity

for more trade markets. The contrary was the case when Japan initiated her expansionist policy. The real facts underlying her policy were two. With the restoration of Meiji, the internecine wars, in which the Samurai played a large part, came to an end, and it became imperative for the existence of this class to explore the possibilities of the creation of external wars. Secondly, when the Samurai were later incorporated in the body of the state—in the fighting service—partly due to their spirit, and partly to divert the attention of the masses from the growing unsatisfactory living conditions and social inequities to external objects, they embarked on a policy of expansion which was to bring them, inevitably, into conflict with some power or other. Later on as industry and commerce developed and as the home markets approached saturation point, the businessmen urgently required foreign markets; and this basic agreement of policy between the Samurai and the businessmen brought them together in an alliance, which in its essence has survived to this day.

The Samurai had their first test of strength in the Sino-Japanese war of 1895. Their success enhanced their prestige at home, created confidence in themselves, gave Japan the importance of a Power on a limited scale, and above all taught them the important lesson that war is a lucrative profession. As a consequence of this victory the policy of expansion gained ground, and also, the hatred of Japanese towards the barbarian foreigners became more pronounced as Russia and other powers had by their intervention deprived Japan of the fruit of her victory—the Liaotung Peninsula. Some time later the Russian demand on the Chinese for concessions in this very Liaotung peninsula exasperated the Yamato damashii—by this time consolidated and fanatical and which had learnt the "sacredness of sacrifice". And now it was time to challenge the might of Russia for the whip-hand in Manchuria and Korea. Russia was dissatisfied with her position in Manchuria and wanted further concessions. This move was resented by Japan as it would have jeopardised her position in Korea. The Anglo-Japanese alliance had strengthened Japanese arms and Japan was prepared for a war with Russia. Russia's defeat gave a number of territorial advantages and strategic positions to Japan and enlarged the political horizon of Yamato. With their success in the Russo-Japanese war the Japanese people went mad over the greatness of their country and the slogan became *Dai Nippon Teikoku Ban-Banzai* (Great Japan Empire over All). The success of the Japanese was due to the intervention of the United States President, at a time when, it is believed, Japan was strained to breaking point. As it has turned out the American President rendered a service to the Japanese in their expansionist policy by infusing them with a confidence in their arms. The Japanese had acquired a *locus standi* in China and now with the lever in their hands they were planning to move the world. During this preliminary construction of the Jap Empire the basic character of the Jap people had played an important part. The Samurai had exploited people's subservience and patriotism and had established militarism with the help of Shinto. The political philosophy, which thus took shape, was in fact a great psychological metamorphosis of the soul of the nation.

From now on the history of the Far Eastern Question is more or less the history of the Japanese ascendancy, or their aggressive militarism, and of their *Drang nach Sudan*. Obviously the lacerated and dis-

united China was the target. Industrialization in Japan brought with it the problem of an access to raw materials. Japan then sorely needed the essential raw materials without which she could hardly exist as a modern industrial state. The nearest source which could ensure an adequate and continuous supply of raw materials, was China. It seemed easy to dominate China, as the country was weak and disorganized. Moreover, the Japanese could not look to any other region for the supply of raw materials, as none remained unexploited by some or the other of the Western Powers. Chinese and South Sea resources excited the imagination of the Japanese and their hatred of the foreigners and the fact of their being the descendent of Gods, gave an impulse towards the materialization of their dream. Naturally the ultimate tussle had to be between Japan and the Western Powers, for this was the position to which the Far Eastern Question had boiled down in its later phase. Moreover, the rise of nationalism in a country is followed by a desire for territorial aggrandisement at the expense of the weaker nation with utter disregard to the latter's national sentiment. Thus China was destined to be Japan's sphere of "special interest."

The preoccupation of the Western Powers in the Great War of 1919 led to the ascendancy of Japan in the Far East. The formulation of the famous 'twenty-one demands' was the unscrupulous advantage which Japan took of China's helpless position. The acceptance of these demands in toto would have sealed the fate of China and her independence would now have been a thing of the past. Anglo-American intervention, however, was responsible for a modification of these demands which in their revised form were accepted by China as the only way out of the difficult situation. Japan's entry into the Great War on the side of the Allies was governed by the prospect of gains which would accrue to her after the defeat of Germany. The speculation was sound, for besides the acquisition of the German concessions of Tsingtau, Japan obtained considerable concessions—railway, mining, forestry and banking—in Manchuria. These concessions turned out to be potential weapons in waging an economic offensive—and political by implication—in China.

The post-war policy of Japan in respect to China was shaped on these lines; to gain a permanent position in the China market, to monopolise the Chinese raw materials which would materialise her ambitious schemes of conquest, and to turn China into an exclusive field of Japanese investments. But the growing influence of the National Government in China with its achievements in industrial development, financial re-organisation, and mass education were discomfiting phenomena to the Jap militarists, who realized that a strong and United China would spell the ruin of their ambition to build a great Asiatic Empire. No less injurious, they realized, would be the preferential rights and privileges enjoyed by the Western Powers in China. The primary necessity, therefore, was to get rid of these privileges enjoyed by the Western Powers, and as early as that, "Asia for the Asiatics" was the cry of the Jap power-groups. This slogan was also partly designed to obtain the goodwill of the Chinese.

And now time had come for the Manchurian melange. Step by step, Japan had built her road of military ambition, and down to our times each rung had been added to the ladder systematically, and never for a moment the Japs lost sight of their ulterior

purpose of Asiatic and world domination—Hakko Ichiu. Economic reasons and expansionist policy, Manchuria being the first major step in the domination of South East Asia, incited the Japanese on to the possession of Manchuria. Economically they had already entrenched themselves in the life of the country and had been all this time waging an economic warfare. The laissez-faire attitude of the Western Powers was responsible for the incorporation of that huge territory with all its potential resources in the Japanese Empire. Japan had had her way, and the Western Powers realized the significance of the event in later years, when more ambitious plans of the Japanese made them alive to the possibility of an exit from the Far East. This realization, however, was not complete till the China incident had reached a mature stage.

Manchuria sliced off without any serious opposition and quietly incorporated into the Japanese Empire, it was now the turn of China proper. The policy of "nibbling at China" had been more than successful and now it was time for the policy of swallowing of China. The western theory of 'balance of power' embodied in the delimitation of spheres of interest had proved unreal, and had given to Japan, by virtue of her propinquity to China and her skill in diplomatic intrigues, a dominating position over the Western Powers. Perhaps they could have at this time saved China from the clutches of Japan by renouncing their territorial concessions and privileges and asking Japan to do the same.

The swallowing of China was a big affair and Japan could not undertake it unless she was assured of a reasonable development of her industry, so vital in modern warfare. The evolution of Japanese industry is a marvel of the twentieth century. Japan entered the industrial field by processing foreign raw materials for foreign markets. Japanese industry began with the production of textiles and consumer goods. In the beginning she lacked raw materials—coal, iron, oil and above all cotton, the soul of Jap industry. Korea, Formosa and later Manchuria had, however, supplemented to a large extent this sore need for raw materials. Japanese labour has 'always been—thanks to Shinto—patient, patriotic and well-disciplined; and in these conditions the material prosperity of Jap industry was assured. The Japanese cut effectively into the world market and it appeared—especially in the days of the world economic depression—as if they would cut out everyone else. Aided by an opportune currency depreciation and a resiliency the Westerners lacked, Japan soon recovered from the depression. It was during this period that Japan developed her heavy industry. While the Western industry was slumping, production in Japanese heavy industry was soaring, and thus the foundation of the coming war (World War II) was firmly laid.

The "incident" in China gave Japan the opportunity of executing her long planned and cherished policy of reducing China to an economic nonentity. The 'China incident' is current history and we are more or less informed of the way the Japanese have conducted their military campaign in China, of how they have dragged people to servile misery, dishonoured women, bombed civilians, ruthlessly destroyed Chinese commerce and industry and perpetrated a thousand and one inhuman atrocities, which are revolting even to think of. Their plans of economic subjugation of China, however, deserve some note. Under the direct control of the Japanese Cabinet was created a central-

ized organisation for directing political, economic and cultural affairs in China. The Central Board of East Asiatic Affairs, as it was called, embraced in its purview not only the pernicious activities in China but also in the regions which are now under the subjugation of Nippon. Under the supervision of this Asia Development Board two big corporations were formed; *viz.*, the North China Development Company, and the Central China Development Company. Besides these two capital enterprises there are others exploiting Manchuria and Mongolia, whereas the South China Development Company is in the offing. These enterprises embrace practically every field of commerce and industry and it is hard to imagine the position to which the Chinese businessman has been reduced. Japan had planned on a wide scale for the future. She foresaw that her Pacific policy would some day, not in the distant future, result in an explosion in the Far East. With a keen eye on the future she was trying to get control of China's teeming millions who would supply cheap and docile labour to Jap factories, dockyards, mines and workshops.

To achieve these ends Japan adopted the policy of "ruling China through the Chinese", and at the same time geared up her propaganda of 'Asia for the Asiatics' and the 'Co-prosperity' sphere. The share of the 'co-prosperity' that China received was: Jap control of Chinese customs, local taxes, licence fees; Chinese railway and shipping undertakings, monopoly of all the raw materials; destruction and expropriation of Chinese industrial equipment; the imposition of Jap "technical assistance" and "temporary operators" on such Chinese industries as remained; and in short the disruption of the socio-economic life of the main cities to an irreparable degree. Thus progressed the "China incident", or, in other words, the dismemberment and subjugation of China—still a phase of the Far Eastern Question. The attitude of the Western Powers towards this incident was strangely remarkable, considering that it was then, or even earlier, that Japan laid the trap which went into action in 1941. It should have been foreseen that the Japanese policy since the beginning of the twentieth century had been directed towards the domination of South-East Asia. There was a time when Japan was not yet in a position to subjugate the whole of China and to ignore completely Western susceptibilities. Utter neglect of Japan's fantastic dreams ultimately landed the Western Powers in a rather hopeless situation. It has been truly said that the Powers gave their tears to China and their oil, steel and machinery to Japan. History will record that the Western Powers by their reluctance to tone up China—a strong China would have maintained the *status quo* in the Pacific—and failure to offer a combined opposition to the Yamato did a great disservice to humanity.

And now we come to the climax in the history of the Far Eastern Question. Laceration of China had created a vacuum of power in the Far East. Japan's position now was that of a Great Power in the Pacific. The Western rivals were too far away to constitute a serious obstacle. Moreover, their power was diffused; and such as was concentrated in the Pacific could be neutralized by a circumventing move. Japan had planned all, she wanted the opportunity to fire the first shot. World War II was exactly the opportunity Japan was waiting for. The pre-occupation of Britain and France in the war in Europe, the concentration of

British Empire forces in the theatres of war secretly thrilled the heart of the Jap politician. With the fall of France Japan came forward with demands for concessions in French Indo-China. The importance of this step can only be imagined if we think in terms of the vast quantities of rubber and other raw materials which found their way to Jap industry. But still there was a formidable lack of oil, so essential for the conduct of a modern war. As the Netherland East Indies possessed oil in large quantities, they prominently figured on Japan's list of victims.

The Nazis realized that Far East was the field where Britain and America could be made to suffer a setback. This, perhaps, was the basic idea underlying the Tripartite Agreement with Japan. This enlarged the horizon of the Nippon militarists; who now proceeded precipitously with the execution of their mature plans. They aimed at the disruption of the Far Eastern *status quo*. To achieve this they extended their rigid control over French Indo-China and Thailand. This move served a dual purpose. It circumvented the Pearl Harbour-Singapore line of defence, and it made the position of N.E.I. untenable, as the Japs were constantly exerting pressure on the Dutch for a trade-agreement which stipulated the export to Japan of vast quantities of oil and other essential raw materials. Japan had also effected a thorough penetration—economic and otherwise—of the Pacific islands which brought material advantages to the Japs in the nature of comprehensive naval and military data. In spite of the impending Jap menace, however, the Pacific Powers had not yet seriously thought of presenting a united front, though basically they agreed that a check on Japanese plans was more than desirable.

The Russo-Jap neutrality pact paved the way for smooth operations and Japan for the first time set fire to the Far Eastern Question.

The collapse of the Pacific dependencies was due not merely to these external causes but to cogent internal ones as well. Immediately before Japan's entry into the war, two of the dependencies in the Pacific—Indo-China and N.E.I.—had been thrown back on their own resources for their struggle for existence owing to the collapse of the mother countries in the European war. Colonial administration presupposes an undeveloped society often plural in character, which is concerned with raising staple agricultural products for export and dependent on external aid for the exploitation of the natural resources. This nature of colonial economy precludes the development of local industries. Besides the dependence on foreign industries, this also warrants a negligible defence system, as the basic requirement of modern warfare is heavy industry. The other reason was the relation of the highly developed societies with the so-called backward communities. Colonial people were conscious of a changing political outlook and they claimed self-determination. While Russia in similar circumstances, realizing the strategic necessity, was swift to act in granting autonomy to the various states, the Pacific colonial powers had been slow in realizing the extent to which their own professed ideals had impressed the local population, and in meeting their wishes. Lack of enthusiasm on the part of the local people for the cause of the Colonial Powers aided Japan's subjugation of the Pacific islands. Yet another reason was shortage of man-power and lack of trained fighting personnel.

The subjugation of South-East Asia by Japan is the end of one phase of the Far Eastern Question, and as far as history is concerned the Question is temporarily in abeyance.

Taking stock of the present situation, it can be asserted that the Japanese military might, which had been rapidly progressing since the dawn of the twentieth century, has spent itself in an evanescent outburst; and that the time is not far off when Japan will feel herself vulnerable to defeat. The question is whether the humiliation of defeat will change the basic mentality of the Japs. As for the ultimate fate of the Japs there cannot be two opinions.

In the first place we should consider the position of Japanese industry. It cannot be denied that Japan has an efficient and heavy industry capable of coping with the needs of modern warfare, but the shortcomings of the Japanese industry lie in the fact that Japan's commitments are heavy, and that in this total war she has flung herself against the might of those nations whose resources and industrial output dwarf those of Japan to a considerable extent, even after taking into account the fabulous haul she made after the liquidation of the Pacific Colonies. If, however, Japan somehow had gained time to consolidate and use the South-East Asiatic resources, her industry would have become formidable. As it is, the output of the U.S. heavy industries alone far exceeds the total Jap output. Whereas the magnitude of U.S. industries for the production of new weapons can accommodate improvements and alterations in the running plants, Japanese industry cannot afford to keep idle even for a moment. This is bound to result in inferiority of technical equipment.

In the second place Japanese industry is highly centralized and is easily vulnerable to attack. Japan's all-out concentration on war production has resulted in the dearth of essential civilian goods. Another reason is Japan's shortage of manpower and shortage of foodstuffs. The reason for this manpower shortage is the necessity of keeping a large percentage of the population on the country's farms. The reason for the shortage of foodstuffs is that local production is not sufficient to meet the requirements and that the imports have been abolished. The abolition of the import of foodstuffs is due to yet another reason why Japan is doomed. This is lack of shipping. Japan sorely needs shipping perhaps as much as 18 million tons. The reason why she is using wooden freights for coastal traffic and why she has not been able to benefit appreciably from the vast resources of her newly acquired Empire is a serious lack of shipping, and she acknowledges it. And, lastly, no less important a factor is the attitude of millions of subjugated people whom Japan has been trying to Japanise. The abortive ways of the Japs, the abominable treatment they have meted out, the disruption of the socio-economic life, derangement of currency, stoppage of normal commercial flow, shortage of foodstuffs and their permeation of every aspect of the life of the conquered nation have made them hated and despised. The intelligent among the people have seen Japan working on an economic and political divide-and-rule policy so that strongly nationalistic pockets may be created in the Pacific in such a way that they may never unite together for a concerted action, while individually they may remain bound to Dai Nippon by strangling economic and political ties.

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN

What to do with Japan, after victory is achieved, is a problematic question. It is not to be questioned, however, that, in the interest of future world peace, Japan should be stripped of the will and weapons to fight. If the Jap industry is allowed to remain, it has potentialities of being developed into a capital industry, and after they have achieved this, will not the Japanese think that Germany had a second chance?

The problem of Japan is the problem of two ways of life, unlike in aims, methods and motivations. The post-war problem for the United Nations would be the overhaul of the Japanese way of life, the social and cultural reform of the Jap people. Japan will continue to be a menace to the peace of the world unless her individuals begin to have a life of their own; the status of her women is revolutionized; Shinto, loyalty to overlords, and the family system which limits the chances of intellectual development and individual enterprise, are uprooted; the control of the nation's economy by the wealthy families, Zaibatsu, which strangles middle-class commercial enterprise is abolished, and above all unless the people are given a chance of evolving a sane ethical teaching and a sound political system. Perhaps a revolution directed by the United Nations could achieve this staggering task.

LOOKING AHEAD

In the post-war period the Far Eastern Question will pose another problem for the statesmen of the world—for we shall by no means have got rid of it. The essence of that question will be the fate of the pre-war colonies, and whether it should be India or China that should take upon herself the onerous task of keeping the balance of power in Asia.

Regarding colonies, the Powers in their respective Pacific colonies will be faced with collapsed markets, depleted resources, upset economic systems, impoverished land, famine, disease and dislocated transportation. And in their task of rehabilitation they shall have to keep in mind that the exploitation of other resources and the use of ersatz during the war-period may lessen the chances of a colony's material prosperity. Above all, there would be the need to abstain from thinking in terms of obsolete political systems. We have to form the habit of world thought, we have to lay the foundation of a sound international system on world political power, and we have to guard against Bourbonism as well as Wilsonian idealism.

The post-war policy towards colonies "has to be based on the freedom of colonial people . . . on the development of a non-colonial and balanced internal economy, and on a collective security in which all powers directly concerned share in responsibility." The term "collective security" has come in great prominence in current politics. This, perhaps, is identical with totalitarianism with which we are faced. Totalitarian attitude of thought will perhaps persist, and in view of this fact, we have only to decide whether it will be a fascist totalitarianism or one of a saner and more acceptable type.

We now come to the question as to who shall maintain the Balance of Power in Asia. In this connexion, we must remember that this balance will have

to be maintained not only against the possibilities of a resurrection in Japanese Power, but mainly against the growing power of Russia in the Far East. After the war Russia having nothing to apprehend from both ends with her entrenched position in the Middle East and with her propinquity to India and China would dominate politics in Asia. Both India and China have

claims to a "special position" in Asia. But as in the interest of world security a strong and free India is an essential factor, and as also China alone would not be able to keep the balance in Asia in the face of Jap or Russian political power, it is desirable to have a strong China and a strong India jointly shouldering the responsibility of maintaining peace in Asia.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE RIGVEDIC CULTURE OF THE PRE-HISTORIC INDUS. Vol. II : By Swami Sankarananda. With a Foreword by Swami Pratyagatmananda. Pp. li + 140. 1944. Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta.

Ever since the epoch-making discoveries of the ruined cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, Indologists have been confronted with a host of problems concerning the relation of the Indus civilisation to that of the Vedas, the decipherment of the mysterious script of the Indus seals and sealings and so forth. The present work, which is introduced to its readers with a long and learned Foreword from the pen of a well-known Sanskrit scholar, is a bold and strikingly original attempt to solve these problems. Continuing the chain of evidence provided in the earlier volume, the author claims to have proved that the Vedic *Aryas* had their original abode in the pre-historic cities of the Indus valley from which in course of time they radiated to the east and south and subsequently spread over the whole Indian sub-continent (pp. 1-4). What constitutes, according to the author, the special feature of the present volume, is his "introduction of a new system (*viz.*, that of the Tantras) for the decipherment of all the pictographic and alphabetic scripts of the ancient world", including the script of the Indus valley seals (Preface). It is evident that if the author's conclusions could be accepted, they would revolutionise our ideas of the ancient history not only of India, but also of other civilised lands of the eastern world.

The present work is divided into chapters bearing the titles The Vedas (Ch. i), The Tantras (Chs. ii-iii), The Tantric Deities and their relations with the Vedic gods (Ch. iv), Egyptian hieroglyphics (Ch. v), and Conclusion. The first chapter analyses various Vedic concepts of deities and forces of nature. In the course of this analysis it is sought to be proved, by citations of appropriate texts both in the original and in translation, that the Vedic *asva* means not 'the horse', but 'the sun', while the *Asvamedha* was not a horse-sacrifice at all, but a rite of propitiation of the sun for rain (pp. 21-27 and App.). The point of this novel interpretation is brought out in the concluding chapter where we are told that it cuts at the root of the theories of Aryan immigration, the absence of the horse in the pre-historic Indus cities being itself "a strong proof of the *Arya* or the Vedic origin of civilisation" (p. 125).

The second chapter describes the evolution of sounds, scripts and dialects from the Vedic times onwards, and is frequently illustrated with appropriate charts. We may here summarise some of the author's main conclusions. The Vedic *Aryas* at first used two sounds to which they afterwards added a third, a fourth and a fifth note (pp. 45-46). Panini mentions the Vedic division into three sounds according to pitch, while introducing new divisions according to place of utterance and nature (p. 47). The musicians divided the sounds into seven groups called after as many animals which the author explains in the light of "the Tantric code" to represent the five Vedic gods (pp. 48-50). The Tantras, coming last in the process of evolution, systematised the existing scripts on the principle of the five-fold division of sounds named after the five Vedic deities (pp. 52-3). Finally, "the language created with these alphabets was called *Sanskrit* because the prevailing dialects were reformed to create the same" (p. 63).

In the third chapter the author claims to have come across a system of Tantric "picture-alphabets with no less than 5,400 characters", which he applies to the interpretation of five groups of "pictographic alphabets". These are "the Jaipurean", the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, the Indus and the Chinese scripts (pp. 66-68). Parenthetically, it may be remarked that the so-called "Jaipurean script" is a complete misnomer, as it consists of nothing else but the well-known series of symbols on punch-marked coins which have been found almost all over India. This singularly inappropriate title is derived from the accident that a hoard of such coins bearing the characteristic symbols has been recently unearthed at Rairh in Jaipur State. The results of the author's investigation are sufficiently startling. "The Jaipurean script," according to him, "represented the early Tantric pictograms and did not evolve", while "the early Egyptian script shows a much evolved stage of pictographic symbols." This leads to the assumption that "the civilisation of Egypt was post-Tantric in origin." The Indus script is "in a further stage of development than the Egyptian or the Jaipurean scripts"; it was "awaiting as it were to develop itself into alphabetic form" (p. 72). The Chinese picture-words come next to the Indus scripts in the process of historical evolution (p. 74). The Cuneiform script can also be deciphered with the help of the Tantric codes (pp. 75-76). Proceeding with his theme, the author attempts with the help of a series of five charts to prove that not only "the Jaipurean," the Egyptian, the Indus and Chinese

pictograms, but also the *Brahmi*, the *Kharoshthi*, the *Ethiopic*, the *Himyarite*, the *Moabite stone*, the *Phoenician*, the *Greek*, the *Latin*, the *Galgolitic* and the *Hebrew* scripts, originated from the *Tantras* (pp. 77-94). Next, applying "the Tantric code" to the *Indus* and "the *Jaipur*" scripts, the author discovers that the language of the former is *Sanskrit*, while the latter consists of a series of proper names (pp. 94-101).

In the fourth chapter the author concludes from his analysis of a number of Tantric concepts that the *Tantras* are of post-Vedic origin. From this he draws the novel inference that "the presence of the Tantric deities and the Tantric script in the *Indus* cities prove once for all that the *Indus* civilisation was post-Vedic and not pre-Vedic in origin" (p. 101). In the fifth chapter he claims to show with the help of a chart a "very striking similarity" between the Tantric and the Egyptian nomenclature of a number of Egyptian pictograms (pp. 121-3).

From the above brief analysis it will appear that the author can well claim the credit of extensive reading and deep thinking as well as an independent outlook in dealing with problems of paramount importance for the interpretation of the most Ancient Indian civilisation. Praise is also due to the author for bringing to light a hitherto unknown source-book, viz., "the Tantric code" of pictograms which, in the interests of scholarship, should be published in book-form as early as possible. To say all this is not to admit the correctness of even a majority of the author's conclusions. Before this could be done, it would be necessary for the author to investigate the subjects afresh in the light of a more rigorous application of logical processes, and on the basis of a series of inductive studies on the widest possible scale, preferably in the form of a number of independent monographs. The paper, print and get-up of the book are good for the present times, but it is disfigured by numerous misprints and mistakes in transliteration which are unworthy of a work of high scholarship.

U. N. GHOSHAL

FOLK-TALES OF MAHAKOSHAL: By Verrier Elwin, D.Sc. (Oxon). Published for "Man In India" by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xxv + 523. Price Rs. 15.

FOLK-SONGS OF THE MAIKAL HILLS: By Verrier Elwin & Shamrao Hivale. Published for "Man In India" by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1944. Pp. xxx + 410. Price Rs. 15.

The two above volumes contain specimens of the oral literature current in certain portions of middle India. The collection was made by the authors among tribes like the *Agaria*, *Baiga*, *Gond*, *Maria*, *Muria* and others who inhabit the region known as *Mahakoshal*.

The most notable feature of the volumes under review is the scientific care with which the authors have carried out their task. A large portion of the work previously done in the field of Indian folk-lore suffers from the following defects: the area or the particular tribe from among whom the tale was gathered is often left unrecorded; in presenting the story to a foreign audience, translators sometimes modify or polish it to such an extent as to leave very little of the original colour intact. In some cases again, the rendering is so deadly accurate and literal as to be almost forbidding in appearance. Dr. Elwin and Mr. Hivale have been very successful in avoiding all these defects; they have sacrificed none of the local colour, retained accurately the imagery of the original, while at the same time they have been able to present a perfectly readable and graceful translation of the stories and songs. These translations are however something more than a mere literal rendering of the originals into English. The authors have brought to bear upon their task an inti-

mate knowledge and a deep sympathy with the life and emotions of the people among whom they have worked. This has raised the quality of their work into the level of an interpretation of the tribe's emotional life.

The *Folk-Tales of Mahakoshal* contains 150 tales classified under 26 different heads according to the central theme. Each series is covered by an introduction and notes where attention has been drawn to anthropologically significant features, while special customs referred to in the tales have also been carefully explained. It is evident that many of the tales are common between *Mahakoshal* and other portions of India; but the reader will observe how local elements have crept into the tales to suit the social and cultural atmosphere of the tribal audience. An important and valuable feature is the bibliography on Indian folk-lore which comes at the end of the book.

The *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills* contains 619 songs of different lengths. They have been classified under suitable heads like *Karma-songs*, *Love-songs*, *Songs of Craft and Labour*, *Songs of the Cowherds*, *Songs of Snake-bite*, etc. The last song of the book deals with the story of a king named *Hirakhan Kshatri*, and is of the nature of a minor epic. As in the previous volume, so here also, copious notes accompany the text, while the music has been presented by means of staff-notation.

Many of the songs do not seem to be of a very high order; they often lack in poetic quality and are inferior to some of the poems already published by Elwin in his book on the *Baigas* or by Roy in his *Mindas and their Country*. But one should remember that the literary form is not everything in these songs. What is lacking in that respect is abundantly made up in life by the music and the gestures which go with the songs. Altogether the three elements provide as much emotional entertainment to the tribes as more sophisticated people derive from pure imagery or literary form.

In any case, both the books give us an intimate as well as an accurate idea about the fancies and the desires of the people; and that, we believe, is saying a great deal about any example of reporting in Anthropology.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDIAN ECONOMY DURING THE WAR: By L. C. Jain, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Sc. (Econ.) London. Third (Revised) edition, 1945. Pages 150. Price Rs. 3-4.

This handy volume by Dr. L. C. Jain, University Professor of Economics, Punjab University, has already gone through three editions since March, 1944, when it was first published. The present revised edition was issued in February, 1945. This fact by itself is sufficient to proclaim the usefulness of the volume.

Dr. Jain has in a simple and lucid style described the important effects of the World War No. II on the various aspects of Indian economic life. In five comprehensive chapters the author has surveyed the results of the impact of the war on Indian Agriculture, Industry, Trade, Money Market and Finance and in the sixth chapter he has described the effects of the war on Indian economy as such. There are two valuable appendices on the Banking Companies Bill, 1945 and the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held at Bretton Woods in 1944 and there is also a supplement on the Indian Budget for 1945-46. The book describes and examines the various measures adopted by the Government to regulate and control the economic life of the people during the war. Dr. Jain has brought to bear on his task wide knowledge and mature judgement and his conclusions are sound. Due to inefficient administration and ill-conceived and ill-timed measures "Indian economy has failed either to make that maximum contribution to war effort of which India is capable or to provide for the people adequately even

the necessities of life, viz., food, clothing and housing." This is surely putting the matter very mildly, bearing in mind the appalling death-roles and the terrible sufferings caused particularly in the province of Bengal in 1943-44.

In the end Dr. Jain rightly stresses "the immediate need of India . . . to plan her economy." He has given a timely warning against 'delusions' and 'fallacies' prevailing among persons who ought to know better, let alone the general public who require to understand the full implications of planned economy. However, the subject of planning is beyond the scope of the volume under review.

The book will repay careful study to both the general readers as well the students of economics in the Indian universities.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA (A Ten-year Plan): By Dr. Ihsan Muhammad Khan, M.A., Ph.D. (Leeds). Published by Premier Book Depot, Rampur State. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2-8.

The title is self-explanatory. It is another of a series of amateurish planning for poor India. Since the days of Russian success in planning, it has been a pastime of our idle intellectuals to prepare plans. But these planners forget that such wishful thinking as "doubling the income amongst (?) the masses (peasants and workers) with a view to increasing their standard of living", which has been stated by the author as the basic idea underlying his plan, is absolutely meaningless. Undeniable conflicts of economic interests do exist between the classes and the nations all the world over. And no amount of paper philanthropy in the economic sphere as envisaged by these planners can be of any avail, particularly when they do not even offer a theoretical formula or a practical plan of action to bring about a new combination of economic and political forces to achieve their desired goal. The author is satisfied that his object (of doubling the income amongst (?) the masses) "can be achieved by reducing the pressure of population on land, and by bringing home to the cultivators methods of intensive and co-operative farming on the one hand and absorbing the surplus population in cottage, medium-sized and large-scale industries on the other. This is the programme on the productive side. It is accompanied by a programme of redistribution of national income by progressive taxation on the other." What a simple plan and what a simple solution! The usefulness of the book lies, however, in the statistics and informations which it contains.

ANATH GOPAL SEN

ONIONS AND OPINIONS: By N. G. Jog. Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pages 142. Price Rs. 6-12.

This book prefaced by Robert Lynd of the *News Chronicle* and illustrated by Piciel, the famous Calcutta cartoonist, consists of twenty-five dissertations on a variety of subjects which range from the most trivial to the most ponderous. The author brings an open and cultured mind to bear on all sorts of individual and social phenomena, however sombre or trifling they may be, and the result is refreshing humour and sparkling wit. He is a shrewd observer and a relentless critic. His banter, though it fails at times to acquire the quality of satire, is nonetheless biting. There is occasionally a touch of pathos in his seemingly comical observations on some of the familiar madneses of the modern age. Through his somewhat provoking wise-cracking is faintly discernible a plea for a saner view of life. The chief merit of Mr. Jog's essays is that they are fashioned by a fair and independent, though cynical, intellect. He has no axe to grind. His onions do not stink, nor are

his opinions perverted. Piciel's sketches have enhanced the value of the book.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT IN INDIA: By K. Nagaraja Rao, M.A., B.L. Published by the Punjab Library Association, Lahore. Pages 33. Price Re. 1.

In this brochure the author gives in a nut-shell the library movements in countries of Europe such as Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R., France and England. Library movements in the different provinces of India—the Punjab, Behar, Bombay, Bengal, Madras, etc., are also given. The movement in India began in the Baroda State in 1910, so it is not yet 40 years old. To expect Library movement in a country where about 90 per cent of the people are illiterate is expecting too much, yet the movement has made some headway where education has made some progress. The Punjab Library Association deserves congratulations for bringing out such a handy volume for the interested public.

ORGANIZATION AND ORGANIZATIONS: By Mr. C. M. Srinivasan. Published from 10, Mount Road, Madras. Pages 136. Price Rs. 2.

BUSINESS AND BUSINESSMEN: By Mr. C. M. Srinivasan. Published from 10, Mount Road, Madras. Pages 112.

The author in the first book rightly observes that without organization no welfare work for the good of humanity can be successful. This is true in regard to all fields of human activities—Religious, Political, Economic and Social. As a matter of fact, the most organised group is the best successful in this world whatever be their sphere of activities. In the sphere of Political, Economic and Social activities the West is most ahead to-day. In the religious sphere the Orientals showed organized activities from ancient times. In India organizations should be formed in all branches of national activities if she is to take her rightful place in the modern progressive world.

In the second book the author describes the essential qualities of businessmen and their methods and drawbacks of Indian business. A survey of modern business and Indian industries is also given. Short life-sketches of Indian businessmen such as J. N. Tata, Sir R. N. Mookerjee, Sir Ganga Ram, Sir Anand Swarup, Sir P. C. Ray, Walehand Hirachand, etc., are given at the end of this book.

Young readers will find these books inspiring.

RECONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE: By A. N. Agarwala. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pages 142. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author starts with various definitions of Economics from Adam Smith to most modern writers on Economics and discusses them with a view to arriving at the nature of the science. The subject is discussed as a science and as an art and a science—positive, normative and applied. Social character of the science is given special stress while the author describes its normative and applied aspects. The science has no significance unless it is a science of human welfare. The old ideas of classical Economists have undergone a material change in the hands of neo-classical school, not to speak of economists of the social or communist group. In short it is no longer a science which is satisfied with investigation and knowledge but a science which throws light on better things to come. But as a social science its data must be changing as well as its conclusions and for that the science is not less useful. Students of Economics will find this book useful.

OUR STANDARD OF LIVING : By M. L. Dantwala. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pages 36. Price Rs. 2-8.

The facts and figures presented in this booklet have already been arrived at by different authorities from time to time. Facts disprove the British propaganda of 'progress' in India after nearly 200 years of British rule in this country. Figures regarding progress and expenditure on education, consumption of specific commodities, milk, cloth, etc., Bank deposits, Birth and Death rates, Literacy, per capita income, Doctors, Nurses and Dispensaries, etc., have been represented attractively by various symbols. In this way even dry statistics have been made interesting even to laymen. The publication deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY : By A. Das Gupta. Published by A. Mukherjee & Co., 2, College Sq., Calcutta. Price Rs. 9.

The book under review is divided into two parts, the first one deals with an outline of the principles of economic geography while the second part gives a description of the world region by region. The book has been designed to impart a general knowledge of the subject, it 'does not lay any claim to originality'. As such, it will no doubt be very helpful to the general reader.

The portion dealing with India however needs careful revision. The section on jute is four years behind times. There are omissions which have largely marred the value of the book. The failure of the voluntary restriction of jute and the proposals for compulsory restriction have only been discussed, the introduction and working of the compulsory restriction scheme have not been included. There are similar shortcomings which should be rectified in a future edition. The price seems to be too high.

INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS (Pre-War, War and Post-War in 2 parts) : By Brij Narain. Published by Atma Ram & Sons, Anarkali, Lahore. Price Rs. 11 (both parts).

This is one of the few good books on Indian Economics that have been published during the last few years. A new feature of the book is the use of statistical method in the interpretation of facts and for the study of trends. These methods are employed in official reports. For example, the chain index is used for the study of industrial profits in the *Annual Review of the Trade of India*. The trend of birth and death rates and of mortality from certain diseases is indicated in the *Census of India, 1941, Vol. I (Tables)* by straight lines easily fitted by the method of least squares and the Gompertz curve has been used for smoothing fertility rates. Prof. Brij Narain has used such statistical methods in his book in explaining different economic phenomena. The second part deals with war economy and post-war planning. The chapter on economic controls and their significance has been extremely valuable. Full use of the Douglas-Cobb formula has been made in the chapter on industrialisation. This formula is an interesting device for the determination of the ratio of capital to product and it has attracted wide notice. The book is not meant for the general reader but it will prove invaluable to all advanced students of Indian Economics.

D. BURMAN

BENGALI

JORA SANKOR DHARE : By Abanindra Nath Tagore and Rani Chanda. Published by Visva-Bharati, 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.

It is not easy to define the nature of Abanindranath's latest book *Jora Sankor Dhare*; for it does not come under any of the typical forms of literature. It records the facts and experiences of the author's life, but it is not an auto-biography in the usual sense of the word. It contains a good deal about his thoughts and occupations, but it is not exactly a memoir. Nor has it the sequence and slovenliness of a personal diary or a private journal. But if it baffles the critic, it pleases the mere reader beyond measure. It is indeed a unique piece of literary creation. To an appreciating reader it would appear to be a very engaging form of retrospect which is also a kind of reverie. It has some value as a personal chronicle but that element is mingled with other interests and qualities.

Of the singular achievement of Abanindranath as a master of Bengali prose we need not here speak in detail; for he has already been acclaimed as one of the finest writers in our language. But his latest book has a distinction in point of style which deserves special notice. The quality of intimacy which makes its style so attractive characterises, in more or less degree, almost all his writings. In *Jora Sankor Dhare* this quality has, for reasons we shall presently discover, a special merit. Intimate style when employed in a book of this kind has a danger which only the greatest masters can avoid. The familiar talks of Abanindranath, supremely engaging as they are, never lapse into egoistic chatter. They are not tainted by that cheapness or vulgarity which this mode of writing assumes in the hands of the inapt. Secondly, there is in the style a solemnity, a quiet dignity which is very seldom found in an intimate talk. The note of intimacy in Abanindranath's style does not spoil or obscure its almost poetic intensity.

The poetic quality of Abanindranath's style which will attract every reader does not consist in any laboured sonorosity. It comes from a passion which is subdued by a gentle pensiveness. The vividness of his imagination is matched by the depth of his emotion—the former gives us brilliant pictures, the latter fine lyrical passages. But just as his picturesque descriptions never degenerate into the rococo, his lyricism is always above cheap sentimentality. There are passages which read like a soliloquy uttered by one occupied in a melancholy and wistful recollection of a vanished age. Again there are pages which give us a glimpse of the interior of that great house which has given us so many things we are proud of to-day. But the book is not, on that ground, the chronicle of a family; nor is it, in any sense, a homage to its illustrious members. It is a record of stray incidents, of trifling things of those common-places which history forgets and humanity desires to know. It is a tale of men, some of whom will never attract the eye of a historian, it is a picture of nooks and corners of which there will be no mention in a formal chronicle. And the most remarkable achievement of Abanindranath in this piece of writing is that he has been able to invest the ordinary objects and happenings of life with a romantic glow. And herein lies the main distinction of this book. Everything here has the enchantment of far-off things, of days which were golden and which will not come again.

RABINDRA KUMAR DAS GUPTA

HINDI

PARTANTRA : By Shri Raghuvir Sharan "Mitra". Akhil Bharat Rashtriya Sahitya Prakashan Parishad, Jaipur. Pp. 150. Price Rs. 4.

Here are fifteen cantos, full of the burning fire of passionate patriotism, and couched in verbal vividness. The tragedy of dependence is depicted, however, with more heat than light. Shri Raghuvir Sharan knows, indeed, the art of moving the masses to the point of

becoming earnest and active soldiers in the army of fighters for Freedom. The price is rather high.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SIDHARI CHADHAN : By K. M. Munshi. Published by the *Gujararatna Granth Karyalaya, Ahmedabad*. 1943. Cloth-bound. Pp. 158. Price Rs. 3.

The title of the book means "A Steep Ascent". The book contains the third instalment of Mr. Munshi's autobiography, and throws an amount of light on the different incidents in his life between 1913 and 1932 when he had already begun to practise in the High Court. The pictures that he draws of the visions he saw, give a clue to the development that his career underwent during this period when seeds were being sown of a promising life all round, politically, socially and literarily. Like all biographies it is full of interesting information.

UPANISHADS, Parts I and II : Published by the *Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and Bombay*. 1944. Thick card-board. Pp. 640. Price Rs. 2 each.

The first part of this useful publication contains the principal Upanishads and the second, miscellaneous, about 100 in number, along with the Brhad-Aranyak. The rendering into Gujarati is made as simple as possible, but all the same, being a treatise on Philosophy it is highly technical and above the heads of the masses. To solve this difficulty of the reader Mr. Manu Subedar, the Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Institution, has written an Introduction to it, which having been written in an admirably clear style has simplified the thorny subject in such a way that the object with which the book is published is fully carried out.

HINDNA ARTHIK VIKASNI YOJNA : Published by the same Society as above. 1944. Pp. 108. Paper cover. Price eight annas.

"A Plan of Economic Development of India" which is being so much discussed all over the country at present has been translated into Gujarati, so that those who do not know English may know what the economic future of India is going to be. In addition to supplying certain figures and statistics, not found in the original, Mr. Manu Subedar has contributed an Introduction to the booklet. It is a subject in which he is at home, and he has propounded the subject with the facility of an expert. In a few words he has laid bare our lamentable economic present, and accentuated its future. It should prove popular.

ARYO NA SANSKR : By Swami Shri Madhav Tirth. Published by the same Society, 1943. Pp. 323. Paper cover. Price Rs. 2.

This is the third edition of a book which treats comprehensively of our culture. Sufi philosophy, that of Ramanuj and other Acharyas, even the Yoga of Patanjali and the creed of the Vaishnavas observed in Bengal and outside it are found here summarised correctly and usefully.

BHARATNA SANTO : By Rasalbhai N. Bhora, edited by the *Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda*. 1944. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 216. Thick card-board. Price Re. 1-8.

The creed, tents and preachings of, (1) Narsinh Mehta, (2) Tukaram, (3) Ramdas Swami, (4) Tulsidas, (5) Chaitanya and (6) Vivekananda are shortly set out, by a Muslim brother, though these six saints happen to be Hindus. The writer has reproduced details after close study and the language used is so simple, that readers in large numbers would take to this book.

RAMA MAMANUN GADUN : By Gokaldas D. Raichura. Published by the *Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda*. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 10 with drawings. Price four annas.

Like the Penguin Series published in England, each book costing 6d. Mr. Raichura has planned this four annas series in order to popularise Folk Literature and Folk Tales, a subject of which he possesses wide knowledge. He proposes to issue twelve such booklets per annum. The story under notice relates to a cart-driver who was a terror to free-booters whose business was to plunder lonely wayfarers. His chivalry saved many families and he always stood for and helped persons who had met with wrong and unfair treatment.

GUJARATI SANSKRITINA SANRAKSHAKU : Parts I and II : By Mohanlal D. Dave of Lathi, in Kathiawad. 1944. Printed at the *Swadhin Printing Press, Ranpur*. Cloth-bound. Pp. 600. Price Rs. 10.

'Preservers of the Culture of Gujarati' is the title of the book and it is the result of great labour and assiduity. Short biographical details and the outstanding features of the work accomplished by about one hundred and ten Gujaratis, men and women, including Maharshi Dayanand and Mahatma Gandhi are published in this volume, which is mainly concerned with educationists. The list includes workers of all capacities, humble workers like school or college teachers and workers of the higher order, who by means of mere thought or laying down of policy have given tone to education. It is most valuable as a reference book, as on referring to it, one finds out everything about any person connected with education in Gujarat. It is a *vade-mecum* in that direction and as such would prove very helpful and useful.

K. M. J.

—:O:—

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for July, 1945, p. 33.

"The Mala Uralis of Periyar" by K. P. Padmanabhan Tampy. At the end of the second paragraph, add

"The Periyar Region being a part of the Royal Game Sanctuary, no hunting or shooting of any kind is allowed there. Shooting outside the Sanctuary is controlled strictly under the Shooting Rules of the Permade Game Association."

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the Government of India, Department of Supply on the 25th
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Wind and the Whirlwind

What is called progress and civilization to-day is a Marathon race where the laurels are for the most devilish. J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

Why is it that all science runs a-whoring after violence and destruction? Is humanity on a downward grade? Is violence becoming our purpose in life? What are the causes that make violence dominate the life of the world today? These are some of the questions that should rack our brains.

If we probe deep enough, we shall find that the development of the higher nature of man—character and personality—is not keeping pace with the advance made by his mental faculty. A spirited horse has to be held in by bit and bridle. We cannot afford to give loose reins. Man's self-control is being lost relative to the advancement made by science. Science we need but when it outstrips man's character and upsets the poise it makes a slave of man and generates violence. Then what is the remedy if we are not to sow the wind and reap the whirlwind?

There is a time lag between the development of human personality and the advancement of mental faculties. The former is a slow process as all things with a permanent value tend to be. We cannot hand a child an open flaming torch. The child will be in danger of setting itself on fire. Fire is good. It has lighted the way of human progress. But it is out of place in the hands of an immature person. When the situation points to a tragedy it is time for us to call a halt. Science is good. But we seem to have reached a stage where we need bivouac a while to take stock of the situation and pull ourselves together if we are determined not to let circumstances run away with our lives. Have we the strength to do it, Or will humanity roll headlong downhill gathering irresistible momentum and dash itself to pieces against the rocks ahead?

International Uneasiness

The New Review observes :

Uneasiness prevails in Europe and the Middle East, and it will continue as long as the Big Five Council of Foreign Ministers have not disposed of their heavy agenda and people gone back to their peace tasks. Mutual distrust and competition are apparent at every step. They are not the outcome of economic regimes, but are rather due to different national interests. The Soviet which is a dictatorship with State capitalism is as blatantly imperialistic as Czarism ever was; Stalin is as greedy a 'collector of lands' as Peter the Great. His plan is to establish Slavdom astride Europe and Asia, and protect it with a sovietized belt.

Russia and America suffer from the weakness of fast growing giants; the bigger they grow, the more protection they need. America ambitions only a few far-flung strategic bases, and takes it that political imperialism does not pay as fat dividends as economic imperialism. Russia has secured what she wanted in Europe; she will hold sway over all the land east of the Oder and the Adriatic. But she is not satisfied with stretching east-west from the Baltic to the Pacific. She is attempting a deliberate push southwards at two points; the

Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. The exit on the Mediterranean has become of secondary importance for her trade; in the Baltic and on the Pacific she has harbours free the whole year round, and the Mediterranean remains a closed sea. An exit on the Arabian Sea would be much more vital. Once established on these shores, she would cut across all the air and sea lines of communications between East and West, and have free access to Africa, Far East Asia and Australasia.

This explains the dogged tug-of-war going on in the Middle East; Iraq, Iran, Oman, Arabia and Turkey have become breeding grounds of international trouble; it is not only a matter of oil but of world trade and strategy.

On the European Continent, the after-war stagnation goes on; means of communications, fuel and raw materials are lacking to accelerate economic recovery. Political confusion is as acute as ever, and tension is growing with the approach of winter. Hunger and cold after liberation will tax patience more severely than the misery of enemy occupation, and social agitation may break out into violence.

For the present nobody talks of a new world as everybody sees the old game goes on as merrily as ever. State capitalism and liberal capitalism are both pregnant with dangers of international clashes. Einstein well remarked that wars cannot be avoided as long as we have separate armed nations. He should have added that even within nations, or within a world-nation we might have civil war. The type of conflict is relative; armaments are only tools, separations are only symptoms; conflicts arise neither from symptoms nor from tools. Conflicts will remain with us unless pride and greed, individual and collective, (and collective pride and greed are the tougher) be checked and tamed by the sincere inner conversion of all. A change of heart is what matters.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta

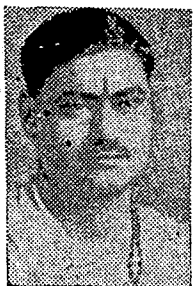
Sir Pherozshah Mehta, whose birthday centenary was celebrated all over the country in the first week of August, dominated the public life of India for wellnigh half a century. G. A. Natesan observes in *The Indian Review*:

It is quite in the fitness of things that a grateful posterity should celebrate the centenary of Sir Pherozshah Mehta whose life-work was one of incessant service to the motherland. The tribute which is to-day being paid to his memory in different parts of the country is justly deserved. For, he belonged to the galaxy of Indian patriots headed by Dadabhai, who fostered the spirit of Indian nationalism and worked fearlessly for the cause of Indian freedom. Of him it can truly be said that he belonged not to one province, but to the whole country, not to one race or caste, but to all the races and creeds that are to be found in India.

Sobriety of thought and fearless independence were the distinguished characteristics of his public life; and we have it on the authority of His Highness the Aga Khan who knew him intimately, that even older men like Ranade, Tyabji, Wacha and Telang, owned discipleship to him.

Sir Pherozshah Mehta was ever proud to say that he was an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. In an

THE MIRACLE MAN WITH UNRIVALLED POWER India's Greatest Astrologer & Tantrik-Yogi



RAJ JYOTISHI. JYOTISH-SHIROMANI PANDIT RAMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA, JYOTISHARNAV, M.R.A.S. (London) of International fame, President—World-Renowned All-India Astrological & Astronomical Society. (ESTD. 1907 A.D.)

He is the only Astrologer in India who first predicted the Allies Victory in the present world war on 3rd. Sept., 1939 within 4 hours the very day of the declaration of war which was duly communicated to and acknowledged by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal and who is also the consulting Astrologer of the **Eighteen Ruling Chiefs of India.**

It is well-known that the Astrological predictions of this great scholar, his wonderful methods of redressing the pernicious influence of evil stars, his power to bring success in complicated law-suits and also to cure incurable diseases are really uncommon.

Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate-Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc., and also many reputed personalities of the world (of **England, America, Australia, Africa China, Japan, etc.**) have given many unsolicited testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A FEW OPINIONS AMONGST THOUSANDS.

His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State says:—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power." The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sri Man Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." The Honourable Justice Mr. B. K. Roy of Patna High Court says:—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously many things. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." The Hon'ble Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." The Hon'ble Justice Mr. S. M. Das, of Keonjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik-Yogi." Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, writes:—"I was getting good results from your Kavacha and all my family were passing a different life since I started wearing." Mr. Andre Tempe, 2724, Popular Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. America:—"I have purchased from you several Kavachas on two or three different occasions. They all proved satisfactory." Mrs. F. W. Gillespie, Detroit, Mich., U. S. America:—"I am wearing your special Dhanada Talisman and so far my luck has been with me a great deal better than in the past." Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China:—"Everything you foretold in writing is taking place with surprising exactness." Mr. Issac Mumi Eita, Govt. Clerk & Interpreter in Deschang, West Africa:—"I had ordered some Talismans from you that had rendered me wonderful service." Mr. B. J. Fernado, Proctor, S. C., & Notary Public, Colombo, Ceylon:—"I got marvellous effects from your Kavachas. I have had transactions with you almost every year for the last 20 years for about Rupees three thousand." Etc., etc. and many others.

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address to the Indian National Congress in 1890, he made a memorable pronouncement in which he said :

"A Parsi is a better and truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better or truer Muslim or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government."

The guiding principle of his political life was freedom from communal bias.

In a representation to the Government made by the Bombay Presidency Association of which he was the President, he stressed that the only aim of British policy should be to bring the different races and creeds into harmony with each other and to induce the best minds in all communities to apply themselves to what is necessary and practicable for promoting the common good. On another occasion, he proclaimed publicly :

"I will never be associated with any movement which recognized racial or communal divisions."

He was one of the few who criticized Lord Morley, when at the instance of Lord Minto, he introduced the communal franchise in India.

Equally unerring was his condemnation of the Press Act of 1910 to which even Gokhale had been a party. Sir Pherozshah felt very strongly that the Press Act was obnoxious and we have seen how the officials began to trade on the fact that non-officials had given it their support and from time to time had made it a claim for further drastic measures for interfering with the freedom of the Press.

Yet one more striking instance of his unerring judgment. He watched with keen interest the South African Indian struggle and Mr. Gandhi's brave and heroic efforts. He commended publicly Mr. Gandhi's action and in 1915 described him as a "hero in the cause of independence." Yet, he felt that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, to which Mr. Gokhale had been a party, was a grievous surrender. Sir Pherozshah maintained that there could be no justification for any part of the British Empire to deny to the other parts, equal rights of citizenship.

He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and the University too, in appreciation of his great services, conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Laws.

Sir James Westland, the then Finance Minister, complained of the "new spirit" that Sir Pherozshah Mehta had introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council. It is very interesting to remember that it was for the introduction of this "new spirit" that the Bengal public, headed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, presented him with a public address.

An Anglo-Indian paper did not in the least exaggerate when it wrote : "The Bombay Corporation is Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Sir Pherozshah Mehta is the Bombay Corporation." No wonder Sir Pherozshah was hailed as the uncrowned king of Bombay !

No man who came across Sir Pherozshah Mehta could have failed to be struck by his personality. It was not merely towering but dominating ; but it was a domination of "a great citizen, a great patriot and a great Indian."

Botanical Research and Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur

Science and Culture observes :

In recent years, great progress has been made in the investigation of the vegetable resources of almost

all progressive countries of the world, particularly those involved in the World War II which fortunately for mankind has at last come to an end after six years of terrible bloodshed. The need of fully utilizing plants and plant products for food, medicine and industrial purposes was never before felt so much in the history of the world. Different nations are vying with each other in the campaign for *Growing More Food*, betterment of its nutritive value and storage by modern methods including dehydration. Increase in the quantity and quality of crops is based on the results of intensive researches in pure and applied sciences carried off in the different agricultural, botanical and horticultural institutions. In some countries, specially Russia, University workers, Government officials, and non-official scientists all put their head and heart together as members of one family in order to raise the standard of food production.

Important botanical investigations have been carried out in recent times even in China, which has been engrossed in the war for many years. Botanical exploration has continued and important works like the *Flora of Fukien* by Metcalf (1942) and *Icones Plantarum Omeiensium* by Wen-fei-Fang have been published.

In the United States of America, Dr. B. A. Krukoff and his collaborators are doing intensive researches on tropical plants including a large number of Indian plants for manufacturing insecticides and insect-repellents. On the pure systematic side which has a great bearing on the applied aspects of botanical and agricultural investigations, voluminous works are being produced as a result of botanical explorations in different parts of the world on different classes of plant kingdom by Prof. E. D. Merrill, Administrator, Botanical Collections, and his associates in the Harvard University, Arnold Arboretum, New York Botanical Garden, Smithsonian Institution and other botanical institutions of U.S.A. Vigorous attempts are being made to collect botanical materials, both dried and living, from different parts of the world, including India and Burma, to enrich the herbaria of botanical institutions, Universities and botanical gardens in the United States of America.

The greatest event in the history of botanical research in India is no doubt the foundation of the Royal Botanic Garden in Sibpur, near Calcutta (1787).

This was made possible through the exertion of Col. Robert Kyd who was a keen horticulturist. With the establishment of the Botanic Garden, a recognized centre of botanical activity in India was formed, and with it began an association of a series of very brilliant botanists to whom we cannot but look up with gratitude and respect. The original object in the establishment of the garden was the introduction of new economic plants and their acclimatization on Indian soil, and considerable progress was made in this direction. A few examples may be given.

The tea industry in India was established through the efforts of the Sibpur botanists. Sir Joseph Banks in 1788 recommended to Warren Hastings experiment on tea cultivation in North Bengal. Later in 1826, David Scott discovered that tea grew wild in the forest of Assam and in 1835 Wallich, Griffith and McClelland (officers of the Botanical Garden, Sibpur) were deputed by Lord William Bentinck to visit Assam and report on the indigenous tea, and as a result of their efforts the tea industry was established in India. Expenses for the Indian Tea Commission and another mission to China to study the cultivation there cost Government of India about Rs. 2,70,000.

The history of the introduction of rubber into India is quite interesting. In 1876, H. A. Wickham, without any authority, pledged the credit of the

Government of India to charter a new ship, and before the Brazilian Government could know of anything, smuggled out from the mouths of the Amazon, a good quantity of the seeds of *Hevea*. He brought these to Sir Joseph Hooker at Kew. These were grown in the Orchid Houses at Kew and then supplied to India, Ceylon and Singapore. In 1877, seeds were sent to Mergui by Sir George King of Botanical Garden, Sibpur and considerable efforts were made by him to organize para-rubber plantation in Kurseong, Jalpaiguri and Buxa, but the reports were not favourable.

Sir Clements Markham was the actual collector who pushed into the forests of Peru and Ecuador and at a great personal risk brought back young plants and seeds of quinine-yielding cinchona which were raised in thousands at Kew for distribution. After the Dutch had naturalized cinchona in Java, Lady Canning deputed Dr. Thomas Anderson (of Sibpur Botanical Garden) to Java, who brought a large consignment of plants to Darjeeling and acclimatized them in Sikkim Himalayas. Later, through the exertions of Sir George King, cinchona cultivation and manufacture of quinine were made commercial success.

By the introduction of some of the best kinds of sugarcane from the West Indies and the dissemination of these to all parts of the country, a considerable improvement was effected both in the quality and quantity of the sugarcane crop of the country by the Sibpur botanists.

Other parts experimented upon, on their cultivation, are flax, hemp, ramie, tobacco, sarsaparilla, coffee, mulberry, cardamom, cocoa, ipecacuanha, aloes, canabis, etc.

The results of exploration and subsequent systematic studies of plants collected, for experimental cultivation and chemical investigation in the past, by the staff of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, led to the discovery of some of the most important economic plants in India in the last century.

In the improvement of Indian cotton and in the introduction of jute to the markets of Europe, the Sibpur Garden authorities worked hand in hand with the Agri-horticultural Society of India. Bengal (Dacca) Cotton (a variety of *Gossypium herbaceum*) was one of the finest cotton in the world, providing cloth of astonishing beauty and fineness. The plant was annual and afforded two crops in the year (April and September), in the districts of North-West Dacca, and the favourite sites were the high banks of the Ganges and its tributaries. The fibre of this cotton (*bairati kupa*), was extremely fine, silky and strong and admirable for the manufacture of muslins and thinner fabrics. Roxburgh in his *Flora Indica* (1832) gives the points of difference between the ordinary Bengal and special Dacca cotton and the MS. plate of the plant is in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur. No attempt has so far been made to re-discover this Dacca variety of Bengal cotton which appears to have disappeared and Bengal, which once supplied the world with cotton fabrics manufactured out of the cotton grown on her own soil, is declared to be unsuitable for the growth of cotton plants! It is clear that attempts should be made for the re-discovery of the plant.

Of recent introduction is the Tung oil plant (*Aleurites montana*), a source of oil so useful for various industrial purposes.

The Sibpur botanists have also taken a leading part in another economic enterprise of the Government viz., the Forest Department. Introduction of exotic trees received attention and in the garden there still remain a few of the original mahogany trees introduced in the early years. Cultivation of teak tree was also

begun on a large scale and continued for 35 years, when it became clear that on the muddy soil of the Gangetic delta, teak stems early become hollow near the base and therefore incapable of yielding sound timber.

Folk-Songs of Gujerat

Zaverchand Meghani writes in *Perspective*:

The wedding songs of Gujerat have suffered least at the destructive hands of time, for the simple reason that they are connected traditionally with one or the other folk-ceremony of marriage. Though reduced to the position of mere rituals, they depict, in tender words and delicious music, the emotional and aesthetic phases of folk-life. For example, the following song depicts courtship.

"On the pearly bank of a milky pond the lad washes his clothes while the maiden goes with her pitcher.

"Wash slowly your garment, Oh Lord, splash not my clothes.

"For at home my papa will be all wrath and mamma will swear at me."

"Neither shall your papa be wrath nor shall your mamma swear at you, O lady.

"For we both shall wed in the lovely Vaisakh month."

The following song is of special interest inasmuch as it indicates the part choice played in folk-marriages:

"The girl is playing at the door. Father comes home and accosts her with a smile. (She does not respond).

"Why are you so pale, O darling? And what for the tear in your eye?"

"Pray do not choose a tall mate for me, O papa! A tall one will daily break the lowly ends of my roof.

"Neither may you choose a dwarfish one for me, O papa! A pigmy will daily be kicked by all and sundry.

"Pray do not choose a fair-skinned mate for me, O papa! A fair one will always indulge in self-praise and scorn at me for being less beautiful.

"Nor may you choose a dark one, O papa! For the dark one will put our house to shame.

"Choose, therefore, O father! a brown, slender-waisted one, for 'tis him that my friends, my companions at the river-bank, have approved, and my brother's wife has approved the most."

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The Age of Kalidasa

R. Antoine writes in *The New Review* :

The real classic keenly perceives the necessity of subordinating the individual to the personal, refuses to sacrifice to his desire to please his ideal to remain true, and unconsciously perhaps, prefers to the applause of a day the undying emotion which, in the souls of all men, re-echoes the deep inspiration of his own soul.

Kalidasa is a real classic. But because he belongs to a time and to a culture very different from ours, it is indispensable to become somewhat familiar with the atmosphere in which he lived, lest we be so disconcerted by his individuality that we remain deaf to the appeal of his personality.

The traditional accounts of Kalidasa's life are so contradictory and legendary that very little can be learned from them. In 1789, Sir William Jones published his translation of *Sakuntala* which aroused the interest of European scholars. The XIXth century witnessed the praiseworthy efforts of many men of learning to determine the date of our poet. Unfortunately the material at their disposal was very scanty and they had to base their chronological hypotheses on isolated references. The divergent conclusions pointed to the necessity of a more synthetic method. H. Fauche held that the poet flourished in the VIIIth cent. B.C. Bentley placed him in the XIth cent. A.D. Between these two extremes, a whole gamut of opinions found enthusiastic protagonists. Today owing to the progress and discoveries of epigraphy and numismatics, the chronology of Indian history during the few centuries that precede and follow the birth of Christ has attained a reliable stability. Hence there followed a greater accuracy in the methods of external criticism. The references to Kalidasa in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (634 A.D.) and in Bana's *Barsacarita* establish the beginning of the VIIIth century A.D. as terminus *ad quem*. The knowledge Kalidasa displays of the Sunga dynasty in his drama *Malavikagnimitra* brings down the terminus *a quo* to the IInd century B.C.

Scholars to-day agree on two points :

- (a) Kalidasa lived in Ujjain, capital of Malwa.
- (b) He lived under King Vikramaditya, the destroyer of Saka power in Malwa.

Two different opinions are still held :

(1) Vikramaditya, king of Ujjain, founded the Vikrama era in 58/57 B.C., to commemorate his victory over the Sakas. Kalidasa lived therefore in the 1st cent. B.C.—Already Sir William Jones adhered to that view, defended to-day by K. G. Sankar, M. R. Kale, and A. B. Gajengradadkar.

(2) Vikramaditya is the title assumed by Chandragupta II (380-414). Kalidasa lived during his reign and perhaps under his successors.—The great majority of both Indian and European scholars support that view to-day : R. K. Bhandarkar, M. Chakraverti, B. S. Upadhyaya, S. K. De, S. K. Dikshit, Prof. M. A. Macdonell, Prof. A. B. Keith, A. Hillebrandt. Historians adopt the same view : J. Allan : *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (1934) p. 99; R. D. Banerji : *Pre-historic, Ancient and Hindu India* (1934) p. 182; R. D. Salatore : *Life in the Gupta Age* (1934) p. 463 ff.

In order to establish this last position supported already by so many authorities, we should, I think, proceed as follows :

(1) From an attentive study of Kalidasa's works, we can derive a fairly accurate knowledge of the social, cultural and political conditions in which he lived. The data thus collected can be fitted into a synthetic whole.

(2) An adequate setting must then be found for that synthesis in some period of the history of Malwa between the IInd cent. B.C. and the VIth cent. A.D. The data must fit in with the social, cultural and political conditions of a once existing Malwa.

(a) Kalidasa's social milieu is rich and refined. Admittedly he moves in the aristocratic stratum of society, but the general prosperity of the people is strikingly emphasised all through his works.

Kalidasa lives in a society where Hinduism is the leading religion, where fine arts are intensively cultivated, where Sanskrit is both the official and the literary language.

(b) Now such a state of affairs can not be found in Malwa in the 1st cent. B.C. Malwa is then the battle-ground of rival forces : Kanvas, Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Sakas and Andhras. The official language is then either foreign or prakrit. Buddhism is far from being superseded by Hinduism.

On the other hand, the social, cultural and political conditions reflected in Kalidasa's works find a perfect setting under Chandragupta II who, as we know from well-established numismatic evidence, was also styled Vikramaditya. We know also that Chandragupta II Vikramaditya exterminated the Saka power in Malwa by his victory over the Satrap Rudrasimha III, towards the close of the IVth cent. A.D. (C. 388). The Gupta Empire, which was founded by Chandragupta I, consolidated by Samudragupta, and inherited about 380 A.D. by Chandragupta II, was then nearing its zenith. Ujjain, which had become the most important centre of trade between the West and Pataliputra, could not but be one of the main cultures of the Empire.

Kalidasa therefore lived and wrote, not under the first Vikramaditya of whom very little is known historically, but at the time of the Gupta supremacy, under the second Vikramaditya, Chandragupta II. He knew Ujjain in its glory after the collapse of the last Satrap. It is impossible to establish whether he was living at Ujjain before the Gupta conquest.

If we want to reach approximate dates, we can safely conclude that Kalidasa lived c. 375-440 A.D., almost a contemporary of St. Augustin.

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Freud's Contribution to the Problem of Personal Development

The contribution made by Psycho-analysis on the working of desires, their conflicts, mental interference and the subtle indirect ways in which some desires continue to work, is most enlightening. Dr. Indra Sen observes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Psycho-analysis is principally a psychiatric discipline and that is why the Psycho-analytical literature is full of cases of mental patients. But its contribution to normal psychology too is of very great value. It is interesting to hear from Freud himself in his *New Introductory Lectures* : "I have told you that Psycho-analysis began as a therapeutic procedure, but it is not in that light that I wanted to recommend it to your interest, but because of the truth it contains, because of the information it gives about that which is of the greatest importance for mankind, namely, his own nature" (page 214). We too are here interested in Psycho-analysis just for the understanding of our own nature, particularly to improve it, as it is primarily in that way that our nature is 'of the greatest importance to us.' Now in what way has Psycho-analysis enlarged and deepened our knowledge of human nature?

The first fact to mention would naturally be the fact of the Unconscious.

Undoubtedly the idea of the unconscious was not unknown before but it had been left over to Psycho-analysis to prove the existence of it on the basis of extensive empirical evidence gathered from clinical practice. What is more, Psycho-analysis has unveiled the various mechanisms by means of which it works under the varied circumstances of mental life. Projection, Introjection, Identification, Rationalisation, Displacement and Conversion are a few most important specialised techniques of the operation of the unconscious and each one of them means a definite contribution to our understanding of human personality.

The above techniques are, in fact, different modes of 'defence reactions' on the part of the individual. The idea of a 'defence reaction' is in itself a happy discovery and involves a valuable contribution to the science and art of personal development.

It is not possible to describe here the modes of operation implied by all the above-named technical terms, but, by way of illustration, we will attempt to explain one or two of them. A 'defence reaction' is an exaggeration in one's conscious behaviour of an action opposite to those which we may be conscious of having suffered in our inner life. That is how a cynic is sentimental at heart, the bully a coward and the unromantic bachelor very affectionate and tender. Those who suffer from inferiority complex often develop an expression of vanity and conceit. The prudishness of old maids is really an expression of a long continued suppression of sex desire. Projection is the assignment of the mind or mental content to a location outside the mind. A man who is vain himself sees vanity everywhere and condemns it. Rationalisation is the production by the mind of 'reason' to explain conduct or belief which have no relation to the actual psychological causes of the conduct or belief in question.

Next to the unconscious, the most important Psycho-analytical discovery is the fact of Repression.

It is important not only for explaining the neuroses and the symptoms, but also for the understanding of much of the behaviour of the normal man. The mental operation of repression just consists of forcibly pushing

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out of the conscious mind some unacceptable feeling or objectionable experience.

The study of repression has been, in fact, the chief undertaking of Psycho-analysis and it is so enlightening to follow the devious ways in which repressed desires seek expression and gratification. Each one of the defence mechanisms above referred to, in fact, represents a manner of expression for a repressed desire. The ordinary slips of the tongue, pen or similar errors of behaviour were formally considered to be just accidental occurrences. But it is now most interesting to know that they are in fact highly significant facts, as they reveal certain unconscious motives. The symptoms of neurosis have become significant only in the light of the discovery of the fact of repression.

Dreams have become altogether a new revelation. The discovery of the fact of symbolism in dream and neurosis mean in fact the acquisition of a new language, conveying valuable meanings of some of the deeper facts of life. We today definitely recognise that a dream is not merely a wayward and phantastic aberration of mental life, but that in the words of Freud himself: "A dream though a neurotic symptom is one which possesses the incalculable advantage of occurring in all healthy people." It is a safety-valve of psychical life. It permits a repression to find expression, to secure some gratification. And thus it is that it can serve as an invaluable means of discovering the repression of healthy as well as of neurotic persons.

The problem of personal development is to discover conflicts and seek to remove them and thereby to establish harmony in mind.

The same is the method of attaining greater efficiency in life. Conflicts inhibit and retard action. It is relatively much easier to deal with conscious conflicts. You know the trouble. It is such conflicts that have generally been recognized by the various practical system of personal development. But Psycho-analysis has made the greatest advance upon them by showing that the worst conflicts of mind are always those, which are more deeply laid in the unconscious and of which we are not aware at all, and that they can be best detected through an interpretation of dreams. Thus has Psycho-analysis for the aspirant of personal perfection, opened out a new vast vista of life, which harbours conflicts, which continues to cause him anxiety, worry and frustration and which he only blindly sought to fight against so far. But now being forewarned of the wider sphere of the unconscious, its nature, character and laws, he is really forearmed. In the dreams, in fact, he has now a practical means of detecting the most intractable causes of disharmony in his life.

We have above referred to the unconscious repression and dream interpretation as valuable contri-

butions of Psycho-analysis to a science and art of personal development. But they actually tell us nothing more than what our realistic picture at a particular stage of our development may be. You would ask: "Has Psycho-analysis got anything to offer for improving human nature? For making man happier and more harmonious within himself?" This is a very important question to ask of Psycho-analysis. To it, in fact, we find a most sensational answer too.

First of all, it might be stated that self-knowledge is a necessary precondition of self-development and inasmuch as Psycho-analysis acquaints us with the actual state of ourselves in the larger and the more difficult sphere of the unconscious, it helps to satisfy the indispensable pre-condition of self-development. To the problem of positive self-development, its sensational answer is that a knowledge of the real circumstances of the origin of the conflict itself leads to a resolution of the conflict. Freud explains that "The pathogenic trouble does not exist between conflicting impulses all of which are in the same mental field. It is a battle between two forces of which one has succeeded in coming to the level of preconscious or conscious part of the mind, while the other has been confined to the unconscious level. That is why the conflict can never have a final outcome one way or the other, the two meet each other as little as the whale and the polar bear in the well-known story. An effective decision can be reached only when they confront each other on the same ground. And, in my opinion, to accomplish this is the task of treatment." (*Freud's New Introductory Lectures*, p. 362). Fifteen years earlier in his former *Introductory Lectures* too he had said that 'Psycho-analysis aims at and achieves nothing more than the discovery of the unconscious in mental life,' and that effects the cure. You would ask for proof, and Freud replies that success in the main justified our claims. (*Freud's Introductory Lectures*, p. 363.)

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Instead, India turned out to be a bulwark of defense for the United Nations, and a key point in the preparations for the ultimate triumph. India was not only a source of manpower and equipment, drawn from the rich human and material resources, it was a bridge over which supplies from the United Kingdom and the United States were transported for the attack on Japanese-held territory. Even while soldiers of the Indian Armies were helping push Rommel's African Corps back across the African desert, the docks and the roads of India were thronged with supplies being stockpiled for the destruction of Japanese military strength. And at the same time India itself was producing textiles, steel, coal, tools and ships for the use of Allied Armies everywhere. Both the German and the Japanese sides of the two-hemisphere pincer had been stopped by the Allies; India remained untouched, except for a few bombings, and was able to fulfill its manifold role.

THE BURMA CAMPAIGN

Thousands of Chinese troops, taught by U.S. military instructors and using American equipment, were prepared in India for the Burma battle. Some of these troops had retreated across Burma during the first months of the war with the Armies of General Joseph W. Stilwell. Other troops were sent directly to the Indian training bases by air transport from China. In India they were trained under the direction of Brigadier-General Haydon L. Boatner, acting as Stilwell's deputy.

Mechanized tank warfare was taught the Chinese soldiers, as well as the use of newest artillery. Infantry warfare and driving land-transport vehicles were taught to other groups. Mine detection and sabotage also provided subjects of instruction. At the Hindustan Aircraft Factory and in other centers, the Chinese were taught aircraft maintenance under Chinese as well as American instructors. Not only non-commissioned soldiers, but also Chinese officers entered into the preparations for the successful Burma campaign.

In the medical branches of instruction, malaria control, pharmacy and dentistry were taught. Wounded Chinese soldiers recovering in India were given the most modern treatment through occupational therapy, under expert Indian teachers.

Through the Assam Province Indian construction workers cooperated in building the Ledo Road, to connect with the Burma Road. With the liberation of Myitkyina on August 4, 1944, connection with the old Burma Road was made possible. Chinese troops trained in India aided in the capture of Myitkyina, gateway to a vital supply line to their own country. Other Chinese troops from the modern training camps in India were flown directly back to the Southeast Asia front, to fight the Japanese there.

ALLIED AIRBASES IN INDIA

Indian airbases helped to keep aloft the Anglo-American air forces whose purpose was to give air support to ground troops, facilitate the movement of troops by air, and to maintain supply service to land troops. By the spring of 1945, Allied fliers in this area were accomplishing 15,000 combat sorties monthly, in addition to transport flights. Air supremacy over the Japanese in Burma had been won in 1944. Far behind the battle area, the Japanese supply system was disrupted by Allied air raids. Ocean sorties to guard Allied sea convoys aided in maintaining the logistics balance, and in all kinds of weather, British and U.S. transports flew over the "hump" route with supplies for China.

INDIA'S MANPOWER CONTRIBUTION

The pre-war strength of the Indian Army, organized mainly for internal security and frontier defense, was 182,000. At the end of the war, the Army numbered more than 2,500,000, all of them volunteers.

Existing training schools for officers were expanded and many new ones opened. Technical training centers were established, and new engineer corps of various categories formed. Paratroop battalions were raised, some of whom used parachutes made in India from Indian silk.

Since the rugged and tropical terrain, with its scarcity of roads, demanded animal transport, considerable numbers of such units were assembled. More than 300 Indian major field medical units, including women doctors, served with the Indian Armies. Large hospitals were built and staffed. Auxiliary services included a women's corps of more than 10,000. The Royal Indian Navy had its own women's auxiliary corps.

Indian troops were of great importance in the entire African campaign—in Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Abyssinia (where they were the largest in numbers and the most heavily engaged of the British forces). Later, there were three Indian divisions with the British Eighth Army in Italy. Indian troops were also part of the British Army in Syria, Iraq and Iran. Speaking of these campaigns, Field Marshal Viscount Wavell said on September 16, 1944:

"Without the assistance of India both in troops and in material, we most certainly could not have held the Middle East and the Middle East has been, I think I can claim, the keystone of our present success.

"It was India's troops that helped us hold not only Egypt but also Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran and for this the United Nations owe India a considerable debt."

THE ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

When war broke out in 1939, there were 1,200 officers and men in the Royal Indian Navy; by the end of the war, there were nearly 45,000. Various technical training schools were set up; the anti-submarine school was the largest in the British Commonwealth outside the United Kingdom. At the Royal Indian Navy's dockyards at Bombay, vessels were repaired and refitted, and light craft were built.

The Royal Indian Navy participated in the battle of the Atlantic, in the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean operations against Italy, and performed particularly good service off the Burma Coast. In 1943, it took part in convoy operations, escorting the British Eighth Army, reinforcements and supplies to Sicily from North Africa.

The mercantile services of the United Nations contained more than 60,000 Indian seamen. By June, 1943, about 16,000 Merchant Marine officers and men had been trained in the use of defensive armaments. At a training depot subsequently established, 2,000 additional Indian youths were being prepared for Merchant Marine service.

Toward the end of the war, the Royal Indian Air Force numbered about 15 squadrons. It aided in patrolling the Indian Ocean and in reconnaissance and bombing missions over Burma. Individual Indian airmen with the Royal Air Force saw active service over Germany.

At 17 technical and non-technical schools in India, training was given in all trades connected with air operations. More than 1 million Indians were engaged in the construction of the airfields, especially in eastern India, from which the Burma and China operations took off. Some types of aircraft were assembled in India. Indian princes donated about ten squadrons to the Royal Air Force.

INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION

Nearly 3 million people in India were directly engaged in defense industries. For the first two and a half years of the war, India supplied about 90 per cent of the British military needs of the Middle Eastern campaign. Later, it not only met about 80 per cent of the needs of its armed forces, but supplied other United Nations as well.

During 1943, an over-all increase of 50 per cent in the output of steel was achieved in India. Quality improvement produced an armor plate of high specification, so that the manufacture of armored vehicles could be undertaken. Locomotives and other railroad equipment were produced in India for use in Allied strategys elsewhere, and India supplied engineering, construction and operational staff for remodelling the Iran railways.

The production of explosives had almost doubled at the end of 1942, artillery equipment advanced 30 per cent, small arms ammunition, 25 per cent, gun ammunition, 50 per cent and light machine guns 100 per cent. Manufacture of machine tools in India was a new occupation, in which more than 100 firms were engaged. A heavy chemical industry was developed including the production of high explosives, and India made as much as 65 per cent of her medical supplies.

More than 50 shipbuilding and repair firms in India employed over 50,000 workers, and undertook repairs of a kind never before done in the country. Mine sweepers, corvettes and patrol boats were built, a number of them fitted with engines also made in India. The Admiralty Floating Dock, constructed in India, is one of the largest in the world.

REVERSE LEND-LEASE

The lend-lease system of mutual aid among the United Nations, first initiated by the United States in 1941, had brought by the spring of 1945 about 243 million dollars worth of reciprocal aid from India. Included in this was more than 100 million dollars in facilities and services used by U.S. military forces stationed in India. American planes carrying supplies to China took off from lend-lease bases in India, as did the B-29 bombers headed for Japanese installations in Malaya and Indo-China. Stores, rations, transport, telegram and telephone facilities, rental and utility charges and labor engaged in construction and repair services—all these went into the reverse lend-lease provided by India. Among the materials exported for U.S. military use elsewhere, on a reverse lend-lease arrangement, were jute, mica and coal.—USIS.

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An International Language

Apart from culture and language, the difference among people of distinct nationalities is not greater than that which exists among the various groups and individuals of the same nationality. A. Lavagnini writes in *East-West* :

The only satisfactory means of overcoming the inconveniences resulting from the differences of language is the adoption of an entirely *neutral* means of communication—an *international language*. This is the conclusion arrived at by an always growing number of people of every social standing and nationality, interested in international communication.

The first proposed solutions for this problem of an international language have been to select an already existing one, either an ancient or a living language. But these solutions—which may appear reasonable and convenient at first sight—must afterwards be discarded, either because of the difficulty of mastering them (in the case of classical language, such as Latin, Greek or Sanskrit), or of coming to an agreement (in the case of a modern living one).

With some years of earnest, if not painful, application, we may gain a workable knowledge of a classical language, so as to be able to appreciate its literature. But, apart from their having been coined for a different way of thinking and living, thus making them inadequate to rightly express the terms of our modern life and thought (to which they should have to be adapted with an exorbitant number of neologisms), how many would now undertake to write and speak correctly the language of Plato or Cicero, or that of the Rishis?

The long training necessary for learning a classical language makes its price prohibitive for all but a few very interested scholars.

Arabic should have some claims as a neutral international language. It is beautiful, very rich and expressive, and not more difficult than other natural languages. It has produced a very remarkable literature and has greatly spread, so that not so long ago it was spoken and understood from Spain throughout the whole Mediterranean, to India and the China Sea. But how could the Christian nations be induced to speak the language of Islam? or the Aryans a Semitic one?

We must equally lay aside the respective claims of English, French and German, the three modern languages most widely understood. Whenever one of them advances its claim, the other two (and still others back of them) arise in opposition and want to be given prior consideration, or at least an equal treatment. Nor could many people—not even the peoples speaking them—agree to a condominium of these three languages, or of two of them.

Could, then, either Italian or Spanish, the two most direct and legitimate descendants of Latin, be universally agreed upon as the one international language? Would proponents of English, French or German give up their claims in favor of one of them, although acknowledging their beauty? Nor could one, for the same reason, think to resort, as to a more acceptable solution, either to Russian or modern Greek, Albanian or Lithuanian, Persian or Malay.

For reasons both of justice and of legitimate national pride, no living language should be given an undue preeminence.

Nor should any, on the same ground, be lowered to the place of a secondary or subordinate one.

But while neither Greek nor Latin, with all the intricacies of their grammar, their antiquated phraseology and obsolete meanings, would aptly serve the

purpose of a modern *interlanguage*, the fact remains that the majority of the vocables of the last, and many of those of the first, are still living and largely used—although with some difference of meaning—in the vocabularies of not only the Romantic languages, but also, in a greater or lesser degree, in those of English and other European tongues, largely known in the whole world.

And if no one of the leading living languages can be accepted as the universal language, they may all contribute something of their vocables and grammatical features for the building of a synthetical *neutral* language, on a wholly natural ground. Such a language, based on existing international words and grammatical forms, interposed as a *New Latin* among the chief world languages of to-day, which may easily assimilate words of any stock just as they acquire any degree of internationality, is therefore the one ideal solution of the problem we are considering.

Mondi Linguo, which has appeared exactly fifty years after Esperanto, is an *evolution* of all former projects, the outcome of an effort to synthetize and unify in a most harmonious whole the best features which have been developed through them, such as a rational and, at the same time, natural use of the final vowels, and the most expressive, natural and international grammatical forms. No feature or word of *Mondi Linguo* has been chosen or adopted arbitrarily, but each is the result of years of study and experiment.

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The Social Relations of Science

In a lecture in *The Royal Society of Arts* Professor J. D. Bernal treats of the new relations between science and society which have been developing in the past thirty years, and most rapidly during the war years :

The history of science shows it to be a human institution that changes with the changes in society around it. Much confusion has arisen and has found expression in the Press and on the wireless recently, due to the fact that many people have the idea that science is a permanent institution with fixed purposes. When these people see new tendencies in science, they say, "This is a complete breakaway from the eternal nature of science." I maintain that science has no such eternal nature but that it must continuously interact in the social changes which are going on. The keynote of those changes in recent years has been towards organisation and integration. We are passing out of a period during which progress was largely due to a fortuitous combination of individual activities. In the economic field there was free competition between small, independent firms ; in the field of science individual investigators followed their private choice. That situation has already vanished in the economic field. Only the more backward parts of production are carried out in small, independent factories. One can hardly expect the great changes made in industry towards large-scale organisation to leave the individualist structure of science unaltered, and the drive towards organisation is already under way.

I think it is worth while pausing for a moment to consider the intrinsic character of organisation in science and to see what are the basic arguments for supporting

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or opposing it—and they are very cogent arguments, although they are usually presented in a one-sided way. The first essential argument against organisation in science is that whereas production can be carried on in almost a routine manner, the activity of science is something which depends on the perpetual bringing out of novelties and therefore any kind of organisation which tended to fix the forms of investigation would destroy science integrally. The essential mistake of this view is that this is not the only kind of organisation and, in fact, no one has ever advocated it for science. It is quite possible to organise science without having this effect and, indeed, the first condition for the organisation of science is that it should preserve the possibility of change and individual initiative.

The second type of objection which is urged is that as science is intended for the good of mankind, while government purposes are increasing by those of war and destruction any organisation of science would pervert it. In other words, science, which should be used for human welfare, may be used and has been used for human destruction. The answer to this objection does not lie with science at all. It is that society must reform itself so that it does not allow science to produce bad results. It is up to society to realise that responsibility, because nothing that the scientist alone can do can take it away. The scientist can only enlighten society as to how to achieve its purpose. He is responsible for showing people where they are going and for showing them the possibilities of science for achieving positive ends, but it is society that must pursue them.

A third objection is that organised science would be part of the state and that every scientist would have to do what he was told instead of being left to do what he pleases. This is an unreal objection. What has, in fact, happened is that some scientists being unable to face social realities, have withdrawn from society, thinking that by so doing they would escape the social effects of the changes going on. In Germany, during the last ten years, we have had the example of a very large band of scientists, following detailed research in such subjects as theoretical physics or genetics and so on,

deliberately closing their eyes to the tyranny of fascism and its preparations for world conquest.

This world-wide process of integration of science into human productive activity has been going on for a long time, but the war has given it an enormous impetus. The modern picture of an industrial process is that of a cycle which begins with the discovery of a need and ends with the satisfaction of that need. Science enters into every stage; in determining the need, in finding out the devices to satisfy it, in the design and production of these devices and in following up their performance in practice. Nor is this process confined to single industries; it applies to the whole interlocking network of human productivity.

New scientific methods have been evolved to handle these complex problems of interaction. Instead of leaving things to blind chance and the trial and error of full-scale practice, the resources of statistics can be called on to furnish answers from the study of small samples.

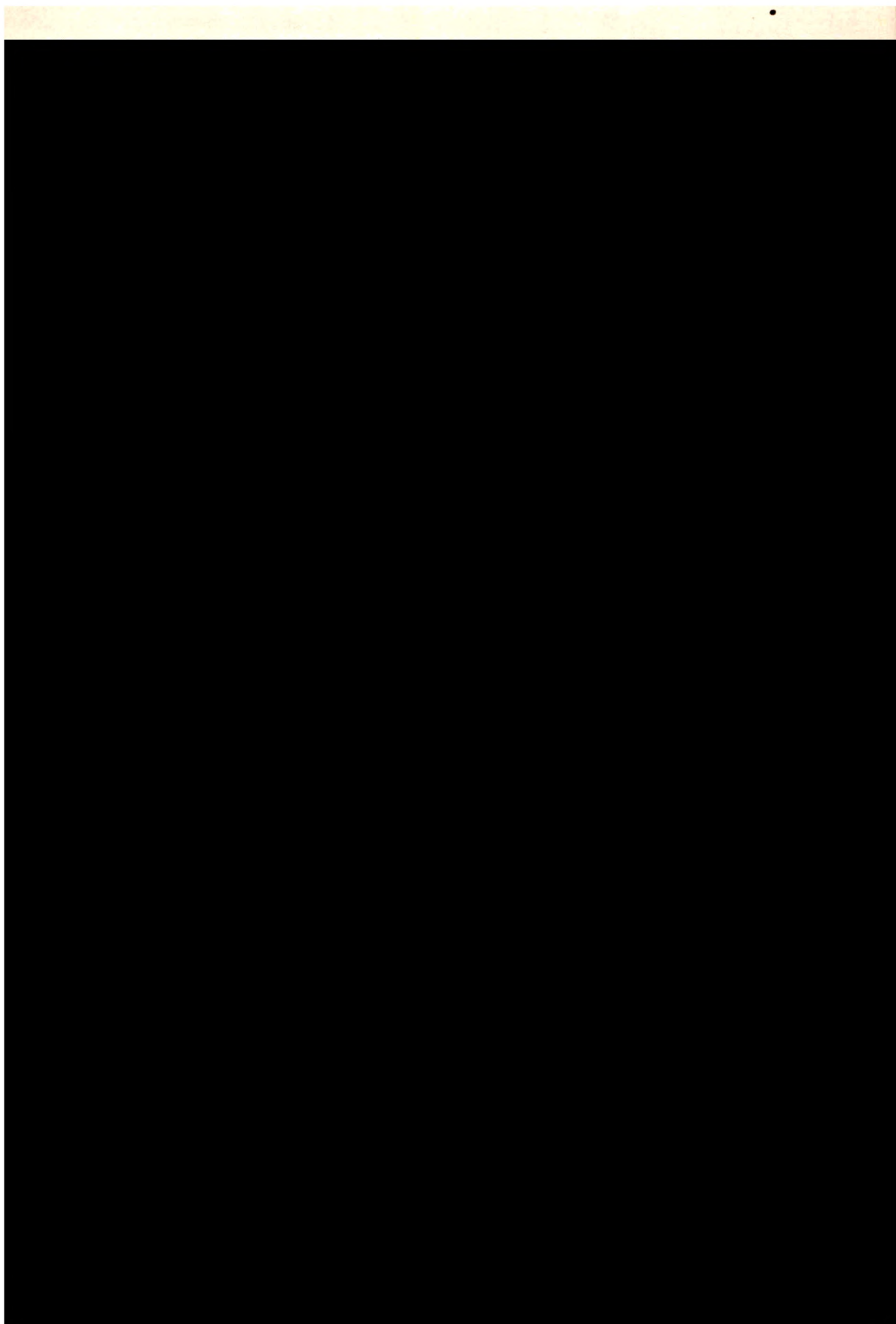
The very necessary stress which has been laid on the function of science in helping to provide for our material needs, must not be allowed to obscure the importance of science as a social ideal. It is very dangerous, as the example of Hitler has shown, to treat science as a mere tool for satisfying the uncritical wants of a ruling clique: that degrades science as surely as it destroys humanity. There is a tendency, which I am afraid a number of scientists share, to treat science as an affair of means and not of ends. That is simply untrue. If you look at the history of thought you will find that the change in our thought from the Middle Ages until to-day has been largely due, not only to the material effects of science, but quite as much to the effects of science on people's ideas and knowledge of the world, and therefore on the ends they seek. Already in Newton's time science had become a social force in pointing out the universal reign of law and thus in buttressing the democratic rights of the people against the arbitrary acts of the monarchy. But in Newton's time the range of the application of science to human affairs was still limited.

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NOTES

I. N. A.

The I. N. A. trials in Delhi have evoked India-wide agitation of an intensity that threatened to assume the form of a major mass-movement at times. Fierce demonstrations have taken place in many cities when the local authorities tried their mediaeval autocratic tactics in attempts to suppress popular feeling. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has spoken at length on this subject, in his characteristic direct and unambiguous fashion, and the Congress has taken up the defence and rehabilitation of the I.N.A. forces. The country has thus been given a clear lead and is now responding to the call of its real leaders in a fashion that has confounded officialdom and confused many observers from foreign countries. What is the reason behind all this reaction? Is it a genuine and conscious declaration of Indian India's approval and appreciation of all that the I.N.A. stood and still stands for, or is it merely a major political stunt? If it be a real declaration of faith, so to say, then the main elements underlying this declaration should be made plain now and a cold analysis given out to the world. The most notable fact, at this juncture is that Mahatma Gandhi has not as yet expressed himself at any length on the matter.

It might be thought premature on our part to attempt the analysis now, and we ourselves have to confess that in the absence of adequate data we are not in a position to undertake the job. But it might be well worth our while to consider certain facts in the light of what news is available to the public in general.

The I.N.A. is composed of professional soldiers with a fairly large sprinkling of volunteers, mainly from amongst the Indian civilian population of Burma and Malaya. In that respect the British Indian Army of to-day of over two millions is as "Indian" as the I.N.A., whether it be totally "mercenary" or totally "volunteer", regarded from the two extreme viewpoints. In one particular the I.N.A. was more Indian inasmuch as it was officered completely by Indians. In passing it might be remarked that despite total lack of air-support, with absurdly meagre equipment in armour

and artillery and with very primitive and inefficient arrangements regarding supply and transport those Indian officers displayed very considerable ability, viewed purely from a military standpoint. To resume the relation of facts, the I.N.A. and the British Indian Army in fact are not so very different in their composition. They are both of our flesh and blood and they are all the children of the fatherland's soil. As regards the question of the popular admiration for martial ardour, accomplishments and achievements, considerable sections of the British Indian Army can lay claim to at least as much—if indeed not to much more—as the I.N.A.

Indeed if the question of martial glory be raised, then the record of the Indian soldier in the three continents is second to none. In Syria and Abyssinia, in Eritrea and in the Western desert, in Libya and in Italy and in "South-East Asia" they formed the spear-heads of almost all the major assaults made by the British armies, and in the bitter fighting in the stricken fields of the Western desert the stoic courage of the Indian soldier came into full account. It is indeed a pity that such splendid material has received so little attention from the nation-builder's point of view. Mercenary the professional Indian soldier might be, but who is to be blamed for that? Almost totally, without education and guidance, without any anchorage in or contact with the stream of progressive thought, all he can be expected to achieve is the repayment of "salt" through his valour, steadfastness and fighting ability, which he has done seven-fold or more in spite of being denied the use of modern artillery and armour of his own. He has received the poorest publicity possible in these days of international news services equipped with wireless, television and aerial transport of mails at meteoric speeds. And therefore it seems to us that he deserves some little encouragement from his elders and his *bhai-bund* to show that he is still one of our own family.

In the materialistic field of concrete matters, therefore there is little to differentiate between the I.N.A. and the British Indian Army. But there is a

vast difference between the two when we consider the abstract side of the question, if indeed matters that are of the essence in the life of a nation can be called abstract. The I.N.A. has fought with a conscious objective which is in rhythm with the utmost aspirations of Indian nationalism. Whereas the British Indian army has fought at the bidding of its foreign paymasters—though the payment was with our money, be it noted—and fought faithfully in accordance with their service terms and with magnificent courage. And perhaps the difference between the two cases would not have been so prominently marked if Lord Linlithgow had a little more brains and a slightly less grandiose opinion about his own self.

But it is futile to speculate on what might have been. In the years to come the world will have enough time for recrimination about the folly of Fascist and Imperialistic nations. As things stand now, we have to take stock of all our own shortcomings in the field of nation-building. The I.N.A. in the long analysis is an exposition of the hidden side of the plain Indian soldier, for it is composed of that material only. Since we are to take upon ourselves the task of our own defence and that of democracy, we have no time to lose in the matter of making contacts with and looking after *all Indian soldiers*, whether of the I.A. or of the I.N.A. We have made a start with the I.N.A., but it must not end there, for the I.A. has done its duty too, in the only fashion it was taught, and therefore deserves well at our hands. For the immediate present, of course, we must devote all our energies for the I.N.A. in order to keep faith with those that did enter the Valley of Death in the cause of the fatherland.

Students' Demonstration in Calcutta

Students' blood has flown in the streets of Calcutta as a sequel to a demonstration against the I.N.A. trials. When the mass public meeting on this subject was held in Calcutta early in November, the schools and colleges of Calcutta were closed for the Pooja holidays. When the colleges opened, the students wanted to organise a meeting to register their protest and they selected November 21, the day fixed for the resumption of the trial after adjournment, for the purpose. Shortly after noon on that day, students from the schools and colleges went to Wellington Square and held a meeting there. It is said, police were present in large numbers but they did not intervene.

After the meeting, between 3 and 3-30 p.m. a group of students consisting of a few hundreds decided to go in a procession through Esplanade and Dalhousie Square. The time chosen was such that the procession could have passed Dalhousie Square before the evening rush in the traffic of that quarter began. On reaching Madan Street crossing of the Dharamtalah Street, the students found the road blocked by the police. The processionists were completely peaceful and were absolutely unarmed. They demanded passage and when it was refused, they squatted on the street. The Government *Communique* says that the number of students at this stage was five hundred.

Till about 6 o'clock, the trial of patience between the students and the police continued without any incident. Messages were sent to Mr. Sarat Bose about 4 p.m. but he was away. Students tried to contact other Congress leaders and the B.P.C.C. By about 6 p.m. such messages had been sent.

The police, however, became restive. Finding the boys determined to proceed to Dalhousie Square, their patience came to an end and a lathi charge was ordered. The boys courageously stood it. A charge by the mounted police was then made. This trampling by horses also failed to disperse the students. Here comes the story of brickbat throwing. Every report corroborates the fact that any brickbat that might have been thrown came from the crowd outside the processionists and not from the students themselves who all along the time had been squatting on the street with neither brickbats nor any sticks in their hand.

At about 7 p.m. police fired on these unarmed and completely non-violent boys. There were many school children under twelve years of age and most others were in their teens. The shooting was conducted under circumstances and in a fashion which no civilised nation in the world would have permitted.

When S. Kiran Sankar Ray arrived on the spot the firing was taking place. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee and the late Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee also came and argued with the students in order to persuade them to go back to Wellington Square. But the boys declared that since their blood had been shed, they would not budge. It is not yet known who gave the order for firing and what were the circumstances that had necessitated such a drastic order. The Government *Communique* says that "fire was opened by a small party who believed themselves to be in danger of being overwhelmed." How such a danger could arise in the face of a batch of boys sitting on the ground with not even a stick in their hand passes our comprehension. Even the Government *Communique* does not claim that they were overwhelmed but merely states that they *believed themselves to be in danger of being overwhelmed*. It has been reported the firing was done by the European and Anglo-Indian Sergeants. Their conduct is reminiscent of the days of August 1942 when one of them shot down an employee of the Telephone Company in uniform who was doing his duty alone far away from any crowd whatsoever. An inquiry is emphatically called for as to why and how firing was resorted to.

Late in the evening, Mr. Casey arrived on the spot. In his characteristic fashion, though he was correct in his first move, he failed to assume the initiative. If he had asked the police to withdraw and permitted the boys to proceed to Dalhousie Square, at an hour when that quarter was silent and deserted, the British Empire would not have fallen to pieces. He perhaps wanted to save the prestige of the Government but the prestige lost by the Bengal Government in these three eventful days will not be repaired in so many years.

Government Communique on Calcutta Events

The indiscriminate shooting of these unarmed children sent a wave of indignation all over the city. The people became resentful and revengeful. There was a general strike by all transport workers. Some reckless and heedless drivers of military lorries added fuel to the fire. A military lorry driving at a reckless speed, killed a pedestrian near Jagu Babu's Bazar, Bhowanipore. Tempers were already high and the lorry was chased. Neither the drivers of military lorries nor

the military authorities themselves took any precaution after this unhappy incident. They should have ordered movement of lorries in convoys and at a speed conforming to conditions prevailing. They did nothing. Mob frenzy was roused and many more military vehicles were attacked and destroyed in some cases. Towards the evening on Thursday, another incident happened. Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee and a youth driving her car were killed in a collision with a military lorry which hit the car at a break-neck speed. There was no justification whatsoever for the speed at which the military vehicles ran.

Throughout Friday, the Congress worked hard, as did also the Hindu Mahasabha and the Students' organisations throughout the city, to pacify the infuriated people. The police completely disappeared from the scene. The military appeared on the scene after pacification had progressed considerably. The Government *Communique* states :

During Friday morning, November 23, attacks on vehicles continued and arrangements were made for the military, who were already standing by, to take up dispositions in support of the police at various points in the city in the afternoon. By this time disturbances began to decrease and by nightfall they had died down.

This is another curious example of the presentation of incomplete facts which is now so common in the "propaganda" methods of today. The real fact is that it was the Congress and the students themselves who, through ceaseless propaganda and persuasion, had succeeded in bringing the situation under control. Throughout Friday, the police were nowhere to be seen. The credit for pacifying the people must be given in the main to the Congress and student leaders.

Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee

Miss Jyotirmayee Gangulee lived a dedicated life to the cause of her motherland and died a martyr's death. During the fateful night of November 21 and the whole day following, when the city of Calcutta seemed to be on fire, she was with the boys that sat on the road determined to go to Dalhousie Square after their blood had been shed. On Thursday evening, as she was proceeding to the Keoratala burning ghat to attend the funeral of the first martyr, she was killed in a collision of her car with a military lorry.

She was born in Calcutta on January 25, 1889. Her father was Dwarkanath Gangulee, one of the makers of modern Bengal and the father of the organised labour movement in the country. Her mother, Kadam-bini Gangulee was one of the first women delegates to the Congress who attended an open session of that great body.

Miss Gangulee inherited the patriotism of her parents. She participated in the Special Session of the Congress in 1920. She acted as the Captain of the Lady Volunteer Corps. It was under her leadership that the first women volunteer corps was organised within the Congress. Lala Lajpat Rai, President of the Special Session, was deeply impressed with her abilities. At his invitation, Miss Gangulee joined the Jullunder Kanya Mahavidyalaya. Subsequently she acted as the head of various girls' educational institutions and organised and inspired them.

In 1930, during the civil disobedience movement, she organised along with Sja. Urmila Devi, Nari Satya-

graha Committee and led bands of women to offer civil disobedience. She was arrested while resisting the mounted police who were dispersing the crowd by charging through them. She was convicted and sentenced to six months' rigorous imprisonment. In 1932, she was again sent to jail.

She had for some time acted as the Principal of the Ceylon Buddhist Girls' College. The Ceylon National Movement was started through her inspiration during her stay there.

A devoted fighter for the freedom of the country, she has died the glorious death of a martyr. It is an irreparable loss to Bengal and to the cause of Indian womanhood.

Indo-Chinese Battle for Freedom

The Indo-Chinese nationalists were the first to refuse to go back to the old Imperialistic rule after the end of the war. The Indonesians were quick to follow suit. The men who fought the Japanese found to their bitterness that this was no war of liberation. They were expected to submit meekly to their old masters and go into slavery. Little news percolate through the strict French censorship about this brave struggle by the Annamites. The British and the Americans are helping the French Empire to stand again on its legs. In Indonesia, Britain alone is doing the job of re-establishment of Dutch imperialism with the help of Indian troops. The summary of an account of the Indo-Chinese battle against the Imperialist despots published in the *Militant* of New York and written by Joseph Hansen is given below:

American troops are being used against the Indo-Chinese movement for independence. Sent in by air, they broke up a demonstration on September 12 of Annamese Nationalists in Hanoi. They ordered Annamese leaders to release arrested local representatives of the French despots. In subsequent fighting, American troops inflicted casualties among the fighters for independence. An American officer in turn was killed and others wounded.

Saigon continues "under a virtual state of siege, with Annamites firing from places of concealment at French, British and Americans," according to press reports. The American army transport personnel was summoned from an airfield to help "guard" a hotel held by Allied troops.

The American forces are fighting in Indo-China, because, "we are committed," as CBS Correspondent Bill Downs puts it, "to returning the old French colonial regime to Indo-China."

On September 20, the British Army declared martial law throughout south Indo-China "in a move to head off a threatened uprising by anti-French nationalists." The British commander forbade anyone outside of Allied forces to carry arms and decreed the death penalty for 'looters' and 'saboteurs', the Allied labels for strikers and revolutionists.

The French despots said they had "intended to grant independence to Indo-China," but the widespread character of the independence movement had for the present "made that impossible." This lying propaganda is cut from the same cloth that alleges the Indo-Chinese battle for freedom is "Japanese inspired."

The British command has instructed the Annamese to turn over utilities to "Japanese commanders." These commanders in turn would relinquish control to the British who are trying to hold down the Indo-Chinese until the French can get sufficient troops into their former colony to do the job.

On September 25, the British turned "mortars and heavy machine guns" on the independence forces in a brutal attempt to drown in blood the growing uprising. "Armed Japanese troops are fighting side by side with British and French against the revolutionist Annamites," declared Bill Downs.

"The revolutionists are resisting the return of French rule which would leave them subservient as in the days before the war. Armed bands of thousands of these Annamite irregulars are now moving toward Saigon. Truckloads of Japanese troops with rifles drive through the streets toward the front." Some of the fighters for the freedom of Indo-China are armed with rifles they obtained by one means or another from the Japanese forces, "but most have only sticks and clubs and bamboo poles tipped with knife blades."

Britain Using Japs and Indian Troops for Suppressing Indo-China Nationalists

Describing how even Jap forces are being used to crush nationalist movement in Indo-China, Hansen continues:

The British Commander at Saigon, according to the September 26 PM, "is using 5,000 armed Japanese troops as well as his 2,500 British Indian troops and about 2,000 French soldiers released from prison camps." The number of American troops in use is not listed.

The resistance of the Indo-Chinese against the Japanese was launched soon after imperialist Japan seized the colony from the French. Insurrections occurred repeatedly. The first took place in October, 1940, at Bac-son in the mountains of northern Tonkin; the second in Cochinchina in November, 1940. This uprising spread to Saigon. The third insurrection was at Do-louong in January 1941. The present battle for independence began as early as last March when both Tokyo and Paris reported fighting in various parts of Indo-China. Tokyo said the fighting was over in a few days in the south and central areas and in a few weeks in the north. Paris, however, claimed the struggle continued.

On September 16, the Nationalist movement proclaimed "a general strike" and called for a boycott against all French in Southern Indo-China. By September 25 the fighting had grown intensive. The Nationalists burned the Saigon market place. This fire together with the capture of the city slaughter house left the city virtually without food. The Annamese fire department took the fire engines and joined the Nationalists.

"There is every indication that the revolt will continue in the northern section of Annam" says a September 25 press dispatch. "The Nationalists are reported to have withdrawn into the jungle country to organise resistance forces."

The Extent of the Indo-Chinese Movement

Hansen then gives an account of the scope and extent of the movement as follows:

The scope of the movement can be judged from a September 25, *Christian Science Monitor* report: "Since August 19, the Annamites have been in control of most of the coastal provinces of Annam, Cochinchina, and Tonkin, where they have set up the Republic of Viet Nam. They are being backed by the primitive Moi tribesmen from the hills."

Saigon Radio reported September 19: "Backed with 80,000 rifles and several wealthy Annamite financiers the . . . party holds marches through Saigon with youths marching in blue and white uniforms. . . Military training continues daily in a large park . . . and today the city is packed with Annamites. They live outside the city area, but come in each morning."

French Role in Indo-Chinese Movement

Hansen concludes his article with the following account of the French role in the suppression of Indo-Chinese movement:

Chinese troops in control of Hanoi have not interfered with the Nationalist administration of the city. The Hanoi Radio consequently is broadcasting to the world the Nationalist side of the struggle. On September 19 a Declaration of Independence was broadcast. It said in part:

"All men are born equal; nature has given them sacred rights—the right to be free, the right to look for happiness . . . Yet for more than 80 years . . . France refused us all liberty, thrust upon us inhuman laws and planned to set up three different administrative regimes in the north, centre and south to prevent our national unity. France built more prisons than schools, executed without mercy men whose only crime was that they loved their motherland, suppressed in blood all efforts at independence, strangled public opinion, muffled news, and used opium and alcohol to exhaust our race."

The proclamation charged the French with opening the doors to the Japanese imperialists and describes the joint French-Japanese oppression during the occupation years. The declaration concludes: "His Majesty Bao Dai abdicated and we have broken our 100-year old chains of monarchy, which have given place to the republic, and therefore we proclaim a definite break with France."

Britain under a Labour Government has now assumed the role of a guardian of World Imperialism. This may not seem unnatural. But what really appears unnatural and painful is American participation in this nefarious game of re-establishment of the British, Dutch and French Imperialisms in the East. People of Asia expected a better deal from the land of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln.

Plight of Indians in Burma and Malaya

The suggestion that a well-equipped Medical Mission should be sent from India to South East Asia is made by Mr. S. B. Adityan, Editor of *Thanthi* in Madras, who has just returned from a tour of Burma, Malaya and Siam, in an interview with a representative of the *Associated Press of India*. He says, serious and widespread distress prevails among the Indians in those places and vigorous and urgent measures are necessary to contact them. Cloth scarcity is so acute in Burma that the poor classes of Indians are still wearing sack cloth. In Malaya, Indians who are sick and destitute are dying in the streets. The situation is indeed so bad that the International Red Cross Association, Geneva, drew attention of the Government of India to the need to relieve the distress. The Government of India has placed a sum of one lakh of rupees at the disposal of the Association.

Mr. Adityan says that the funds placed by the Government of India at the disposal of their agent in Malaya is totally 'insufficient'. If the Government of India could spare seven crores of rupees to U.N.R.R.A., could they not spare one crore for the relief of Indian nationals in Burma, Malaya and Siam?

Government of India certainly cannot do it. Mr. Adityan demands money for the relief of Indians in distress. The seven crores of rupees were given to the U.N.R.R.A. because this money was demanded by White men for the relief of White destitutes.

Need for Medical Relief for Indians in East Asia.

Continuing, Mr. Adityan says that a hospital in Rangoon was run by a Committee known as "Azad Hind Workers' Relief Committee" and they had a sum of Rs. 10,000 in their hands. The Medical Officer in charge of the hospital was Dr. (Lt.-Col) Lakshmi, but she had been removed to Kalaw, a village 400 miles away under orders restricting her movements. The hospital was now without a doctor. The members of the Committee had requested him to inform the Congress President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that the hospital was badly in need of a doctor and medical equipment.

Concluding Mr. Adityan said, "I am sure, if the Congress President decides to send a Medical Mission to the East, there will be patriotic Indian doctors ready to go with the Mission and serve the cause of humanity. The Congress which sent a Medical Mission to China some years ago, will be able to find the men and the means to send a similar mission to help the Indians in the east in their hour of distress."

The Government have evidently failed to do their duty. The people may now expect the Congress to act.

British Diplomacy in Palestine

A special correspondent of the Australian *Daily Mirror* has given a background of the double-faced British diplomacy in Palestine and has pointed out the fruits Britain is reaping there. Rivalry between Jews and Arabs for control of Palestine goes back to 636 A.D. when the Romans, after having conquered the Jews, were themselves conquered by the tribal followers of Prophet Muhammad. The rivalry continued through the age of the crusades and the Turkish occupation which began in 1516 A.D. It has lasted well over 400 years and is as acute today as it was at the beginning.

The argument between Jews and Arabs rests today on two promises made during that period. The Zionists or that section of Jewry which aims at the creation of a Jewish national state in Palestine, claim that Britain in 1917 promised Palestine to the Jews as a "national home" for the Jewish people. The Arabs, on the other hand, say that Britain promised them future independence in Palestine in 1915.

The Zionists base their claims on a paragraph in a letter written on behalf of the British Government by the British Foreign Secretary Lord Balfour, to Lord Rothschild on November 2, 1917. The paragraph is:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being

understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

This statement was made in recognition of the special aid given to Britain by certain Jews in World War I, and with a desire to enlist still further aid, particularly from Jews in the United States.

The Arabs base their contention that Britain promised them complete independence upon a letter written in October 1915, i.e., two years before the Balfour declaration, by Sir Henry MacMahon, British High Commissioner at Cairo, to the Arab leader Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca. Britain, at this time was concerned in enlisting Arab support for the Allies in World War I, and to secure their aid for driving the Turks away from the precincts of the Suez canal. Sir Henry MacMahon's letter indicated that the British Government would recognise Arab independence on the Arabian peninsula subject to certain reservations. Two districts in Northern Syria and some portions of Syria lying to the west of Damascus were clearly specified and sought to be excluded from the limits demanded by the Arabs. It has been held that these reservations still left Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was to be recognised by Britain.

At the time, French had already laid claim to Syria and Palestine, and one view is that MacMahon's letter intended to exclude both from the area of Arab independence. After the war, France secured a mandate over Syria only, and the Arab have persistently maintained that only Syria and not Palestine was thus excluded from their future control by MacMahon's letter.

In May, 1916, Britain further complicated the issue by agreeing secretly with France and Russia that Palestine should be put under a special regime to be determined by the Allies. At the Peace Conference in 1920, France quickly claimed her mandate over Syria, but no country was anxious to assume the responsibility of a mandate over Palestine. Suggestions that the United States might do so was declined, and after the British military government had been obliged to cope with a long series of riots, Britain finally assumed the responsibility.

At this stage Winston Churchill appeared on the scene. As Colonial Secretary he attempted to defend Britain's interpretation of her commitments under the Balfour Declaration and Sir Henry MacMahon's letter to Hussein. In a White Paper, he disclaimed that Britain had any intention of creating a wholly Jewish Palestine or contemplated the disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language and culture. The idea of partitioning Palestine was thus mooted by Churchill.

In 1923, partition of Palestine was tried with the separation of Transjordan from the rest of the country. The Arabs were given self-government of that area under British tutelage and the Jews were excluded from buying land there.

The partition scheme satisfied none. It did not pacify the Arabs and antagonised the Zionists. Both rejected a further proposal for the partition of Palestine when it was put forward by the Peel Commission in 1937. Conferences of the parties were held in London in 1939 but all attempts at negotiation failed. Britain then decided to foist her own decision which she alone considered as a solution. The British Government

decided to allow 15,000 Jews a year for five years to migrate to Palestine subject to the total number of Jews in the country being kept at the then existing level of one-third of the total population. This agreement terminated last year but Jewish migrants continue to find their way into the country. The influx of Jews into the country in recent years has brought a marked rise in economic prosperity from which the Arabs have benefited. But the latter fear that it would be only a matter of time before they would be dominated entirely by the superior numbers, greater wealth and more advanced industrial and political consciousness of the Jews.

Against this background, the present disturbances in Palestine may be understood.

Separatism Once Begun Knows No End

Separate electorates were, in 1919 created for the two sections of the Indian people—Muhammadans and Non-Muhammadans. In 1935, number of groups increased and separate electorates were provided for Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Europeans, etc. Attempt to create two separate electorates for the Hindus, one for Caste Hindus and the other for the Scheduled Castes, was frustrated. The creation of separate electorates was ardently supported by the Imperialist designers of Indian constitution. Now there is a demand for separate electorates among the Muslims, at least for the two sections—Shias and Sunnis. The All-Parties Shia conference has demanded that the Shias should be given separate electorates, but at the same time it had the good sense to suggest an alternative and said that it was prepared to accept joint electorate with adequate reservation of seats.

Addressing the press representatives Mr. Hoossein-bhoy Laljee explained the fundamental differences between the Shias and the Sunnis, the two leading Muslim sects which had existed side by side since the death of the Holy Prophet Mohammad. The Shias had played their part in the history of the Islamic countries of the Middle East as well as in India. Among the Muslim rulers of India there had been Sunnis as well as Shias. The position had continued under British rule. The Shias by virtue of their ability and educational advance had carved out for themselves a position of importance in the body politic. At present they numbered three crores in India and 75 per cent of them were educated. But recently the Shias were being discriminated against and pushed back. In the legislatures, local bodies as well as public services, Sunnis were being given the dominant position without any regard to ability or competence. During the last six years even riots had occurred between the two communities because of the determined assault of the Sunnis on the religious rights of their Shia brethren.

It was because of these developments that an apprehension had grown in the minds of the Shias leading to the demand for protection and special rights.

The best remedy against such never-ending demands for separate electorates is the immediate re-introduction of joint electorates.

Election Prospects for the League

The election campaign in the United Provinces has brought out some significant features which tend

to show that the Muslim League is facing loss of ground, particularly in the rural areas. Frantic attempts to invoke Government aid for overcoming this difficulty is being made. The U.P. League leader Chowdhury Khaliqzaman had recently undertaken a tour of the eastern districts of the province to counteract the effects of Pandit Nehru's earlier visit which had set the prairie on fire. The League leaders have begun to feel that their candidates are not safe in the rural constituencies. Reports from Lucknow state that evidence of this fear is corroborated by the request made by Khaliqzaman to the U.P. Government to change the dates of election in the Muslim constituencies to a common day.

Why is this being done? Congress leaders in interviews to pressmen are stating that this is being deliberately done in order to prevent the results of elections in rural Muslim constituencies influencing the minds of voters in urban Muslim constituencies. Congress believes it is safe with the Muslims in the countryside. The results of rural Muslim voting would naturally influence urban Muslim voting in favour of Congress. It is a matter both of constitutional purity and political morality whether such an understanding between the Muslim League and the Government should have been reached at all.

In the western districts of U.P. the Jamiat-ul-Ulema which has always been strong is becoming stronger. Mr. Jinnah has been good enough to make a present of his elaborated Pakistan scheme. It is being torn to shreds by Congress and Nationalist Muslim leaders, and some of Mr. Jinnah's supporters are seriously doubting the wisdom of his announcement of the Pakistan scheme on the eve of the elections, when obviously it makes the case for the opposition stronger than before.

Additional factors which are believed in Muslim opinion to be against the League are the recent announcement of the Anglo-American policy towards Palestine, which in spite of all the sugar-coating is being condemned as a broad concession to American high finance and extreme Zionism, and the I.N.A. trials in which Muslim youths are standing side by side with non-Muslim youths in the dock for the crime of patriotism. Leaguers are regretting that Pandit Nehru and the Congress have made the cause of the I.N.A. their own, and the Government have by a huge indiscretion put a few more stones in the sling of the Congress.

Much had been made of the bye-election results to indicate League stronghold over the electorate. These bye-election victories had been gained when the Congress was in jail. With the Congress in the field, the League stalwarts have already begun to feel nervous. We may here recall the statement made by Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan made to the *Orient Press* after his release that the League influence was confined to the towns, it virtually has no hold over rural areas.

That bye-elections are hardly any true indication of a party strength has recently been revealed beyond doubt by the British election results. In almost all the bye-elections the Conservatives had won but they were swept away when they came to face the general electorate. There is no reason why things will be different in India.

Lessons from the Frontier

The special correspondent of the *Leader*, who is visiting various provinces to report on election prospects, has just completed a tour of the North-Western Frontier Province. In his report he has given a good account of the achievements of the Congress Ministry on the Frontier. The greatest achievement of Dr. Khan Sahab's Ministry is his sincere and successful effort to meet the popular demand for the immediate revision of electoral rolls. While the other Ministries and the Governors' administrations in other provinces, as well as the Central Government, manoeuvred to sidetrack this vital issue and the Sind and the Punjab Governments imposed fees for the registration of new voters, Dr. Khan Sahab ordered a full scale revision of the electoral rolls. How this gigantic task was successfully completed within a very short time, has been graphically described by the correspondent as follows:

This revision was preceded by a magnificent publicity campaign. Fleets of lorries went round every village and town distributing leaflets, and telling people through loudspeakers that every eligible person should come forward to get himself registered as a voter. He had not to incur any expense or travel long distance for this purpose. He was only required to contact his *patwari*, near at hand, who was instructed not to delay the registration.

Thus, such a gigantic task, which the other provincial Governments refused to undertake, was accomplished in the record time of two months and seven days as against the normal period of one year.

The revised list shows a phenomenal increase in the number of voters. Whereas in 1941, there were only 290,000 voters for the Provincial Assembly, the number has now swelled to over 600,000, recording a general increase of 110 per cent. The highest figures are 270 per cent for Nowshera South and 200 per cent for Teri North and Lower Pakhli. The total figure is about 20 per cent of the entire population of the N.-W. F. P. including men, women and children.

This result is the index of the political consciousness among the people of the province and their realization of the fact that this is going to be the last election under British rule.

While other provinces are still hesitant to accept the voters' insistent demand for ensuring secret vote, the Frontier Congress Ministry has already met it. It has passed orders that in future no voter will be required either to cross the ballot paper or to place it in the ballot box in the presence of the returning officer. There will be coloured ballot boxes, different colours being assigned to different candidates.

The correspondent then says that during the League regime, cities were getting a larger share of the controlled civil supplies than the rural areas. The Congress Ministry has ensured fair and equitable distribution of these commodities throughout the province. *Nepotism and jobbery have been eliminated and black-market killed.* Freedom of press and speech, unheard of during the Muslim League regime has been reassured. This Frontier example conclusively proves that nepotism, jobbery and black marketing can be stamped out in no time only if the highest administrators are themselves pure and sympathetic for the sufferings of the people.

The Ahrar Party is very strong in the Frontier Province. The policy of the Frontier Ahrars was dis-

closed to the correspondent by Maulana Abdul Qaiyum, a prominent Ahrar leader. He said, "Although the Ahrars will fight the elections independently, we will, wherever possible, support the Nationalist Muslims. There is even a possibility of an election pact between us and the Congress, but not with the League." The correspondent asked him who had the greater hold on the Muslim masses, the Congress or the League? The Maulana declared, "Certainly the Congress. The Congress Ministry has honestly served the people. That cannot be said of the League."

Fakir of Ipi Compares Jinnah with Lawrence of Arabia

The *Leader's* correspondent says that the Frontier Pathans are taking their political inspiration from men like the Fakir of Ipi who is recently reported to have said that Pakistan is a false cry and that Mr. Jinnah is playing the role of another Colonel Lawrence of Arabia fame disrupting the Mussalmans of India.

Calcutta Corporation Strike

The general strike of the workers of the Calcutta Corporation was declared on November 23, the third day of the disturbances following the students' demonstrations against the I.N.A. trials. Two facts must be noted in this strike. The strike leaders seem to have given no consideration to the fact that the city was in turmoil and 20,000 labourers were let loose at a time when they would add considerably to the turmoil— which they did.

Secondly, supply of water was totally cut off which should have been the very last resort in a strike, specially under the circumstances then prevailing. This action cannot be termed anything but inhuman. Even the wounded could not be properly dressed for want of water and there were actual cases of death amongst the citizens due to this cause.

The city fathers must in this case take their full share of the blame for sleeping over the matter for many months since the first clear indications of the strike had been given. Even when the final notice was given they did not completely shake off their somnolent attitude. If the decisions arrived at in the first settlement meeting, which were agreed upon by the President of the Employees' Association but rejected by other leaders of the strike, were given on the previous Thursday, the strike might have been totally stalled off. Many lives that were lost as a consequence of the stoppage of water might thereby have been saved.

In the main we are all for collective bargaining and presentation of concrete and factual demands through accredited leaders. But the conduct of the strike leaders has laid themselves open to severe criticism.

It is becoming increasingly apparent to the public in general that the conduct and guidance of labour affairs are now in the hands of various groups who are jockeying for position regardless of the fact that they inflict endless privations and misery which in this particular instance has resulted in a good few deaths.

We remember the general strike of 1917 in England, the first great organised strike of its kind. Everything

came to a standstill in the great city of London but the people were not left to die of thirst. A minimum of water supply was maintained by the strikers and standby arrangements were made for raising pressure in case of fire. Here in Calcutta, the labour leaders seem to be completely oblivious of their responsibilities to humanity.

The other point is about the flouting of the decisions arrived at in opening by the President of the Employees' Association and his committee. The later decisions which ended the strike were almost the same as the first. Only there were different presidents and in this instance some brother-strikers, who were mostly desk workers, were thrown overboard. Needless to say this delay meant added misery and a good few deaths to the suffering public. But what do humanitarian considerations or suffering of the public matter when the game of unscrupulous party politics is in full swing. We have every sympathy with the main body of strikers and we only wish that their lot would be raised on a level with the rest of the civilised world. But they must understand that as one group of human beings to others they must observe certain ethical principles common to all mankind.

Pacifism versus the Gestapo

The *Worldover Press* bulletin of October 17, 1945, contains the following news commentary by Maurice Cranston.

"*Dangerous Britishers*". I have been analyzing the list of "dangerous Britishers" which was discovered at Gestapo headquarters in Germany. An interesting conclusion emerges. The body of opinion the Nazis seemed to think most necessary to suppress, if they invaded England, was that of the pacifists! All the prominent members of the British anti-war movement are on the list. This is the case with no other movement.

The late George Lansbury is there; so are Vera Brittain, Ethel Mannin, Lord Ponsonby, Aldous Huxley, Reginald Sorensen, M.P., and Dame Sybil Thorndike. People who are pacifists when the list was compiled—Bertrand Russell, C. E. M. Joad, Rose Macaulay, for example—are also listed. The Society of Friends was to be suppressed, but not the Church of England.

Why should the Nazis believe that those who refused to take up arms against them were dangerous? Doubtless because they feared that in England, as in Denmark, the pacifist movement would become the spearhead of non-violent resistance. So here is documentary evidence that the Nazis, ruthless and powerful as they were, feared the prospect of people armed with nothing but their moral convictions.

The British Broadcasting Company described the Gestapo blacklist as an "Honors List". If that is so, pacifists ought to be proud of their prominence in it.

So the Gestapo was trying to benefit by the object-lesson offered in India! Our own precious exponents of Gestapo methods might give some further consideration to the matter with considerable benefit to all concerned.

Social Welfare in Australia

Progress in the field of social services in Australia, which was interrupted by the war, has been resumed as soon as the national budget is relieved of the huge cost of armaments. The Australian social service scheme touches almost every aspect of human life. It includes baby bonus, maternity allowance, education, unemployment and sickness benefits, workers' compensation, rent rebates, invalid and old age pensions and funeral benefits. It is also proposed to introduce a free medicine scheme during 1946. Health and social services take a large slice of the national budget. The Prime Minister Mr. Chieffy has stated that one half of this year's non-war expenditure will be spent on social services.

The war merely delayed and interrupted important parts of the government's welfare programme. It was not altogether stopped. Even during the war it had been possible to double the outlay on social services. The total outlay in the pre-war year was Rs. 181,333,333. Last year it was Rs. 416,000,000. It is expected to reach Rs. 693,333,333 in 1945 and Rs. 821,333,333 in 1946.

In presenting the 1945-46 budget, Mr. Chieffy announced that the Government proposed to charge all health and social services expenditure to one fund—the National Welfare Fund. This Fund was established early in the war but was not actively used. It will now become the mainspring of social service payments and its income will be increased constantly. From January 1, 1946, a social service contribution will be levied on individuals at a graduated rate rising to a maximum of As. 18 in the Rs. 10-10 on taxable income.

The 1945-46 budget provides for the social service expenditures in the following way:

	Rs.
Invalid and old age pensions	288,000,000
Funeral benefits, invalid and old age	2,133,333
Widows' pensions	33,666,667
Maternity allowances	29,866,667
Child endowments	194,133,333
Unemployments and sickness benefits	101,333,333
Pharmaceutical benefits	10,666,667
Hospital benefits	26,666,667
Tuberculosis benefits	3,200,000
Rental rebates under housing agreements	2,133,333
Total	691,200,000

Australia has taken the lead in another direction as well. Legislation was passed in 1943 to give effect to a reciprocal arrangement between Australia and New Zealand in relation to invalid and old age pensions. Under this arrangement, the nationals of either country are entitled to the pension benefits of the country in which they reside. The agreement is terminable by either Government giving six months' notice to the other Government. This is an interesting example of how international agreements might be achieved to provide a maximum of social services, raise the standard of living throughout the world and remove fear and want.

British Policy in Asia

In a provocative open letter addressed to Labour M.P.'s under the heading *Stop this Shame to Labour*, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Leader of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, writes in the *New Leader* :

When all has been said, the fact must be faced that the British Government's policies and actions are serving the cause of imperialism in the East and crushing the movements of national liberation. This is dishonour to the Labour movement and if the present policies are continued, the Labour Government may become responsible, not only in Indonesia and Indo-China, but in India itself for the most thorough-going repression of people since the time of the Mutiny.

If this happens, British Labour will be eternally shamed. They should demand that the Government call for Netherlands' and French recognition of the independence of Indonesia and Indo-China and that British forces should be withdrawn, rather than be used to facilitate the refusal of this right. They should demand that India's right to independence should be recognised.

The Tragedy in Asia

Earlier in the letter discussing the tragedy that is being enacted in Asia, Brockway writes : •

The logic of circumstances is driving Britain to proceed increasingly with war-like actions against Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese. The tragedy of the present situation is that, whilst the desire of British Labour and of many Socialists in Holland and France is to facilitate the liberation of Indonesia and Indo-China, the consequences of the courses, in which they have concurred and which reflect the fundamental wrong of Imperialism, have driven both the Labour Government here and the governments of Holland and France to make war on peoples who are claiming the right to self-government and independence, which every Socialist and anti-Imperialist must recognise as just.

In Indonesia, the Netherlands' offer failed principally because it had two limitations which leaders of people cannot be expected to accept. First was the insistence that Indonesia shall remain part of the Netherlands Commonwealth. It is time we, Westerners, recognised that the long record of evil Imperialism in the East has made anything less than complete Independence unacceptable to Asiatic peoples.

The second difficulty was the refusal of the Netherlands' Representative to confer with Dr. Soekarno on the ground that he had collaborated with the Japanese during the occupation. I know only that Dr. Soekarno has a record of self-sacrificing service to Indonesian people which led to long terms of imprisonment and deportation. He is accepted by the Indonesian people as their leader and the right of self-determination means nothing if it does not mean the right of people to select their spokesman.

Outrage on Asia Should Stop

Brockway concludes :

The use of force is being justified on the ground that the Extremists have taken control of the situation. Decisions which have been taken on this matter by generals in Indonesia would appear to reflect a military rather than political mind.

British Labour should assert its will over the traditional methods which the military will always be inclined to adopt. There is a retort which the Netherlands and French representatives could make to British Labour if the right of Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese to independence was insisted upon. They could point to our policy in India. Clearly so long as we maintain this policy we can be termed hypocrites if we demand a more generous attitude from Holland and France.

One particular outrage should be stopped without delay. It is infamous that the British should compel Indian troops to wage war against fellow-Asiatics engaged in the struggle for freedom in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Churchill employed Indian troops for the suppression of Greek national movement. This same shameful tactics is being followed in Asia with redoubled force by the Labour Premier Mr. Clement Attlee. Not only India, but the whole of Asia considers this act of the Imperial Labour Government as an outrage on the self-respect of Asiatic peoples.

An American Review of India's Coming Elections

Mrs. Frances Gunther, the foreign correspondent of the *London News Chronicle*, has travelled widely in India and talked with the principal personalities in this country. A very interesting review by her on India's coming elections has been broadcast by the *World Over Press*. We give below relevant portions which will show how intelligent Americans view the present Indian constitution. She writes :

Viceroy Wavell stated that it would not be possible "to undertake any major alteration of the franchise system because this would delay matters for at least two years." What are the intricacies of a franchise system that would require two years of the post-atomic era merely to alter? It is an English, not an Indian system, embodied in a British Act of Parliament, imposed on India in 1935. It multiplies a millionfold the problem of converting Viceregal India into a democracy.

Recently, U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes protested against the Bulgarian one-party voting system as undemocratic dictatorship. Mr. Byrnes, when he has time, might glance at the Indian system. It has no fewer than 17 separate voting categories. These are based not on normal political lines but on religious separatism, "statutory segregation of voters by religious sects," and on sub-divisions of sex and fascist-corporative groups. The essence of democracy is the agreed rule of the majority. But in India, the majority vote can be and is nullified by minority dissent : and both majority and minority votes can be and are overridden and voided by Viceregal decree. British rule has required either total Indian agreement—and who ever heard of 390 million people, or 390 people, or 3 people, totally agreeing?—or continued British rule. Compared to the Bulgarian one-party system, the Indian 17-party system is not more democratic, but only more complicated. It does not yield more freedom, only more headaches.

Analysing the voting system in India, Mrs. Gunther writes :

Nobody in India can vote as a normal citizen of Britain or the U.S. votes. Indians, by English-made law, must vote by religion, by sex, or by corporative position. A Hindu is allowed to vote only for another Hindu, a Moslem only for another Moslem. There are enforced suffrage separations not

only between Hindu Indians and Moslem Indians, but also between them and Sikh Indians and Christian Indians.

Person born of mixed Anglo-Indian parentage, with or without benefit of clergy, may vote only for persons born of similar sex aberrations.

Only 14 per cent of the 390 million population is permitted to vote, and these are subject to literacy and property qualifications, necessarily low, since after a century of British administration, only 10 per cent is literate and the average annual wage is three pounds.

To balance this mass vote is the separate representation, resembling the Italian fascist corporative system, of landholders and of persons engaged in commerce, mining, and planting, self-nominated as such. Intellectuals are separated from other classes by "university seats". Labour is kept separate from industry. A colour line is tactfully drawn in separate seats for "Europeans". (The British call themselves such only in the dependencies of the Empire).

Everyone is separated from everyone else, and held together only by the imperial-constitutional trusteeship of the English Crown. The lists of voters in each category are theoretically computed by political mathematics in proportion to population, by an English decision: "the Communal Award". But in practice, due to political pressures, there are slidings and "weightages"—*e.g.*, Moslem Indians.

The writer then gives reasons for Lord Wavell's unwillingness to effect an immediate revision of the electoral rolls in the following words:

Lord Wavell has promised revision of these rolls, last used in 1936. These rolls change with populations, residences, professions, and even religions. A farmer may become a labourer, a labourer an industrialist, an industrialist a landholder, a landholder may become broke and return to a Backward Area. Hindus may marry Moslems, and both become Christians. All this means a continual revision of the electoral rolls, which often become elements of discord with right or wrong people left in or out of the right or wrong roll.

Small wonder Lord Wavell said that any major alteration in this voting system would take two years! It wouldn't take two years to scrap the whole hocus-pocus and enact a law that all literate Indian citizens over 21 could vote for any others regardless of race, religion, sex or job. *That could be done in two hours. But it might mean the end of English rule. So those two hours are being put off.* This doesn't strengthen the position of England or the Empire, but weakens it. Such a voting system would drive any other country totally nuts. The high Indian survival rate of political sanity is due to the unusual stability and stamina of leaders like the Hindus, Gandhi and Nehru, and the Moslem Congress President, Maulana Azad.

Finally Mrs. Gunther points out that despite all handicaps, Congress won the 1937 elections, but in the past decade tacit British approval has expanded Jinnah and his Muslim League to proportions "unexpected even by the British." As dictator of the Muslim League, demanding breaking of India and secession of a separate Moslem Pakistan State, "Jinnah was convenient to British control in India throughout the war." But for post-war economic development, Britain needs all-India co-operation.

Summing up Jinnah's role, Mrs. Gunther writes:

Wavell inherited, did not create, the Jinnah jinx. What to do with a puppet that breaks away from his strings is not often an imperial problem. There is always the rest cure of jail. *But it is signi-*

ficant that the head of the Moslem League has never been imprisoned. Nehru and others have spent decades in prison for advocating democracy and unity without violence in India. Jinnah shouts for secession, boldly threatens bloody civil war and global Moslem uprising—and goes scot-free, is awarded worldwide publicity. Why? One reason may be the well-known oil of the Middle East, to which so many strange new roads seem to lead these days. The coddling of Jinnah may be intended as a mollification and recording of the Moslem Arabs of the Middle East, and as a counterbalancing pressure on U.S. oil interest also paying court there. Whether the Arabs are taken in by this game remains to be seen; it can hardly fail to flatter and amuse them. But it does not amuse Indian progress in self-government.

Mrs. Gunther says that the Jinnah pay-off must come soon. We agree. The sooner it comes the better not only for India but for Indo-British relations as well.

Puckle on Britain's Duty to India

Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs in the British Embassy in Washington, has hinted at a plan for dividing India at a forum dinner at New York which had for its central topic "The Outlook for India." Congressman Emmanuel Celler and Sirdar J. J. Singh were among those who attended and participated. Sir Frederick said:

India's needs are not different from the needs of other peoples—peace, prosperity and good government.

There are things which, everyone agrees, have to be done in India: mobilisation of the people's small savings to finance industry, the system of land tenure, modern attitude to animal husbandry, emancipation and education of women and the removal of untouchability are some of them.

Most people believe that they can be tackled only by Indians. We have to start first with getting self-government going. This may take some time. No comparable task of constitution-making in this country, Canada, Australia or South Africa has been easy or short. Must we, therefore, put aside indefinitely any attempt to tackle the economic problem? I think not. There is much spade-work that could be done even under the present constitution by a suitable 'caretaker' Government. We ought to persevere trying to find such a Government.

By hypothesis the Government would have popular support and might be able to go a long way towards laying the foundation for the needed economic and social reform.

Sir Frederick Puckle expressed the belief that if representatives of British India could evolve a scheme for the union of India, there would be comparatively little difficulty in fitting the Indian states into the picture. He added, "The conflict between Hindus and Muslims is a fundamental economic conflict—struggle for power. The trouble is that in India no rules have been yet laid down to which both parties will agree. This is a formidable task which lies before a constituent assembly. One of the two decisions must come out of it—a plan of India under a Hindu majority or the plan of a divided India. To get a union between Hindus and Muslims the majority will obviously have to sacrifice a good deal. Obviously, they cannot get both a union and Hindu domination. They have got to decide which means most to them.

Minorities will agree to a union only if they can feel secure within it. Whatever the deci-

sion may be, the British Government is pledged to accept it and implement it forthwith. What the Indians are invited to do is to decide not so much what they want, but what they can agree upon.'

The real motive for inspiring such separatist tendencies is now crystal clear. We may content ourselves by quoting a significant comment made by Terence MacSwiney in his memorable book *Principles of Freedom*. A martyr to the cause of Irish freedom, MacSwiney observed the introduction of the British policy of divide and rule into Ireland and wrote :

In Ireland there is no religious dissension, but there is religious sincerity. English politicians, to serve the end of dividing Ireland, have worked on the religious feelings of the North, suggesting the danger of Catholic ascendancy. There is not now, and there never was, any such danger, but our enemies, by raising the cry, sowed discord in the North, with the aim of destroying Irish unity. It should be borne in mind that when the Republican standard was first raised in the field in Ireland, in the rising of 1793, Catholics and Protestants in the North were united in the cause. Belfast was the first home of Republicanism in Ireland. This is the truth of the matter. The present-day cleavage is an unnatural thing created by Ireland's enemies to hold her in subjection and will disappear entirely with political freedom.

Rowlands Committee Report and After

If any proof was needed to show the complete futility of Provincial Autonomy, the way in which the administrative machinery is being organised and expanded behind the back of the Legislature and the Ministry by Mr. Casey's Government is an un rebuttable proof of it.

The Bengal Administration, which has played ducks and drakes with the country and proved its utter inefficiency, is moving headlong in its own peculiar way to increase the strength of the futile busy-bodies known as public servants in this country. Any increase in their number means an addition of pay, pension and other emoluments to the already intolerable burden of the taxpayer. The Bengal famine was the greatest unmistakable proof of the complete incompetence of the system of administration that has been run for over a century in this country. In that system the officials live in a ceaseless circle of fatuous procedure regardless of the problems of the people. The chronic poverty of the people, the widespread existence of disease, the complete lack of any system of national re-construction, the slow and antiquated educational system, the economic stagnation, the lack of sense of security, justice and fairplay among the citizens, the complete lack of a reputation for efficiency of its officials are absolute and undesirable proofs of the worthlessness and incompetence of the administrative machinery foisted on us by an alien power. This stagnating condition has been accentuated for the last three or four decades by groups of British officials guiding ignorant Governors and setting up an incompetent Ministry by all sorts of political and administrative devices. The prime object of the Indian Administrative system has been to stem the growth of integrated nationalism and to maintain the Imperialist stranglehold on this country.

The Reports so far written by the officials themselves to paint their glory had shown to all outside the country the excellence of that administration. In the

Rowlands Committee Report, however, there has been a departure. It admits many of the defects of the system which the people have so long persistently pointed out. Nevertheless, it could not rise above the spirit which permeates the "Services" and finally suggested very clever security measures for their safeguard. The people alone know, at a tremendous cost in blood and money, the real tragic truth. The Bengal famine has been a visual demonstration of the cumulative effect of that inefficiency and incompetence of a system which has been manned by the highest paid services of the world in the poorest of all countries. Salaries had been fixed at fabulously high levels to check corruption among British officials. How it has worked should now be the subject-matter of an impartial enquiry.

If one analyses and scans the official expansion during the last 20 years and checks that up against the economic and moral deterioration and degradation of the people of the country, one will have an amazing picture. Official expansion had been pushed further during the war that has just come to an end. Since 1939, people have found Directors-General, Controllers-General, Commissioners, etc., in plenty; their Deputies, Assistants, Deputy Assistants *ad nauseam*; Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, First Additional Secretaries, Additional Additional Secretaries, etc., *ad infinitum*, with their whole hierarchy and official paraphernalia. With the increase in officials have come the increase in the demand for accommodation, its upkeep, its outfit, and to crown all an unending demand for taxes to provide for the huge show. The Director-General of Food maintained his office and hierarchy in tiptop condition when millions died for a morsel of food. The Textile Commissioner continues to argue when the people move about almost naked. Auditors-General and Accountants-General paraded about when public money in crores and lakhs could be stolen and wasted.

With such experiences on record, the Rowlands Committee have recommended further increase in the number of officials and the Government of Bengal have zealously seized upon this suggestion. They failed to see, or could not muster courage to admit that it was the spirit and not the number of members that was the crux of the problem. It is the spirit of devoted service to the cause of the people of the country that is really wanting. Such glaring omissions only confirm the popular belief that a non-national state can never inspire the people nor develop their faculties. The ruling corporation or the ruling group is only interested in overlordship. The sufferings of the people and their problem have only a sort of Platonic interest for them. They can never inspire a people with moral enthusiasm which alone can break through the stagnation, the frustration that lie so deep, the I.C.S. or their Indian shadows cannot develop the dynamics which alone can bring new life. There is no cohesion between the machine and the people. The machine develops official automatism and solves no problem, nor ever can.

Implementing the Rowlands Committee Report

Rowlands Committee recommended abolition of the posts of Divisional Commissioners. The ruling corporation dislikes this idea and has taken no action on it. The Committee recommends more members for the Board of Revenue, more addition to senior posts and

better emoluments for them. The ruling group is pleased and immediately acts upon it. Like the swan, they sip the milk and throw out the water.

The Committee recommends splitting up of some districts. The ruling group sees in it more appointments—more District Magistrates, and Collectors, Additional Collectors, District Judges, Superintendents of Police with their Additionals. This recommendation is approved and preparations for giving effect to it has already begun. The plea for the division of districts is that it would ensure better supervision of the people. But are the people of Bankura better looked after, more progressive, sounder in economic condition and healthier and better educated than the people of Tamluk or Contai in the district of Midnapore? Is it not a fact that Bankura is one of the smallest of districts with a full contingent of heads—Magistrate and Collector, Superintendent of Police, District Judge, etc.? Is it not a district of chronic famines with an increasing death-rate, poor education and with no irrigation? Has a single problem of this small district been solved during the last fifty years? Instances can be multiplied but we refrain for the moment.

Mr. Casey seems to have made up his mind. He has declared that "too much is expected of too few." He is determined to make this "few" many. It is useless to argue. A wider knowledge, a deeper sympathy and an ardent nationalism would have helped him to see rightly, but where these are lacking it is futile to argue. The world will judge.

Rehabilitation in Bengal

The Additional Commissioner of Civil Supplies in Bengal, a British officer of the I.C.S., has assured the people of the province through a Press Conference that the Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitation had been maintaining a *continuous watch* on the situation in close *liaison* with the Civil Supply, Agriculture and Health Departments. Both the Director and the Deputy Director had toured the affected areas and comprehensive measures of relief had been planned in consultation with the local officers to be put into effect as soon as signs of distress appeared in any locality. The Executive staff in the districts had been *strengthened by the appointment of a number of special Relief Officers* and jeeps were arranged for facility of touring. Any non-official organisation which wanted to take up relief work and sought Government assistance for the purpose was asked to apply to the District Officer in the mofussil and the Relief Co-ordination Officer in Calcutta.

The Relief measures which were ready for instant implementation comprised financing of drainage and irrigation projects, road construction and excavation of *artificial tanks* to provide work for the able-bodied; the opening of shops for the sale of foodgrains at cheap rates; the free distribution of foodgrains and cash to those who could neither work nor had the means to pay; grant of agricultural loans, etc.

Three years after the enforcement of the denial policy and two years after the devastations of the famine, an Additional Commissioner of Civil Supplies, a Director and a Deputy Director of Rehabilitation have nothing but assurance for a people whose means of livelihood had been snatched away at a moment's notice, who were evicted from their ancestral homes at a few hours' notice and who have become homeless destitutes, solely due to the inefficiency and incom-

petence of a government for whose upkeep they have paid taxes for generations. When it was a question of Imperial need, the "services" acted with lightning speed to snatch away boats which were the sole means of income for the fishermen and the boatmen and to turn out cultivators from their ancestral villages. The compensation that was given and that actually reached these unfortunate people hardly sufficed to meet the expenses of a month or two. Now, when the question of making some amends to the grave injustice done to these people comes, these very officials have failed to do anything during the last three years. They now come forward with a declaration that they are *watching* the situation. People believe that something will be done now in the interest of the Imperial Government, but there is grave doubt whether this will mean any relief to the really needy Bengali villager. Rehabilitation now is believed to mean resettlement and relief of demobilised personnel alone and it is to be seen how many of the suffering sons of the soil find place in such schemes.

Rehabilitation in Bengal during these years have meant at least one thing. It has rehabilitated bloated officialdom. Society and its problems have been left alone. Can it be shown that a single rehabilitation scheme has survived the show outside the Appendix of the Report of the Department concerned? Has a single scheme taken root in the soil of the land? Public money has been squandered in large amounts only to keep up this show of rehabilitation. One could suggest that the funds available could be funded to be drawn upon when a machinery, efficient, honest and nationally minded could be evolved to function with a national purpose inspired by a national idealism. Every expenditure till then is sheer waste.

Future of Western Civilisation

In an article under the above caption, Prof. C. E. M. Joad analyses the Western civilisation. According to him its distinctive feature is the "disparity between our powers and our wisdom." Prof. Joad writes:

In the nineteenth century the English believed in a law of progress. Each generation was to rise upon the shoulders of its predecessors to even greater heights of knowledge, beauty, culture, goodness, wealth and comfort—especially of wealth and comfort. We who have lived through two wars feel less confident. Our own substitute, I suspect for the Victorian law of progress would be the theory of civilisations' recurrent rise and fall, described in Spengler's *Decline of the West*. Civilizations, says Spengler, run in cycles. Like the individual of whom they are composed they pass through their inevitable phases; they are young, come to maturity, grow old and fall to pieces. Spengler distinguishes eight civilizations—or rather, cultures, as he calls them—in the history of mankind, each of which has passed through a roughly parallel course. Sir Flinders Petrie, digging in the sands of Egypt and the Near East has recorded the finding of the ruins of no less than seven different cultures, each of which reached a high stage of civilization and then apparently decayed. Reflecting upon Spengler's theory and the archaeological discoveries that seem so convincingly to illustrate it, one is tempted to wonder whether there may not be some fundamental flaw in human nature which, while permitting man to raise his life to a certain level, forbids him to maintain it at the level reached for more than a certain time. When its appointed span has run, the civilization, it seems,

declines. Suppose for a moment that there is such a law. Why should we suppose that our own Western civilization is immune from its operations? What is there so particularly wise and virtuous about us, that we should succeed when so many have failed?

The flaw about which Prof. Joad is uncertain is plain enough to our eyes. It is the urge in all power-conscious peoples to impose upon the weaker and the more peaceful inhabitants of this earth and to force them into a state of passive inertia while their life-blood is being drained away for the benefit of their rulers. In short the germ of decay that has affected all civilizations of the past is imperialism, a variety of parasitism, and Western civilization is also infected by the same dread disease.

Distinctive Features of Western Civilisation

Prof. Joad continues :

What is the distinctive feature of Western civilization? It is the disparity between our powers and our wisdom. The architect of our civilization is science—science which has explored the world of physical nature, tapped its powers, and harnessed them to man's service. But while science has given us powers fit for the gods, we bring to their use the mentality of savages and schoolboys.

Look, for example, at that aeroplane humming across the summer sky; the knowledge of mathematics, of dynamics and mechanics, of electricity and internal combustion, the ingenuity in the application of that knowledge, the skill in the working of woods and metals that have gone to its making are such as to suggest that its inventors were supermen. The intrepidity, resolution, and courage which were shown by the early flying men were the qualities of heroes.

Now consider the purposes for which the modern aeroplane has been in the past, and seems all too likely in the future again to be used, to drop bombs that shatter and choke, burn and poison and dismember defenceless people, so that, as an English novelist has put it, "modern war has become a running away with one's small children and a not being able to run fast enough." These, one feels, are the purposes of idiots or devils. While the superman made the aeroplane, the ape in man has got hold of it.

This contrast, the contrast between the miracle of our powers and the imbecility of the uses to which we put them, seems to me to run right through our civilization. Just think of the things that science can enable us to do. We can talk across continents and oceans, telegraph pictures, instal television sets in the home, listen in Delhi to Big Ben striking in London, ride above and beneath the earth and the sea. Children can talk along wires, typewriters are silent, teethfilling is painless, liners have swimming baths, crops are ripened by electricity, roads are made of rubber, X-rays are the windows through which we behold our insides, photographs speak and sing, murderers are tracked down by wireless, hair is waved by electric current, submarines go to the North Pole, aeroplanes to the South . . . Yet, we cannot in England in the midst of our enormous cities provide a little space where poor children may play in comfort and safety, with the result that we kill them with our cars at the rate of 4,000 and mutilate them at the rate of 200,000 a year (these are peace-time figures).

Lessons of the Indian Civilisation

Summing up Prof. Joad brings out in bold relief the contrast between Western and Indian civilisation. He writes :

To sum up the situation, while in power we have outstripped all our predecessors, in wisdom we have stood still. We have achieved an unprecedented mastery of the means to the good life, but in knowledge of how to live we have not passed beyond the level reached by the ancient Greeks.

This, the peculiar predicament of Western Civilization, was forcibly brought home to me by an Indian Philosopher who happened to be my neighbour, just before the war, at a public luncheon. In the morning's paper there had been reported some new marvel of our technical skill. Somebody had succeeded in flying from Moscow to New York in 24 hours—or was it 24 days?—anyway, he had flown very fast, or somebody had succeeded in driving a motor along the sands of Pendine in South Wales rather faster than somebody else. And making conversation conveniently, as one does at public luncheons, I commented on the feat to my companion. "What a wonderful performance," I remember saying to him. "Yes," he replied, "it is wonderful. In fact yours is a wonderful civilization. *You can fly in the air like birds and swim in the sea like fishes, but how to walk upon the earth you do not yet know.*"

Let us apply these generalizations to our present predicament. The moral is surely obvious enough. Give a schoolboy an airgun and he may break a few windows or shoot a sparrow or two, but that is the extent of the damage; give him a modern Tommy Gun and you turn him into a public menace. One does not, after all give the baby a box of matches, or a modern Government the atomic bomb. Yet this precisely is what science has done to our generation, with the result that we are within measurable distance of destroying ourselves through sheer inability to control the powers which it has placed at our disposal. It is not, therefore, necessary to show that mankind is worse than it has been in the past, to realise the danger in which we stand. It is sufficient to point to our need to be very much better; better, because we are so very much more powerful, all of which means in effect that if our civilization is to continue we must eliminate war.

An Administrator on Indian Civilisation

The fundamental truth of Indian civilisation is that it is a code of life. It permeates through the very existence of every person born in India. We give below an extract from a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas Munro, who had distinguished himself as an administrator, had worked for twenty-seven years in India from 1780 to 1807 and finally rose to be the Governor of Madras. He mixed with the people and observed their ways of life. Till then India was free from the impact of Western civilisation. Munro wrote :

If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience of luxury; schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospitality and charity amongst each other; and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people, then Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe; and if civilisation is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am

convinced that this country (England) will gain by the import cargo.

P. E. N. Secretary on Indian Demonstrations

People outside, especially in England, need to be better informed about the Indian situation—with these words Mr. Hermann Ould, International Secretary of the P.E.N., in an interview to the *Associated Press of India* summed up his impressions of six weeks' stay in India. Asked what his impressions of the political feeling of Indian people were, Mr. Ould said :

Now you don't expect me to commit myself after six weeks in your country, do you? I am not that sort of fool. But I do not mind saying one or two things.

I have had opportunities of meeting Indians of all kinds and opinions—Muslims, Hindus, and free-thinkers, Congressmen and Leaguers, Communists and Liberals, and I must confess that they all had one thing—and often only one thing—in common; they longed for Indian independence. Some of them thought it should come within a matter of months, others thought years, ten, fifteen.

Mr. Ould frankly said that people in England generally got the impression that the whole country of India was seething with demonstrations and excited against the British. But he was happy to find on direct knowledge that it was not so. *Indians, certainly, felt strongly for and desired intensely political freedom, but they were not unruly.*

Referring to what he had read the other day in papers that feeling in India was growing more intense and that hatred of Britain and Britons was in the very air and so on, Mr. Ould said : "This seems to me dangerous nonsense. I have heard plenty of criticism, bitter criticism, of British policy; I have heard attacks on civil servants in India—not only English but Indian—but I have yet to hear the expression of hatred of English people as such."

The meaning of *Quit India* has been grossly distorted by some Anglo-Indian newspapers in this country who pretend to preach balance. By *Quit India* the people of India desire to express the feeling that political domination in this country by Britain should end. It is not an ultimatum to the British people as such to leave India with bags and baggage. The demand for an immediate transfer of power is embodied in these two words. The real meaning of *Quit India* has been misunderstood to a certain extent through interested propaganda; but Mr. Ould's statement shows that it has not been lost.

Sanskrit Education in India

When Macaulay's catastrophic experiments of trying to convert us into cultural parasites of the West was inaugurated we would have lost our national soul completely but for the fact that Sanskrit culture was deep-rooted in our hearts, tradition and life. A hundred years of such attempts to make us lose our soul has not been successful"—thus observed Mr. K. M. Munshi inaugurating the All-India Sanskrit Literary Conference at Agra.

Mr. Munshi said :

The study of Sanskrit has fallen on evil days. The old time pathshala education is out of date, unprogressive and uncritical. The Pathshala student acquires faith in form and rituals. He has not the

larger faith in the fundamentals of Culture which Sanskrit has given him. It is of the highest importance that all institutions should be knit together under a Federal Council of Sanskrit education, and the courses should be modified and brought up-to-date and the titles and degrees should have the stamp of central authority. This would involve a few leading institutions in the country combining to produce an All-India Organisation. Institutions like the oriental colleges at Lahore and Benares, the Sanskrit Association of Calcutta, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay, the Sanskrit Academy of Madras and the Sanskrit College of Tirupati, in my opinion, should all combine to produce an All-India Sanskrit Academy, which would regulate the Sanskrit studies. In this way alone you will be able to give to India an All-India University of Sanskrit.

Sanskrit education as at present imported in our universities is inadequate and mechanical. Sanskrit education should be rescued from the present mechanical mode of instruction. Most of the Indian languages owe their present richness and strength to Sanskrit. Each of these languages has a growing literature and powerful literary institutions. We have Sahitya Parishads in almost all languages of India. Mr. Munshi suggests that there should be clear contact between these institutions and a keener realisation of the fact that literary evolution in the country has a uniform shape and direction and only expresses the great cultural renaissance produced by the contact of Sanskrit beauty and expressiveness with Western diversity and freedom.

If India is a nation today it is because we have enjoyed a unity of cultural life. If we have a national culture today, it is because Sanskrit and all that it stands for has through ages shaped the life of millions and created languages and outlook which make us feel one. Our Epics and the Puranas, which form the very foundation of our cultural and ethical life, are in Sanskrit. We have a national consciousness because Indian leaders of modern times have sought to express the fundamental unity of culture through the modes of modern life.

Teaching by Broadcasts

A proposal for an International University from which lectures could be broadcast to students in their homes all over the world, says a *News Chronicle* reporter, is to be discussed at the United Nations Education Conference in London. It is the idea of Professor Mikolaj Olekiewicz, teacher of Mathematical Statistics at the newly founded University of Lublin and one of the Polish delegates to the conference.

Professor Olekiewicz told the reporter that an International University would provide a practical answer to many problems in Europe where text-books had been burnt, schools destroyed and teachers murdered. Explaining his main ideas, he said, "My concept of the Faculty is this—prominent men of science, art and letters will be appointed from all countries of the United Nations. These men could deliver their lecture in their own studies merely by hooking up to the University's network. There would be no resident students. Young men and women all over the world could listen in their homes and at the same time enrol in correspondence courses conducted by the University. Once or twice yearly, students of the University should be given an opportunity of meeting other students—it would be fairly easy to arrange that."

Professor Olekiewicz's proposal is most welcome. It be highly profitable for those students, who for some reason or other, cannot go abroad for higher studies. It would also enable students returned from abroad to remain in close touch with the greatest teachers of the world.

Government and Scientific Research

On November 17, 1944, President Roosevelt asked in the U.S.A. Dr. Vannever Bush, Director of the office of Scientific Research and Development to make recommendations on four points: (1) what could be done to make known to the world the scientific contributions of war time, (2) what could be done to continue the programme with particular reference to the war of science against disease, (3) what could the Federal Government do in the future to aid research activities of public and private organisations, and (4) could an effective programme be developed for discovering scientific talent in the American youth?

Roosevelt did not live to receive the report, Truman received it in July, 1945. Dr. Bush's Report is entitled *Science: The Endless Frontier*. At the very outset Dr. Bush contends that "Science is a proper concern of Government" and that "freedom of inquiry must be preserved." He observes, "We have no national policy for science. There is nobody within the government charged with formulating or executing a national science policy." Then he says:

The publicly and privately supported colleges, universities, and research institutions are the centres of basic research. They are the wellsprings of knowledge and understanding. As long as they are vigorous and healthy and their scientists agree to pursue the truth wherever it may lead, there will be a flow of new scientific knowledge to those who can apply it to practical problems in government, in industry, or elsewhere.

Scientific progress on a broad front results from the free play of free intellects, working on subjects of their own choice, in the manner dictated by their curiosity for exploration of the unknown.

Dr. Bush, in his Report, presented five fundamentals by which freedom of inquiry should be preserved under any plan for government support of science. They are:

(1) Whatever the extent of support may be, there must be stability of funds over a period of years so that long-range programmes may be undertaken.

(2) The agency to administer such funds should be composed of citizens selected only on the basis of their interest in and capacity to promote the work of the agency. They should be persons of broad interest in and understanding of the peculiarities of scientific research and education.

(3) The agency should promote research through contracts or grants to organizations outside the federal government. It should not operate its own laboratories.

(4) Support of basic research in the public and private colleges, universities, and research institutes must leave the internal control of policy, personnel, and the method and scope of the research to the institutions themselves. This is of the utmost importance.

(5) While assuring complete independence and freedom for the nature, scope, and methodology of research carried on in the institutions receiving public funds, and while retaining discretion in the allo-

cation of funds among such institutions, the Foundation proposed herein must be responsible to the President and the Congress. Only through such responsibility can we maintain the proper relationship between science and other aspects of a democratic system. The usual controls of audits, reports, budgeting and the like should, of course, apply to the administrative and fiscal operations of the Foundation, subject, however, to such adjustments in procedure as are necessary to meet the special requirements of research.

Basic research is a long-term process—it ceases to be basic if immediate results are expected on short-term support.

America is going to make up for this deficiency of a national policy of science. A bill closely following Dr. Bush's recommendations, has been introduced in the American Legislature. This bill, commonly known as the Kilgore Bill, would create a National Science Foundation which would survey and study all government financed research. The Foundation would be authorised to promote any research that is in the national interest. The Bill provides that at least fifty per cent of the Foundation's Funds be spent through contracts with non-profit educational and research institutions. The Foundation would be directed to make available to the public full data on all significant findings, but a proposed defence committee should be authorised to classify as secret any information which the President might certify as being essential in the interest of national defence.

In India, scientific research has always been neglected. At the outbreak of the war, the Government of India were kind enough to grant a sum of rupees five lakhs per annum for the creation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. We are yet to know the activities of this body beyond some small help it rendered to the Government's war effort. At the silver jubilee celebrations of the Royal Institute of Science, Bombay, Sir John Colville, the Provincial Governor, said that many of the scientific inventions were made possible not due to the financial help and support from Government alone but also due to large donations by public benefactors and philanthropists. This might be true for Western countries, but in India both are absent. In the United States, apart from Government expenditure on research, American industries were spending in 1940 nearly 300 million dollars which amount was later increased to 700 million dollars in 1944. American Universities in large numbers offer to do industrial research at cost in fields for which they are equipped. In our country, inquiries into the possibilities of scientific research have been made, British experts have been imported to investigate, and finally reports have been submitted by Prof. Hill. But all these seem to have reached their final destination in the pigeon-holes of the Imperial Secretariat.

Indian Enterprise and Foreign Capital

The question of investment of foreign capital remains an important subject of discussion inside and outside the Legislature. Recently the subject came under fire in the Central Legislature. It has now been examined by the National Planning Committee. The discussion in the National Planning Committee is of great importance because any decision arrived at by this body is bound to have a profound influence on the economic conditions of the country when a National

Government is formed. The resolution passed by the Committee after detailed examination of the subject is as follows :

The investment of foreign capital in Indian agricultural, mineral and industrial concerns, since the establishment of British rule, has resulted in the acquisition by foreign interests of a measure of control over India's economic and political life which has both warped and retarded national development.

It is important that the investment of foreign capital in Indian enterprises should not ordinarily be permitted hereafter in a form which could entitle it to ownership and management in respect of industries of national importance.

In particular, in the case of key industries, involving the use of secret processes which would not otherwise be available to the country, foreign participation in ownership and management may be permitted ; such participation should be subject to the approval of the State which will lay down the conditions and limitations which would safeguard adequately Indian national interests.

It is possible, in view of India's vast capital requirements in the coming years, that she may need capital from other countries. It is not, however, in her interest to accept it, if it is required for essential industries, except in the shape of loans or credits raised by or through the State.

India's credit in the world market is sufficiently high to justify the expectation that she will be able to secure enough capital assistance in this form and for her to insist as a matter of national policy that foreign capital should be admitted only on these terms for essential industries.

That foreign investment in India has an important bearing on the future economic and political development of the country is well understood. That the question is urgent is also admitted. The framers of the Government of India Act 1935, foresaw this and inserted a number of sections in the constitution itself for safeguarding the vested interests of these companies. The activities of such companies in India, their unfair competition in particular, had roused public opinion against them and for a number of years the people have put up a persistent demand for their total removal. The resolution of the National Planning Committee, however, is clear and realistic. They admit the need for foreign capital but at the same time it has been made quite clear that no sort of power should follow the capital. Foreign capital is desired, but it must be understood that such capital is supplied against India's credit in the world market. The nation supplying the money should, under no circumstances, claim any control over the application of that capital in India. That part of the business must be left to the Indian National Government and Indian enterprisers.

The Committee has divided industries into three categories, namely, essential industries, industries of national importance and key industries. According to it, it is not in India's interest to accept foreign capital if it is required for essential industries except in the form of loans or credits raised by or through the State ; in respect of industries of national importance, the investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted which would entitle it to ownership and management ; and in case of key industries foreign participation and management may be permitted only in the case of those industries which involve the use of secret processes otherwise not available to the

country and that also subject to the approval of the State and on such terms and under such limitations as the State may lay down.

The present provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 relating to the safeguard of non-Indian companies in this country have also been discussed by the Planning Committee. The relevant portions of the resolution are given below :

In order to enable India to plan her economic development on lines that would ensure and promote the best interests of the country, the special statutory safeguards provided in the Government of India Act 1935, in respect of non-Indian concerns should forthwith be repealed.

It is essential that foreign interests which now exercise a predominant control over certain vital industries in India, particularly those involving the utilisation of the State, be brought over on payment of reasonable compensation.

Foreign interests now exercising a predominant control over certain vital industries in India should be acquired by the State on payment of reasonable compensation. Where such interests are held by companies with sterling capital, the payment of compensation should be effected by means of the sterling balances.

The Government of India Act has extended to British industries in India (India Limiteds) which were counterparts of foreign concerns, the same degree of protection as to a nascent Indian industry. The eleven clauses in the body of the Act have been a source of continuous menace to Indian industrialisation. In the Central Assembly debate, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, the well-known Bombay business magnate, urged that all these eleven clauses be treated as dead for the purposes of the country's economic development plan. The only group in the Legislature to whom this suggestion was not acceptable was the European group. The clear and unequivocal opinion expressed by the National Planning Committee on the subject will prove invaluable at the time of the drafting of the future constitution of India.

Jinnah Getting Subsidy for Pakistan?

The Bengali daily *Navajuga* of Calcutta, conducted by progressive Muslims, gives the following information on the strength of a news published by a Urdu newspaper *Hakikat*. It writes that Mr. Jinnah is receiving a sum of six lakhs of rupees annually from the Government of India through the State of Hyderabad. This news was circulated by Master Tara Singh who claimed to produce evidence in support of his assertion from the records of the Income-tax department. He said that Mr. Jinnah was asked to explain the increase on his normal income by twenty lakhs of rupees. Mr. Jinnah in reply informed that this extra income has come from native States. The Urdu *Hakikat* should have prosecuted Master Tara Singh if his statement had been false. But it kept silent.

The Urdu newspaper *Amari* of Delhi has also published the same news item and added that Mr. Jinnah was getting money not only from the Hyderabad State but from some other native State as well for the propagation of the Pakistan bogey in order to place obstacles on the way of India's fight for freedom.

This news has been published on Nov. 10. We wait for a reply.

BRITAIN'S NEW PLEDGE FOR SPEEDY SELF-RULE IN INDIA AND THE TREND OF WORLD POLITICS

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS,

Special Lecturer on Oriental History and World Politics, College of the City of New York

THERE must be many Indian politicians and nationalists who are skeptical of the new declaration of the British Labour Government and the radio broadcast by Lord Wavell to the effect that the British Government is most anxious to bring about "early realization of full self-government in India." This skepticism may arise from the existing distrust of Britain and also because of the trend of post-war settlements in Asia. Furthermore, some of the Indian politicians and Congress leaders in the past had only one policy—pursuing Russian policy with the native idea that Soviet Russia will aid India to be free and independent of British imperialism. Lest I be misunderstood, I must say that in the past the policy of the British Government in India has been such as to inspire distrust from Indians. The present trend in the solutions of the problems for the freedom of the subjugated peoples of Asia is not bright. For instance, instead of according freedom to the Korean people, the country has been partitioned,—Russia occupying the industrial half of the west and the United States occupying the other half and using the Japanese officials to carry on the government of the land. We know Russia has virtually secured military control over Manchuria and particularly of Port Arthur. Britain to counter-balance the situation has re-established herself not only in Hongkong, but also policing Indo-China for France so that the Indo-Chinese people may not demand and assert their freedom. It is also reported that Britain is interested in securing a part of Siamese territory. Of course, there is no reason to think that Britain is going to give up Malaya nor do the Dutch wish to relinquish their hold over Dutch East-Indies. There is no reason to believe that the status of Burma will be similar to a Dominion, in near future. Yet the British Government has made the offer for speedy self-rule for India, because the present international situation demands such a change.

To understand Britain's policy towards India, one must keep in mind the fact that India is the centre of Britain's foreign policies. Britain must not allow her rival powers to use India directly or indirectly against her. Britain must use India's strategic position, manpower, economic power to her advantage against her rivals in world politics. This has been the history of British foreign policy since the days of the East India Company and particularly from the era of the Napoleonic era up to the present time. Without going too far back into the realm of past history, it may be emphasized that during the Crimean War against Russia, during the Congress of Berlin in 1878, during the Anglo-French rivalries of the latter part of the nineteenth century, particularly when France concluded a treaty of alliance with Burma in 1885, during the Boer War, during the rising tide of the Anglo-Russian rivalry at the opening of the twentieth century before the Russo-Japanese War and during the British expedition to Tibet, during the Boxer Uprising in China, during the World War I and the present World War, India has been effectively used to maintain British supremacy in Asia and world politics. The present trend

in the developments in international situation makes it imperative that Britain must have whole-hearted support of India to maintain her position in world politics.

To understand this point one must carefully study recent developments in world politics as partially unveiled at London in connection with the Foreign Ministers' Conference. Anglo-Russian rivalry exists in every front and Britain has support of the United States in many subjects of dispute. Anglo-American powers have the common foreign policy regarding the Balkan countries. Anglo-American Powers are not anxious to see that Russia gets control over one of the Italian colonies in North Africa which may serve as air bases for the Mediterranean, the Near East and even towards the Atlantic. Russian desire to have a port at the Red Sea is a direct challenge to British control of the Indian Ocean which is vital to British influence in India. Russian moves for partitioning Persia is a step towards Russian march towards the Persian Gulf which is dangerous to Indian security, recent moves of Russia in Egypt and the regions of the Near East are to undermine British position in that region. Russian occupation of Kurile Isles is heartily opposed by the United States, although the United States Government has not officially protested against it. Russian occupation of a part of Korea is so much opposed by the American authorities, that they have preferred to use the Japanese in governing Korea, instead of letting Russia march any further into Korea. There were incidents between Russian and American Forces in Korea, at least one B-29 was shot down by the Russians.

It is the considered judgment of the Anglo-American authorities, including such military experts as Marshall Wavell, the present Viceroy of India, that Anglo-American-Indian understanding is essential for preserving their vital interests. I wish to make it clear that the British Government has not a sudden change of heart and developed a sudden love for Indian freedom; but the international situation is such that Britain, nay Anglo-American Powers need Indian co-operation in world politics.

During the World War I, Indian nationalists—revolutionists—made formal alliance with the Central Powers specially Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Turks and established their provisional governments and negotiated loans, etc. During World War I, Indian soldiers, inspired by Indian revolutionists revolted at Singapore and kept Singapore under their control for several days, until the Japanese forces from Japanese cruisers relieved the situation. The growth of the Revolutionary Movement between the first World War and the second World War should be measured by what happened in India and outside of India. The British Government recognizes that there was a serious revolt in India and they had to use machine-guns and bombs from aeroplanes and imprison hundreds of thousands of Indian nationalists. Outside of India, Subhas Chandra Bose established the provisional Government of India,

formed an alliance with Japan and raised an army of more than 50,000 from Indian prisoners of war under the Japanese. Subhas Chandra Bose has been denounced by Indian leaders and others, but the British Government knows that he or his policy had hearty approval of millions of Indians. Lastly, the British authorities are fully aware of the change of circumstances due to the latest developments in air warfare. The British, the Russians and others supplied arms and ammunitions, by air, to the underground forces in Europe to fight the Axis Powers. India became the base of air-borne supplies to China. If Anglo-Russian relations degenerate into Anglo-Russian conflict, which is the opinion of many trained observers in the United States, and if Soviet Russia can induce an important faction of Indian nationalists or revolutionists to side with her, then Anglo-American position in the whole of the Near East and India, even in China, will be seriously menaced. *Thus from the standpoint of practical politics, the Anglo-American Powers want an alliance with India which will whole-heartedly co-operate with them and must not ally with their rivals in the game of world politics. They also understand that this cannot be brought about unless proper concession is made to India's legitimate demands. Thus one may say the changed international situation makes it imperative for Britain to have India as an ally.*

Some Indian politicians who do not know much of world politics and who wish to free India by using "slogans" will oppose any understanding with Britain and they will even suggest fighting Britain with the false hope of Soviet aid to India. Those who have an illusion of Soviet aid to freedom should remember what has happened in Korea and Manchuria, what is happening in Persia and Turkey and also partition of various European countries. Soviet Russian Imperialism is marching on the foot-steps of Tsarist imperialism. Some Indian politicians will suggest that it will be inconsistent to their policy to co-operate with Britain, because they have been non-co-operationists. To them, I wish to remind the teachings of Sukracharya who advised that statesmen should frame their policies regarding international relations to suit the circumstances and only for the benefit of the State, i.e., for the preservation of national interest. He suggested that under peculiar circumstances a weak nation must even concede defeat and surrender to save the existence of the State. (It

seems that the Japanese are following this principle). They should analyse what happened during the World War II, so far as Soviet Russian and Anglo-American diplomacy was concerned. Soviet Russia was in 1939 and 1940 a virtual ally of Germany, so that Germany would not attack Russia, on the contrary, Germany would attack France and Britain. Soviet Russia was also a virtual ally of Japan through a non-aggression pact, which indirectly led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. But we find later Anglo-American-Russian alliance against Germany,—Russia partitioning Germany, so that she will be able to appropriate a large slice of Poland—and later Russian declaration of War against Japan so that she would be able to get control over Manchuria and part of Korea. Soviet Russia to save Baku and Batum from falling into British hands, just after the Revolution formed an alliance with Turkey; but now she suggests that owing to changed condition, she must control the Straits and occupy territories at Caucasus region. In international politics there cannot be any permanent policy, except preservation of interest of the State. Therefore, a nation must change its course in dealing with another nation to suit its own interests. *India's relations with Britain must be based upon foreign policies of India. Either there must be Indo-British alliance or Indo-British conflict. This is fully understood by British statesmen, if it is not understood by Indian leaders. This is evident from a sentence of Lord Wavell's statement :*

• "His Majesty's Government are proceeding to the consideration of the content of a treaty which will require to be concluded between Great Britain and India."

It seems that the British Government is thinking of forming an alliance with India as it did with Egypt. This will be the first step for the Indians to assume their independent status.

If Indian statesmanship is not altogether bankrupt, it should follow the suggestions of the late C. R. Das who even during the first non-co-operation days was the first Indian nationalist statesman to suggest to Lord Reading for an Indo-British alliance on the basis of Indian freedom. Under the changed world conditions, Indian Foreign Policy must be Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese Alliance and an understanding with Britain is the first requisite.

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THE LAST WAVELL PROPOSAL

By DR. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.),
Lecturer in Political Science, Dacca University

BARELY within a period of three months we have had two important declarations of great political import for India from Lord Wavell—the first one made on June 14, 1945 popularly known as the Wavell Plan or Wavell Offer and the second one made on September 19 last. We propose to discuss in this article some of the implications of the second declaration, but we cannot fully understand them except against the background of what are known as the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer of which the present declaration is in the direct line of succession. The Cripps offer of the spring of 1942 had

two parts—one relating to the future form of Government in India and the other relating to the interim arrangement with a view to total mobilisation of India's resources and manpower for an all-out war effort against Japan which had become urgent in view of the critical turn in the war situation in the Eastern theatre at that time. We need not recount here the circumstances in which the negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Indian leaders broke down which are only too well known. We should simply point out that the negotiations failed over the interim arrangement on which

discussion was mainly focussed, although it is not to be understood that there were no objectionable features in the other part. We need not also recount the unfortunate events following the rejection of the Cripps offer—the so-called Congress rebellion, wholesale arrest and imprisonment of Congress leaders and followers, repressive measures, the long spell of political deadlock, corruption and inefficiency of administration followed by a devastating man-made famine on an unprecedented scale, etc. No serious attempt was made to find a way out of the impasse till the last summer when Lord Wavell took the initiative with a view to explore the possibilities of ending the deadlock and went home to discuss, it is said, certain proposals formulated to that intent on the basis of what has come to be known as Desai-Liaquat Ali pact with the members of His Majesty's Government. The outcome of the protracted deliberations and discussions he had with Messrs. Churchill, Amery and other important members of the Cabinet was the first declaration of June last. The main features of the plan announced in that declaration were :—

(a) Institution of a temporary interim government at the centre, a sort of a caretaker government, within the framework of the existing constitutional machinery;

(b) Continuance of the existing overriding authority of the Governor-General under the constitution with an understanding as to its use sparingly;

(c) Transfer to Indian members of all portfolios including Finance, Home, and Foreign Affairs and excepting Defence which was to continue in charge of the Commander-in-Chief;

(d) Composition of the Executive Council on the much criticised principle of communal parity i.e., allocation of equal number of seats in the Executive Council to caste Hindus and Moslems;

(e) Institution of an office of a High Commissioner in Delhi representing the British Government.

The declaration was followed by a conference at Simla of Indian leaders representing the principal political parties in the country, the leaders of parties in the Central Legislature, Prime Ministers of provinces with ministry functioning and ex-Prime Ministers in the Section 93 provinces. It should be noted, however, that the Hindu Mahasabha was not invited to send any representative to the conference. A strong caveat was entered by Mahatma Gandhi against what he thought to be an insidious implication in the Viceroy's declaration to deny the character of the Congress as a national organisation and to represent it as representative of caste Hindus only. On an explanation being offered by the Viceroy the Congress was ultimately persuaded to participate in the conference and despite the obnoxious nature of the parity clause and the retention of the Viceroy's veto signified its readiness to co-operate with the Viceroy in forming the interim government. It is common knowledge, however, that the conference broke down due to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah in insisting on the claim of Muslim League to be the sole representative of the Muslims in India and consequent refusal to accord any of the Muslim seats to any other Muslim organisation. It must be admitted that Lord Wavell adopted a faulty procedure, unless, as it has been suggested in some quarters, it has been forced upon him under pressure from Whitehall or from the bureaucracy here—in conceding the right of veto to any particular group or leader. No conference of heterogeneous groups of diverse

interests can succeed if the dissent of any one element can foil its proceedings. This is exactly what happened in the Simla Conference. There was a general agreement among the invitees to the conference on broad principles of the plan, although there were differences of opinion about details. Controversy centred round the question of nomination to the Executive Council. Failing an agreed list different party leaders were asked to submit separate panels which was done by all except Mr. Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, on the ground stated above. The only sensible course in the circumstances for Lord Wavell and the British Government, if of course they meant business, would have been to go ahead with the co-operation of the other elements forming a great majority of the conference, leaving the door open for the Muslim League to come in subsequently. Such a procedure would in all probability have put an end to the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah through pressure being brought on him by the more sober and moderate sections of his following. The failure to recognise this simple truth has been imputed to the fact that the whole move was an election stunt as there was a curious coincidence in the sudden change in attitude of the Viceroy, perhaps under pressure from above or below or both, and the last day of elections in Britain i.e., July 7. Whatever may be the truth, the fact remains that Mr. Jinnah was allowed to create an insuperable roadblock in the path of the conference and on the 14th of July, i.e., exactly one month after the announcement of his plan Lord Wavell proclaimed the failure of the conference, modestly taking the sole responsibility for the failure on his own shoulders.

There was a veiled reference to a fresh attempt to reopen the talks without any commitment as to the time when that would be done. In the meantime, the results of the elections at home brought a Labour Government in power with a thumping majority. As one of the issues on which the Labour Party fought the elections was India and high-lights of the party like Mr. Bevin and Prof. Laski held out big promises to India, expectations were aroused in some quarters for a fresh move. They were heightened by the departure home of Lord Wavell to hold conversations with the new Cabinet. It was on his return to India that the second declaration was made on the 19th September last. It was no attempt to take up the threads of discussion where they were broken. It simply laid down the procedure to be adopted for a constitutional settlement in future. So far as the ultimate objective and the means by which it was to be attained are concerned, the declaration broke no new ground. Unlike both the Cripps offer and the Wavell offer of June last it did not hold out anything for the immediate present. The steps that it proposed in order to lead India on to full self-government were all to be taken after the elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures. The main points in the declaration are as follows :

(1) After the elections, discussions would be held with the representatives of those elected to the provincial Legislative Assemblies to ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 declaration are acceptable or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable, so that the representatives would not be tied down to a plan formulated in altogether different circumstances.

(2) Discussions would be held with representatives of those elected and also of Indian states "to determine the form which the constitution-making body should

take, its powers and procedure". It may be noted in passing that the language of the declaration is vague as to how the representatives of the states were to be chosen,—whether through popular election or nomination of the autocratic princes. Presumably through the latter procedure. That would introduce complications by bringing together people chosen through two different principles. The objections taken against the composition of the constitution-making body envisaged in the Cripps Plan would apply equally here. The redeeming feature is that the whole question of composition, powers and procedure of the constitution-making body would be discussed *de novo* and determined on the basis of the mandate given by the electorate so far as it can be given under the limitations of a restricted franchise and communal electorates, provided however no veto is given in the hands of the nominees of the princes.

(3) A constitution-making body would be convened as soon as possible after these preliminaries have been gone through. The constitution-making body would have its hands unfettered by the provisions of the Cripps plan or any other private understandings or pacts. It would be open, therefore, to the constitution-making body to abrogate the obnoxious features of the Cripps plan like the procedure of forming the constitution-making body, the non-adherence clause etc. This is a great merit of the present plan.

(4) During the preparatory stages the existing machinery of Government is to continue dealing with, as best as it can, the varied and urgent post-war economic and social problems.

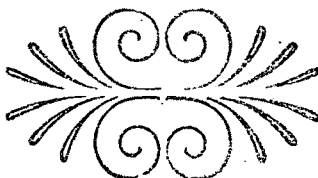
(5) Steps are to be taken, however, soon after the results of the provincial elections are known, to reconstruct the Viceroy's Executive Council from leaders of the different parties which is to be a sort of caretaker Government pending the coming into force of the new constitution. This is almost the same as the Wavell Plan of interim government only constituted after the verdict of the people has been given through the elections and the relative strength of the different parties has been tested.

(6) It envisages a treaty which is under the consideration of His Majesty's Government by means of which the final settlement in the relations of Britain and India is to be effected. It will appear from the above summary that the declaration promises nothing for the immediate future. This is a serious defect of the whole scheme. At the present moment time factor is a vital consideration. The world is moving fast and urgent problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation, as also of external relations confront the country in common with every other country in the world which the present unrepresentative and effete Government of India is hopelessly incompetent to deal with. Even the caretaker government consisting of party leaders envisaged in the plan cannot come into existence earlier than, say, next March and perhaps near about another year has to elapse before the new constitution emerges through all the different stages and actually comes into

force. But this intervening period would perhaps be the most crucial epoch in the history of India and, for the matter of that, of the world. Decisions of immense consequence will have to be taken by the present Government which may injure the permanent interests of the nation and which may not be rectified by the future democratic government of India. It is vitally important therefore that something must be done immediately. From this angle the first Wavell Plan was a move in the right direction, only if it had been carried through to its conclusion with courage and resolution and the present plan must be judged inadequate. It should be pointed out that the constitution-making body envisaged in the present plan also will be foredoomed to failure if the mistake made in July last in giving the right of veto to any particular group be once again repeated.

Lord Wavell stated in his broadcast that His Majesty's Government were determined to go ahead with the task of bringing India to a self-government at the earliest possible date. There was a similar promise in the King's speech at the opening of the present Parliament . . . "My Government," the King observed, "will do their utmost to promote in conjunction with leaders of Indian opinion early realization of full self-government in India." Now if the Labour Government be sincere in their professions they should not like Churchill and Amery make complete agreement among all parties a condition precedent to a settlement with India and transfer of power to Indian hands, that is simply permanently blocking the way to advance. It is only plain common sense that such agreement cannot be expected among people with diversity of interests and outlook.

There is one thing commendable about the declaration and it is this that the Indian representatives, as we have seen above, can begin anew with a clean slate. The Cripps Plan may remain the basis of their discussions, but they would not be bound by its provisions. It would be, therefore, political wisdom for Indian leaders to take up a constructive and helpful attitude and explore the possibilities of the plan for what it is worth. They can expose and discard the obnoxious features of the Cripps scheme and modify it in such a way as to turn it into an instrument for the furtherance of a comprehensive social and economic programme of which the country stands in such urgent need. They can also go beyond the scheme and introduce new provisions which, they think, are demanded by the changed situation and the present needs of India. If, however, the British Government do not reciprocate to the helpful and co-operative spirit shown by Indian leaders they would have ample time and opportunity of thinking about returning to the war path. The Congress leaders have already given evidence of this spirit at the Simla conference which was appreciated by the Viceroy and even the critics of Congress in England and it is hoped they would not give it up unless forced by the unhelpful attitude of the British Government.



THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

THE present chaotic political situation in the country naturally gives cause for concern to all who are genuinely interested in the political future of India. In this situation, the most disconcerting factor is the growing demand for the division of India into a Hindu and a Moslem India. We think it our duty and the duty of all who share our views to give expression to our concern and to raise a timely note of warning as to the direction in which we are drifting.

In the first instance, none of us is clear in his mind as to the precise implications of the two-nation theory. Much less so perhaps are those who advocate the theory. The country has never been given any precise details of the territorial division of the country and the lines of demarcation between the two Indias. When Mr. Jinnah is asked to define the territorial demarcation, he has always evaded the issue by demanding that in the first instance the claim of the two-nation theory should be granted as the basis of any further negotiations. Those of us therefore who are *definitely* opposed to the very idea of breaking up the unity of India suffer under a handicap as we are not in a position to know precisely the nature of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan.

Close upon two hundred years of British rule in our country have given us a uniform system of administration of a highly centralised character, a common system of laws and an education imparted in the higher stages through the medium of the language of our rulers. Whatever might be said with regard to the economic exploitation of this country under British Imperialism, and whatever the sufferings and sacrifices imposed on the people in consequence of foreign rule, the one bright feature in two centuries of slavery was the growing sense of a common citizenship linking the various peoples into a single nation. This sense of geographical unity and integrity was a slowly acquired incidental result of British domination, a result which though never deliberately intended by the unimaginative bureaucracy or their masters at home, was nevertheless regarded with intense pride and satisfaction by Englishmen.

But a blessing, so inadvertently earned by the millions of India, incurred the envy of the gods, who inspired our administrators to undo the work of their own hands when in 1906 the Morley-Minto reforms introduced in the constitution of the country the principle of separate electorates. Communities that were hitherto working hand in hand in the struggle for freedom were for the first time thereafter made to believe that their interests were conflicting and that the minority which was then about sixty millions required the protection of its separate interests by a device which stereotyped politics on the basis of religion and made it impossible to organise parties on a basis of secular interests. In this country with a foreign domination in control, the formation of parties on lines of interests, classes or opinions, characteristic of what is known as a democratic form of Government, might well have been replaced by a two-party system,—those who are supporters of the foreign rule and those who are in the opposition. But even if the ordinary alignments of parties, usual to democratic system had been advisable, they were effectively torpedoed by the institution of communal electorates. Religion was turned into a vested interest, bigotry was allowed to grow, and

parties were induced to concentrate on a division of spoils.

The institution of separate electorates was the first step in the process of creating a divided India of which the crowding achievement is the proposal for Pakistan. That measure was hailed as "a work of statesmanship", the pulling back of 19 million people from their friendship and co-operation with Hindus in the Indian National Congress. British officials have gloated over the thought that the creation of a strong and united India is now probably difficult, if not impossible. The Secretary of State for India as late as 1940 observed in the House of Commons:

"In religious and social outlook, in historic traditions and culture, the difference between the Moslems and their fellow countrymen goes so deep, if not deeper than any similar difference in Europe."

Is there anything unnatural if we conclude that the head of the Moslem League in India is encouraged in the demand for a separate Moslem state by British political leaders?

• We do not propose to analyse the various factors that contributed in the course of the last 40 years to the growing communal tension till it culminated in the present demand for a separate Moslem India. Religion was never a factor in the creation of the tension. The two communities are not fighting for the domination of their respective faiths. There is no enthusiasm for proselytising except as a political weapon for acquiring numerical strength in voting. So also the racial factor does not enter into the situation. The large majority of the Indian Moslems today are descendants of Hindu converts to Islam. Though so much has been made of difference in culture and traditions and ways of living these differences are the exaggerated products of after-thoughts prompted by economic interests. In the villages Hindus and Moslems are hardly distinguishable by their habits and customs. They speak and use the language of the district in which they live. They share even in religious festivals on a basis of mutuality. In essence the tension between the two communities is the product of a struggle for spoils, for power and for economic privileges. The increasing association of the people of the country in the work of administration has been marked by an increasing sense of bitterness and suspicion on the part of the minority community.

The presence of the British as rulers in the country may not unreasonably be said to keep alive the divisions. Left to ourselves we could have come to an amicable compromise. Whichever was the weaker party, would have yielded to the wishes of the stronger, and would have been content with taking what they could get. That the British rulers of the land should make use of these divisions is but natural in the game of power politics. But even vice has to pay homage to virtue by putting on the garb of virtue. It is equally natural that in the world of today economic exploitation could have a chance of survival only if it put on the cloak of trusteeship and sanctified its doings by its eventual concern for the chaos that would result by leaving the people to settle their quarrels.

The demand for a Moslem India separate from Hindu India has of late acquired an exaggerated

importance owing to the mistaken zeal for conciliation and compromise on the part of the leaders of the Indian National Congress. No measure and no rapprochement could have been so fatal to the unity of India as the Congress resolution bearing on the right of self-determination for the federating units and the even more regrettable negotiations which took place a year ago between Mr. Gandhi and the spokesman of the Moslem League. British India under British administration for the last 200 years was a unitary form of Government with the provinces closely knit to the centre as an integrated whole. The surprise flung at the country as the outcome of the round table conferences in the shape of the Act of 1935, creating for the first time a federal constitution for British India, was accepted even by our leaders without protest. It was flattering to the provinces to regard themselves as independent sovereign states, a status which they had not dreamt of in the year gone by. One more potent source of conflict and disruption was thus ingeniously introduced into the body politic. As separate electorates humoured the minorities, provincial 'autonomy' humoured the provinces. The Cripps proposals finally gave the finishing touch by granting them the right to secede, and the theory of the process of mangling and disruption was completed. The achievements of two hundred years in the shape of a consolidated united India, with a people growing increasingly conscious of a common want, were to be deliberately undone.

The principle of self-determination applied to the provinces in India implicit in the Act of 1935, and expressly recognised by the Cripps offer, and the Congress resolution of self-determination are in direct contravention of all lessons of past world history. Federations have grown out of the union of states once exercising sovereignty and independence. They have

never been the outcome of a deliberate attempt at breaking up the well-knit parts of a single state into conflicting and rival powers. Every school-boy who has read about the growth of the federal constitution of Switzerland and the U.S. of America is familiar with these facts. The political trend throughout the world today is not to break up existing states into smaller units, claiming sovereignty as the advocates of Pakistan do, but to bring into closer co-operation larger political units like the British Commonwealth, the U.S. of America and the U.S.S.R. Political isolationism such as the principle of self-determination involves, has been aptly characterised as "a vestigial survival in an age of atom bombs."

Nationalist self-determination in a world that is geographically shrinking, and whose teeming population can be wiped off by national rivalries, has become an anachronism. In the international world of the future, it is cultural self-determination which is likely to be the best expression of national freedom. The U.S.S.R. is a notable experiment in the encouragement of regional cultures developing freely and unfettered under a unified Government; but none of the nations in the Soviet Republic has a right to unlimited development of its cultural personality with political independence as the end. This is what the cry for Pakistan implies and what the Indian National Congress in its zeal for compromise appears prepared to grant to the Provincial units. We appeal to all thinking people to consider these implications before they concede the Congress principle of self-determination or the equally disastrous claim of Pakistan.

V. SREENIVAS SASTRI,
P. A. WADIA,
K. NATARAJAN,
JEHANGIR PETT.

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RUSSIA AND THE PROBLEM OF THE STRAITS

By J. SEN, B.A. (Oxon.)

THE key to the foreign policy of Russia throughout the centuries is the urge towards warm water ports. Her Arctic coast being of little value except in summer, she has been forced to seek outlets in other, more favourable, directions. The process began in the days of Peter the Great when Russia became a European power. She began to feel her way through Siberia to the Pacific coast, through the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, through Turkish territories towards the Black Sea and through Swedish lands to the Baltic coast. It was like the elemental urge of a surging river towards the sea.

Peter succeeded in "opening a window" to the west and founded St. Petersburg, an event of profound significance in the history of Europe and the world. For good or evil, a power with immense resources and potentialities stepped into European life and became a partner in the game of European politics. Peter's work was carried forward by Catherine the Great who broke the Turkish monopoly of the Black Sea coast and challenged for the first time the Turkish hold on the gates to the eastern Mediterranean. Catherine's victory over the Turks and the Treaty of Jassy (1792) are events which may be said to have ushered into European

politics the Near Eastern question. Catherine forestalled Czar Nicholas I in proclaiming Turkey as "the sick man of Europe", gained a permanent foothold on the Black Sea coast, stepped into the Danubian principalities, raised the first storm in Balkan politics which developed into a tempest in course of a century, and claimed the right of navigation in Ottoman Waters. British policy was profoundly affected by the Russian urge towards the Eastern Mediterranean. Pitt the younger was the first English statesman to scent danger in the Near East and laid down, without perhaps knowing it, the policy of Great Britain towards Turkey which has been the governing factor of British diplomacy in the East from that day to this. The debates in Parliament in 1791 are strangely reminiscent of the classic contest in 1878 between Gladstone and Disraeli, and one can without historical perversion put into the mouths of Whig leaders like Burke and Fox the "bag and baggage" speech of Gladstone and the "jingoism" of Disraeli into that of William Pitt. The fear of Russia and the need for a strong Turkey guarding the gates of the Eastern Mediterranean became the foundation of British policy in the Near East.

The Anglo-Turkish treaty of 1809 affirmed the

"ancient regulation of the Ottoman Empire", that is, the opening of the Straits to merchantmen and the closing of the Straits, in time of peace, to ships of war. In time of war the Sultan would open the Straits to his friends and close them to his enemies. Thus Britain extended the hand of friendship to Turkey and by treaty bottled up the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, giving the Sultan the guardianship of the Straits with the option to open them to his friends. In 1827 when the historic naval battle of Navarino was fought, Russia although helping Britain and France, found the Straits closed to her warships and the Russian fleet that joined the British and the French came from the Baltic.

In 1841 the problem of the Straits which so long had been the exclusive concern of Great Britain and Turkey came to be a problem of international importance and after the defeat of Mehemet Ali of Egypt, thanks to the diplomatic skill of Lord Palmerston, the first international agreement with regard to the Straits was signed, and Turkey was confirmed in the possession of Constantinople and the Straits with the right to exclude men-of-war belonging to a hostile power and to admit those belonging to a friendly power. This arrangement was put to the test during the Crimean War when an Allied fleet sailed through the Straits and dismantled Russian fortifications on the Black Sea coast. The Peace of Paris (1856) maintained the Straits convention of 1841, closing the Straits to ships of war in time of peace but admitted light vessels for the service of the embassies at Constantinople and for policing the Danube. The Black Sea was neutralized.

During the Franco-Prussian War, Russia with Bismarck's encouragement, once more militarised the Black Sea coast—the first in the long series of unilateral action and denunciation of treaties in which the history of the Near East abounds. The London conference of 1871 recognised the *fait accompli* but maintained the international agreement with regard to the Straits. The Treaty of Berlin of 1878 which carried Disraeli to the height of his fame in European Councils marks an important stage in the history of the Near East and of the problem of the Straits. Besides redrawing the frontiers of the Balkan States and creating the explosive problem of Bosnia, Herzegovina, it reiterated the fixed resolve of the British Government supported by an unmistakable expression of public opinion, to maintain the Sultan's possession of Constantinople and the international agreement with regard to the Straits. British policy as laid down at that time remained substantially unaltered till almost the eve of the First World War. When Sir Edward Grey was requested by the Russian foreign minister, in the early years of the twentieth century, to agree to a reopening of the Straits to Russian warships, the British Foreign Secretary's reply endorsed more clearly than ever the international character of the Straits convention and reiterated the resolve of the British public to maintain the *status quo* in the Straits.

On the other hand, the Treaty of Berlin satisfied for the time being Russian ambitions in the Black Sea area. The Black Sea remained, for all practical purposes, a Russian lake dominated by Russian warships and coastal guns with the Sultan standing guard at the Straits. For more than a quarter of a century the Straits question was kept in cold storage and expansion

towards the Far East and the Persian Gulf because the preoccupation of the Russian Government.

From 1905 Europe began her descent into the abyss of war. In the west the Anglo-French Entente of the year before led up to the Moroccan Crisis which kept Europe rocking for years. In the East the disaster of the Russo-Japanese War hurled Russia back to Europe and brought into bold relief the problem of the Straits once more. Hence forward the opening of the Straits to Russian warships became the major ambition of Russia and the central thread of Russian negotiations with the Western powers. Isvolsky, the Russian Foreign Minister and the stormy petrel of Europe in the pre-war years, cut his losses in the Far East, patched up all outstanding disputes with England and concluded the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907. But the Straits question, the central issue of Russian policy, remained unmodified.

This was followed by sensational development in the Near East. The Young Turk Revolution and the consequent ferment throughout the Balkans led to the famous Buchlau interview between Isvolsky and Aehrenthal the Austrian Foreign Minister. A secret agreement was reached by which Austria was to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina and Russia might fulfil her long-chelished dream of occupying Constantinople and the Straits. What happened afterwards is known to all students of European diplomacy in the pre-war years. The Bosnian Crisis, the complete failure of Isvolsky's plan and his peregrinations stand out in the tangled web of international relations before the war. Isvolsky, a cautious statesman and a genuine internationalist, now realized that the Straits question could not be solved by peaceful negotiation, and the idea dawned on him that it was only through a European conflagration that Russia might fulfil her dream. Events moved rapidly towards a tragic finale. The Austro-German power came to dominate the Balkans, Turkey, in spite of the British pledge to maintain in her integrity, rapidly developed signs of disintegration, German influence in Constantinople became supreme as is evident from the despatch of the German military mission headed by Liman to the Turkish capital, and the Sultan, as the Russians rightly believed at that time, "sank to the position of the Emir of Bokhara."

Clearly the traditional British policy towards the Straits could not be maintained. Turkey, the ancient and undisputed guardian of the Straits, had gone over to the Austro-German power. When the war broke out the question of Constantinople and the Straits lost its rigidity and Isvolsky's dream came true. By a secret Anglo-Franco-Russian agreement in 1915, confirmed a year later by the well-known Sykes-Picot Agreement Russia was to acquire Constantinople, the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, the Gallipoli peninsula and a stretch of territory to the South of the Bosphorus. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, however, upset the plan. The Soviet Government quickly repudiated all secret treaties entered into by the Czarist Government and thus left a void in the Straits zone. After the Armistice the first proposal was for an American mandate over this area. But America refused. Joint control by England and France was also considered unsatisfactory. Hence the Treaty of Sevres was drawn up giving Turkey Constantinople but reopening the Straits to merchantmen and warships alike and demilitarising the territories on both sides to safe-

guard the freedom of the Straits. An International Commission was set up with a police force to administer the Straits as a "neutral zone". The resurgence of Turkey made a clean sweep of the Treaty of Sevres. By the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 the International Commission was abolished, the Straits again became Turkish and Turkey agreed to respect the demilitarisation of the Straits zone. In 1936, the dangers of the Abyssinian War and Hitler's militarisation of the Rhineland made a modification of the Lausanne Agreement necessary. Turkey, supported by Soviet Russia who had not been a signatory to the Treaty of Lausanne, entered into fresh negotiations with the Western powers. A European conference including Soviet Russia was held at Montreaux, and the powers assembled drew up the Straits convention of 1936 by which Turkey was authorised to remilitarise the Straits. This was substantially a return to the arrangement of 1878 created by the Treaty of Berlin. Turkey again became the door-keeper of the Straits. No hostile fleet enjoying the freedom of the Straits might enter or come out of the Black Sea. Freedom of trade was assured during peace. But warships might be excluded in time of war, unless authorised by the League of Nations or sent under a regional pact to which Turkey was a party.

The second world war seems to have thrown established conventions and long-cherished notions into the melting pot. The Straits question, like other issues at the present day, is once more under fire, and Russia is seeking, as the report goes, a new solution of the problem, although the exact nature of the Russian approach has not yet been revealed. The ancient rule that the Straits should remain in Turkish hands with England and France acting as guardians held good so long as Turkey and England and France were strong enough to maintain the *status quo* in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Berlin agreement of 1878, therefore, had been the sheet-anchor of Russian foreign policy for a quarter of a century. Even that arrangement had grown out-of-date in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Russia of 1900 was not the Russia of a quarter century before. She was forging ahead as an industrial and trading power with a growing urge towards wider seas and equal opportunities for expansion and inter-oceanic communication. During the Russo-Japanese War Russia could not send her Black Sea fleet to the Far East, because the doors to the Mediterranean were barred, and only a few Russian merchantmen escaped through the Straits with guns concealed in their holds. Russia, therefore, had to send to the Far East her Baltic fleet creating the Dogger Bank incident which almost dragged England into a war with Russia. Again, during the second world war the Eastern Mediterranean became a storm-breeding centre. The German occupation of the Balkan States, German domination of the Aegean and intrigues in the Middle East reduced neutral Turkey to a helpless spectator of grim developments around her borders. Von Papen was active in Istanbul and German warships passed clandestinely through the Straits, and this German defiance was checked when strong Allied representations were made to Turkey. Obviously, the Montreaux Convention had become unworkable and out-of-date and Turkish neutrality and guardianship of the Straits meaningless. Russia's demand for a revision of the Straits convention is, therefore, based upon experience.

The Black Sea, today, is more a Russian lake than a Turkish *mare clausum*, and an outlet through the Straits to the Mediterranean and the wider Oceans beyond is a compelling urge which, in view of recent experience and Russia's role in the Second World War, cannot be denied. If collective security is going to be a genuine thing and not the explosive balance-of-power theory over again, those who have fought shoulder to shoulder and shared the hazards of war should agree on the outstanding issues of the day without mental reservations. Unhappily, the century-old suspicion of Russia still lingers. The Russian domination of the greater part of the Balkans, the conflict of policies between the Soviet and the Anglo-American power all over South-East Europe, the growing tension and ferment in the Middle East are indications that old prejudices die hard. It is not possible yet to enter the *arcana* of Soviet policy. Both before and after the Second World War Soviet actions have appeared to the Western democracies mysterious, indefensible, annoying and strangely reminiscent of the shock tactics of Germany from the days of Bismarck onwards. Recent developments in Europe and in the Far East, however, have revealed the possibility of an accommodation, in spite of ideological differences, between the Soviet and the Western world. And yet Russia remains today, as always, an unknown quantity. The Russian solution of the Straits problem, whatever it is, because of its secretive nature, is giving the powers concerned considerable anxiety. But the western powers also, without whose assistance obviously Turkey can do nothing in the matter, have not completely shed their mental reservations. This is deplorable indeed, for at this moment when all the major problems making for war are being hammered out, the frankest exchange of views is a desideratum for world peace and security.

Viewed from a wider angle, the Straits question is amenable to a different solution. The time perhaps is ripe when an attempt should be made to have a single International convention for all the inter-oceanic canals and lines of communication. The Suez Canal convention should serve as the pattern for a convention for all vital waterways. An Anglo-American treaty to which all the powers of the world have tacitly agreed has given exclusive power to the U.S.A. to police the Panama Canal, because the U.S.A. is considered strong enough to enforce the freedom of passage through the Canal. The Suez Canal convention completely neutralising the Canal has been based on the notion that Egypt to whom the Canal zone territorially belongs is not strong enough to maintain freedom of passage through this important waterway. A solution of the problem of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus on the lines of the Suez Canal convention may be an urgent need at the present moment, considering the risks Turkey had to face as guardian of the Straits according to the Montreaux convention. A surrender of rights over the Straits area would not mean the surrender of sovereign rights by Turkey. In the technical language of international law Turkey would have to submit to a "State servitude", retaining theoretical sovereignty over all Turkish territories and waters. At the same time she would be relieved of a heavy burden involving great expenditure and also great risks.

But perhaps the matter is not so simple as that. A complete internationalization of the Straits would

revive ugly memories of the Treaty of Sevres which nationalist Turkey had indignantly rejected. Any arrangement regarding the Dardanelles, which alone features in the press today, would have to be applied *mutatis mutandis* to the Bosphorus as well, for in all international transactions so far the two Straits have been dealt with together. In that case the status of Istanbul becomes uncertain and has got to be clarified. If the whole of the Straits zone is neutralized, Turkey obviously becomes a non-European power and a torso. Let it not be forgotten that during the war just ended

when the German domination of the Balkans and the Aegean and the German drive towards the Caucasus caught Turkey in a huge and powerful pincer, Turkish neutrality and Turkish control of the Straits alone prevented the Near and Middle East from being completely submerged and thus upset the German plan. It is of the essence of international agreements that they are founded on international goodwill, and in a vital matter like this if a satisfactory settlement is to be made it should be grounded on Turkish consent freely expressed.

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HISTORY OF LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

II

EVEN after the elaborate recommendations of the Committee of Circuit, no improvement could be noticed. Ramsbotham thinks that it could not be maintained in the face of the mass of evidence revealed by the letters received from the districts that Warren Hastings and the Committee of Circuit had succeeded in improving the methods of collection of land revenue in Bengal. He says :²⁵

In fact, they had introduced a more evil element than had hitherto existed by the putting up of the revenues to public auction. The revenues had been farmed long before the Company's day, but the farmers had been selected by Government from men of position, who knew the land. The new regulations introduced by the Committee of Circuit made it possible for any man to bid for the land. Those who know India will realise the consternation which such a change must have brought upon all classes except speculators. Men who were mere nobodies now bid for and obtained farms: many were speculators from another part of the country, whose sole object was to squeeze out every anna from the land and its cultivators, utterly careless of what resulted, so long as their speculation was successful. Others bid from malicious and hostile motives in order to turn out or embarrass some zemindar against whom they had a grudge; in a word, the land revenue was placed at the mercy of every kind of disreputable gambler . . . If farming was necessary, it could have been carried out on different lines, working with the assistance of men of substance and with the existing zemindars, many of whom found themselves ousted by some bidder from the control of lands whose revenue they had collected for generations from people who knew them.

This account shows what desperate attempts were made to increase collections and the degree of misery brought upon the native people by the Company's depredations after the devastating famine of 1770. Samuel Middleton, a member of the Committee of Circuit, pointed out in 1775 that "the present revenue is beyond what the country can afford, and consequently that the increase cannot be realised without the ruin thereof." The following extract from his letter is illustrative²⁶ :

As to agriculture, population, commerce and manufactures it is too melancholy a truth that the whole country suffered a very dreadful depopulation at the time of the famine, and that the present thinness of the inhabitants manifest very clearly that the effects of that calamity still remain. The consequences, and most naturally, have been that a smaller portion of the lands are cultivated than before that event, and also that the manufacturers most particularly have suffered, as the manufacturing body are a peculiar caste who dedicate themselves to any particular branch of manufacture, not from choice or abilities but simply for the reason that their forefathers did the same, so that those members of this body who perished in the famine were a loss in great measure not to be repaired in future from the body of the community. When the manufacturers suffer, it is needless to say commerce must languish. Such being the state of the country in general, there is no doubt that the zillas I superintended must have felt their share of the general effects, and in Rajshahi . . . they have been experienced with greater extent, the manufacture of silk having been ever so considerable in the province: moreover the western part of it has been greatly detrimental by the oppressive and rapacious conduct of Amrat Singh who heretofore farmed that division. Under these circumstances, it is but too evident that the agriculture, population and commerce of those zillas (superintended by him) must be in a much worse state than before the famine . . . I must again revert to the famine as the real and genuine source from which the actual defalcation of the revenues has originated.

After the famine, not even a temporary respite from the Company's ruthless exploitation was given. Middleton says in the same letter referred to above :

"Had the proper measures been pursued after that event, probably the effects of it might by this time have been felt in a much less considerable degree. But too much regard having been then and thereafter paid to the realising as considerable a present revenue as possible to Government, those efforts have, of course, continued aggravating instead of wearing away of themselves. Had an adequate remission been made in the revenues, and every other suitable encouragement been afforded to agriculture, inhabitants would have come in to cultivate our lands from the neighbouring countries,

²⁵ Ramsbotham, *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*,

p. 30.

²⁶ Governor-General's Proceedings, April 7, 1775.

where they suffered the oppressions usual in black governments, and population and agriculture would have recovered. Instead of which, when a very considerable portion, supposed over a third of the whole inhabitants, had perished, the remaining two-thirds were obliged to pay for the lands now left without cultivators, and thus the native ryots being oppressed, and no particular encouragement given to foreign ryots, to come in—on the contrary the oppression on the others, as it were, held out to deter them,—the country has languished ever since and the evil continues enhancing every day.

Assessments made in the districts, after the famine, were cruel, arbitrary and distinctly predatory. P. M. Dacres, another member of the Committee of Circuit, speaking from his own experience and observation of conditions in Jessore, attributes the failure to pay the revenue to the effects of the famine of 1770.²⁷ Many officers, like Dacres, had recommended remission in rent after the famine, but that was not done. Dacres wanted to remove another cause of distress and failure to pay the revenue, *viz.*, the public auction of the farms, but here also his recommendations were rejected. He wrote :

"The auction of lands for so long a period was not before known to the inhabitants of Bengal . . . it is evident that they (ryots) are taxed beyond what they can afford . . . The lands have been taken in farm at a rent exceeding their ability. The farmers to fulfil their engagement have realised from the husbandman a larger rent than he has been able to afford : under this hardship to forsake his profession and his country has been the easiest and speediest means of relief."

Two more similar remarks may be quoted. W. Harwood, Chief of the Provincial Council of Dinajpur, wrote²⁸ :

"The system of collecting the revenues of Rangpur by means of zilladars has been very prejudicial to the prosperity of that province : it has increased the charge of collection to an enormous sum. As adventurers and temporary residents in the districts, they are not interested in its welfare, and, as men without credit or responsibility, they have no concern for the good or ill-management of the public business."

N. Bateman, Chief of Chittagong, wrote²⁹ :

"Arbitrary taxes . . . prevail in Roshnabad province to such an excessive degree that they have not only banished commerce almost entirely from that country, but greatly depopulated it."

These oppressions were done by the Company's diwan.

Ramsbotham says that the Minutes of the Governor-General in Council for 1775 are full of complaints and petitions to the Board for extortion and oppression ; of "balances" which cannot be recovered ; of rivalries and jealousies between individual farmers ; of bribery and dishonest conduct against all the servants, Europeans and Indians alike, of the Company.

Dacres recommended, in his despatch dated, February 10, 1775,³⁰ the grant to the ryots a total

remission of the taxes which have been accumulating on their payments for the last 15 or 20 years past. He also recommended that let a settlement be made with the zemindars fixing the rent to perpetuity. Being disgusted with an unplanned temporary settlement which proved thoroughly unsatisfactory, unworkable and fraught with the most dangerous evils, the idea of permanent settlement was already gaining ground. Eighteen years before the Cornwallis settlement, we find Dacres suggesting it. He said that the zemindars might be trusted to a sale of their property as a security for their payments.

The real causes of the mounting economic distress had not, at the same time, escaped the notice of intelligent observers. Dacres wrote :

The great quantity of specie, which has of late years been exported from this country and the large investments annually sent home to England for which no returns are made, have also had a considerable influence in producing a decay of the revenues.

G. G. Ducarel, giving evidence before the Board attributed the unhappy state of the country "to a constant drain of money without proportionable returns, which has impoverished the country and lowered the value of the land and their produce. Whilst the revenues of Bengal were spent at Murshidabad, the great concourse of people assembled there, and the luxury of a Court, required ample supplies of all the necessities of life from the distant provinces ; their productions were then in constant demand, and regular returns of specie were made to answer the remittances of revenue. Murshidabad is now reduced to a village compared to its former state . . . The Company spent the revenues of the provinces chiefly in the maintenance of their troops, and provision of an investment for Europe."³¹

The Company was at this time in desperate need for money. R. C. Dutt points out that "in India an Empire was being acquired, wars were waged and administration carried on at the cost of the Indian people without the British nation contributing a shilling." The brunt of the cost was borne, by the people of Bengal upon whose resources other provinces like Madras and Bombay had freely drawn to meet their own deficits.

Ducarel was then Collector of Purnea district. He also favoured a permanent settlement and said, "I am fully of opinion that a person of experience with discretionary power might render great service to the Company and province by effecting a permanent settlement in the most eligible mode according to local and particular circumstances, and upon an equitable valuation." Explaining his plan of permanent settlement Ducarel said, "I know it to be practicable, if the ryots can be brought to give their consent." Permanent settlement was later made but on a basis entirely different from what Dacres or Ducarel had suggested. They wanted to have it as an equitable basis and with the consent of the ryot. Lord Cornwallis rejected both these essential conditions. Ramsbotham says³² :

"The best evidence from the *mfussil* was unanimous in considering the settlement made in 1772 to be too high, and in condemning the irresponsible gambling introduced by the system which put the

²⁷ Governor-General's Proceedings, April 7, 1775.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1775.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, July 7, 1775.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1775.

³² Ramsbotham, *Ibid.*, p. 71.

farms up to public auction. The most arresting advice is that of P. M. Dacres, G. G. Ducarel, whose proposed remedy, *viz.*, a permanent settlement, evidently impressed Francis and was propounded by him at a later date without acknowledgment to its authors."

At the time of the arrival of Warren Hastings as Governor-General, the quinquennial settlement of 1772 was drawing to a close. The members of the Supreme Council were divided in their opinion as to the methods of collecting and settling the revenue. The majority were driven to the damaging but frank admission that "at this moment we should be very much embarrassed if we were called upon to make a new settlement of the lands, and were entrusted with power to do it." The minority, however, led by Hastings' implacable enemy Francis, wanted to take a definite step and favoured permanent settlement. Francis produced his own plan, the main features of which were taken without acknowledgement from the suggestions submitted by P. M. Dacres in his despatch, dated, Feb. 10, 1775, mentioned above. This controversy dragged on till the end of August, 1776, when Hastings expressed his anxiety in a minute with regard to the approaching settlement in 1777, in which year the Committee of Circuit's quinquennial settlement was due to expire. Hastings made some proposals of his own but could not produce any concrete plan.

The combination of Francis, Clavering and Monson had put Hastings in an unenviable minority position in his Council. On September 25, 1776, Colonel Monson died. Hastings now regained his authority in the Council through his casting vote. Hereafter, he wanted to concentrate on the preparation of data for a new settlement of the different districts. Hastings proposed the establishment of a temporary office under one or two covenanted servants of the Company with a suitable staff to undertake the work. In a weighty minute, Hastings explained the necessity for creating this office. He said,³⁴ "The general design was to obtain an accurate state of the real value of the lands, . . . so that the burthen of the public revenue should rest with an equal weight upon the whole body of the people." In his eagerness to remove the inequality of assessment, which in his own opinion acted as a heavy oppression, he wrote, "The land tax has been collected for these twenty years past upon a conjectural valuation of the lands formed upon the receipts of former years and the opinions of the officers of the revenue, and the assessment has been accordingly altered almost every year." Hence, he said, "the necessity of obtaining an accurate state of the value of the lands to enable us to levy the public revenue with an equal weight throughout the whole province."

Although his intention was good, Hastings made the greatest blunder by dismissing the method of "actual survey and measurement" of the lands to be revalued as "too tedious, expensive and uncertain," and he gave his preference for an examination of local accounts.

General Clavering and Francis vigorously protested against this proposal of Hastings and prophesied that "all the mischief of the Committee of Circuit will be renewed." A bitter controversy raged but Hastings remained firm. The proposed office was created. David Anderson and George Bogle were appointed on the

Commission on November 29, 1776.³⁴ A week later, Charles Croftes, Accountant-General of the Revenue Department, was added to the Commission. This office came to be known as the "Amini office" in contemporary records.

On assumption of their duties, the Commission sent out amins into all the districts to collect the necessary accounts and papers. The task was not at all easy. The zemindars were not enthusiastic about showing their accounts and there were many evasions. One of the amins Ramram Basu deputed to check the accounts in the zemindary of Rani Bhowani reported, in reply to accusations brought against him by the Rani's agents, that³⁵, "They have not yet given in many papers which are necessary to check the Sadar *hastobud* and Sadar *jama, wasil, baki* with their subsidiary accounts: some say they will deliver them as soon as they can get them from the country, but they have broke several promises which they made to deliver them within a certain time. Others allege that there are none: such are the evasions of the people, and thus delay as occasioned in checking the accounts of the Sadar offices." Allegations of torture in order to elicit these informations were made against Ramram Basu but he repudiated the idea of flogging any one as had been alleged.³⁶

With the time for resettlement drawing near Hastings made some suggestions of which the following are the main³⁷:

That such lands as are now in charge of the zemindars be left under their management, if they will consent to hold them on the *jama* and *kistibandi* (instalment) of last year.

That such lands as are now in charge of the zemindars be left under their management, although they shall refuse to hold them on the *jama* and *kistibandi* of last year, if they will consent to hold them for such a rent as the Provincial Council of the Division to which they belong shall judge adequate to their real worth.

That for all lands let to the zemindars as above directed, be it expressly stipulated in their *kabuliyats* that in case of their falling in arrears they shall be liable to be dispossessed and their zemindaris or portions of them sold to make up for the deficiency.

The experiences gathered during the five years 1772-1777 by the Company's district officers in their efforts to provide the basis for a sound revenue settlement has been summed up by Ramsbotham in the following words³⁸:

First, and perhaps most important of all, they had learned that no imported theories could assist them in the revenue administration of the districts committed to their charge; they recognised that some system based on local custom and tradition was necessary; they laid stress on the corrupt and oppressive state into which that system had fallen. They realised that the Company's first attempt to collect the revenue of the Diwani lands had been vitiated by an assessment that was excessive, by

³⁴ Governor-General's Proceedings, Nov. 29, 1776.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1777.

³⁶ Ramsbotham, *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

ignorance of the country and its numerous customs, and above all, by the employment of a wrong agency in the wholesale use of *ijaradars* or farmers. They had found out the feebleness of the traditional collecting agency, the zamindars, and had detected, but failed to break, the collusion between the zamindars and the registering agency, the *kanungoo*. They had painfully discovered that no two districts had the same customs, and that in every pargana the local traditions and methods must be taken into calculation when assessing or collecting the revenue. The senior officers of the districts were unanimous in their condemnation of the system of public farming, and they recognised the danger of the centralising policy to which the Board adhered in spite of all warning and advice . . .

The defects were still glaring: the main cause of them was the weakness or nervousness of the Directors who constantly and peremptorily forbade the employment of officers by themselves in the *mofussil*, and in this they were to some extent supported by the Governor-General whose fixed obsession was that the revenue administration could most efficiently be handled in Calcutta by the Board working through Indian diwans and amins in the districts. No touring was permitted, in spite of repeated applications to the Board for permission. The same ignorance of the amount actually paid, by the ryots, and the difference between the amount and the sums received by the Company still prevailed; but progress was being made in this respect, and the district officers were learning the right methods of obtaining that knowledge. A serious obstacle, by the irony of fate, to a vigorous district administration of the revenue was the Governor-General himself, whose acumen and judgment enabled him to select good officers, but whose ignorance of the work required from revenue district officers, and whose fixity of purpose, for good or bad, was responsible for that rigid central control which was so detrimental to an efficient revenue administration and which was never relaxed so long as he remained in India.

The need for a long-term settlement of land tenure had by now been well appreciated. Dacres and Ducarel, as we have seen, were the first to suggest permanent settlement and Philip Francis was the first to emphasise it. In his Minute, dated, January 22, 1776, Francis had amplified his scheme of settlement with the zamindars, as of right, in perpetuity.³⁹ Barwell had previously advocated a settlement with the zamindars for one or two generations. Warren Hastings agreed with the claims of zamindars in preference to farmers, but before committing the Court to any definite plan, he wanted to ascertain in detail the resources of the country. There were two conflicting claims. This conflict has been described by Ascoli⁴⁰ as follows:

The claim of the zamindar at this period was the right to hold his estate in perpetuity, subject to his agreement to pay the revenue fixed by the Company from time to time; in case of his refusal to agree to the revenue as fixed at any time, he considered himself entitled to a maintenance

allowance known as *malikana* or *mushahara* (*moshaira*) from the farmer who accepted settlement. His right rested on one of two facts—either he was a permanent official with an hereditary right to collect the revenue of the estate, or he possessed a proprietary right in the soil. The farming theory rested on the assumptions that the proprietary right vested in the state, that the zamindar was not a permanent hereditary official, and that the Company possessed the right of its capacity as Diwan, to let out estates on lease (*farm* or *ijara*) temporarily to any person selected by the Company.

This problem has been extensively discussed in the Grant-Shore controversy. When it suited the Company they flouted the zamindars' claim of hereditary proprietary right and farmed out land to anybody and everybody they liked for short periods. When however they gradually began to realise that it was impossible to establish an effective system of revenue collection without the help of some powerful local agency, they leaned back on the zamindars for this purpose. By 1776, the Company was able to realise the difficulty but was unable to take any definite step. In that year, just before the term of quinquennial settlement expired, the Court of Directors replied to the Hastings-Francis controversy in the Council:⁴¹

Having considered the different circumstances of getting your lands on leases for lives or in perpetuity, we do not for many weighty reasons think it at present advisable to adopt either of these modes; but in the meanwhile we direct that the lands be let for the succeeding year on the most advantageous terms and that none be in future let by public auction.

This order was carried out in spite of Hastings' Minute advising inquiry into the resources of the country. Hastings had not given up his own idea and had already appointed the Amini Commission. Amidst great odds, this Commission concluded its labours and submitted its report in March 25, 1778. This Amini Report was the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of Bengal. On this basis annual settlements were made, ordinarily with the zamindars, for 1777 and the three succeeding years. By the appointment of this Commission and by arrogating the power of revenue settlement in his own hands, Hastings had practically reduced the provincial councils to mere figureheads.

Drastic changes now took place. The Supreme Council had decided on the course of complete centralisation in Calcutta. The Committee of Revenue was placed in full control aided by a Dewan. Provincial councils were abolished on February 9, 1781 and collectors were again appointed over the various districts. In order to maintain the centralised structure of the new machinery, Collectors were denied any interference with the new settlement of the revenue. Special officers were appointed for the purpose. Even as collecting agencies, the Collectors were not trusted and the zamindars were encouraged to pay their revenue direct into the *khalsa* or Exchequer in Calcutta. In the districts, *kanungos* were reappointed to assist the Collectors, but they were placed under *Sadar kanungos* who acted under orders of the Committee of Revenue.

³⁹ Francis, *Plan of Settlement of Revenue*, 1776; Fifth Report, p. 327.

⁴⁰ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁴¹ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

The new Collectors were thus mere figureheads. The settlement of 1781 was made principally with the zemindars for varying periods not exceeding three years, in different districts. Annual settlements of 1784-86 showed an increase on the figures for 1781, but the defects of the new system were already apparent. In 1782, Shore had stated his opinion, "The real state of the districts is now less known, and the revenues less understood, than in 1774; . . . the system is fundamentally wrong and inapplicable to any good purpose."

The first attempt to change the land laws of India was made in 1784 when the Act for the "Better Regulation and Management of the Affairs of the East India Company" was passed by the Parliament "to settle and establish . . . the permanent rules, by which the tributes, rents and services of the rajas, zemindars, polygars⁴², talukdars, and other native landholders should be in future rendered and paid."

In passing this Act, Parliament no doubt did the first land legislation for India, but it did not prescribe a permanent settlement. It merely established permanent rules for the payment of rent. Nor did the Parliament direct that zemindars other than actual proprietors should be declared proprietors of the land, to the exclusion of other proprietary rights. The permanent rules, for the payment of rent were directed to be consistent with justice and in accordance with the laws, customs and constitution of India. This principle, however, was not followed. The Court of Directors, in 1786, ordered that the settlement of land revenue should in all practicable cases be made with the zemindars.

The centralisation plan of Hastings had failed. Sir John Shore next developed a new reform scheme aimed at a complete decentralisation. The new scheme was published on April 7, 1786. The whole of the province was divided into small districts each under the control of a Collector. The Collector made the settlement and collected the revenue of his district. The Committee of Revenue merely retained a general power of sanction and control. Native dewans were abolished and the kanungo was revived after a thorough revision. On the very day of the publication of this great reform, James Grant was appointed Sheristadar with the special object of reconstituting the kanungos department. The office of Sheristadar at that time corresponded to a Keeper of the Records and was an office of great importance.

The division of the province into districts was the backbone of the reforms. The new districts were territorial units and were thirty-five in number. The revenues of each of them approximated to eight lakhs of rupees. On the suggestion of Shore, these districts were reduced in 1787 to twenty-three in number. Ascoli⁴³ points out that the process of rendering the districts more compact continued until 1793, but the system evolved by Shore, based on a series of compact districts, each controlled directly by a Collector, who was responsible for the whole administration, subject only to the general control of the Board of Revenue, has formed the basis of all subsequent administration. The Collectors were also given the powers of the Judge and the Magistrate. A strong local administration on a decentralised model was thus created.

The Committee of Revenue was dissolved in 1786 and re-established as the Board of Revenue. Its power of interference was taken away, its duty of making settlements of revenue was ended. Its main duty was now to sanction, subject to a certain extent to the control of the Council, the settlements made by the Collectors.

The reforms of 1786 laid the foundation on which the Permanent Settlement subsequently rested. In September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis landed in Calcutta. The Court had instructed him to make a decennial settlement. At the beginning of 1790, regulations were issued for the decennial settlement of Bengal.

During the period, till the inauguration of the permanent settlement, two great controversies must be noted,—the Grant-Shore and the Shore-Cornwallis controversy. Three treatises by Grant may be mentioned, the Political Survey of the Northern Circars, published on December 20, 1784, the Analysis of the Finance of Bengal issued on April 27, 1786 and the Historical and Comparative View of the Revenues of Bengal, issued on February 28, 1788. In his first treatise, Grant attempted to show that the zemindar was merely a temporary official, and that the right of property in land vested absolutely in the State. In the second he justified the amount of the assessment in the last half century of Mughal control and in the third, he tried to prove that great defalcations had occurred in the Company's revenue since the commencement of the control of Muhammad Reza Khan. His implication was that while the full assessment of the Mughal days was being realised, only a small portion of it was being actually paid to the credit of the Company. His attempt to show that the assessment in the Mughal period was a practical figure capable of realization was considered as the weakest feature of his case. Grant recommended that settlement should be made of the Dewani lands at the highest Mughal assessment as found in 1765. In respect of the ceded lands, however, he maintained that assessment should be made after a detailed measurement.

Shore replied to Grant's treatises in a monumental Minute on June 18, 1789. The Minute is an elaborate exposition of the status of the zemindar and the cultivator, so far as it was understood at that time. Shore was the first to admit the incompleteness of administrative knowledge at that period. The minute concludes with detailed proposals for a decennial settlement, which was to be based on the previous year's revenue. Shore abandoned Grant's proposal that the highest Mughal assessment should be adopted as the standard, he also abandoned as impracticable the principle that one-fourth of the gross produce should form the basis of the revenue and accepted the experience of the twenty-four years of the British administration. Shore based his arguments on "practical experience in the collection and management of the revenues, which Mr. Grant does not profess to have acquired." There was a very important distinction between the two men. Grant, with his intimate knowledge of the old records and books of account and no practical experience, beyond an unofficial connection with the settlement of Dacca in 1771, did not attempt to test his conclusions by the facts of experience, while Shore threw aside theoretical speculation and based his argument entirely on the facts of experience which however he admitted to be incomplete. There had been two distinct schools

42 Polygar: A military chieftain in Southern India, not found in Bengal.

43 Ascoli, *Ibid*, p. 39.

of thought on this subject—the one headed by Philip Francis who had maintained in 1776 that Bengal was grossly over-assessed, the other headed by Grant who insisted that Bengal was capable of paying a higher revenue.⁴⁴ Although arguing from different premises trying to contradict Grant, Shore himself arrived at a conclusion which was not much different from that of Grant. He admitted that the assessment up to the death of Aliverdi Khan was not abnormal, and probably did not cover the imposts levied by the zemindars on the raiyats.⁴⁵ He leaned on the side of a high assessment but wanted to make it thorough and scientific. In his masterly exposition, he argued throughout that any settlement must be based on the immediate experience that had been acquired. He stated that it was first necessary to discover the real paying capacity of every village and every pargana. He suggested a decennial settlement because he believed that this discovery could be made in the course of a ten years' settlement by compelling the zemindars to deposit detailed lists of villages within their estates, showing their boundaries, areas and assets; during the course of the settlement such lists could be tested. This opinion together with his great reforms shows that Shore was really the first Imperialist who wanted to push the revenue assessment at the highest possible level consistent with the cultivators' ability to pay and sought to create an effective administrative machinery able to collect the revenue that was assessed. Despite some subsequent modifications, Shore's scheme provided the most thorough Imperialist machinery for Bengal which remains the foundation of her administrative structure even to this day.

The Court of Directors had made up their mind. They were bent upon doing two things—first, to make the assessment such that the highest revenue was obtained and second, a permanent settlement of the land with the zemindars should be made. They had decided to win the zemindar over their side leaving the cultivator to his fate. The selection of Lord Cornwallis was not without significance. Ascoli says⁴⁶, "A man of the highest integrity and loyalty but possessed of no conspicuous originality, he had doubtless been selected for the post of Governor-General under the conviction that the orders which he carried with him would be executed punctiliously and successfully, and without criticism." The claims of Shore, a calm and clear-headed administrator who had gained experience of all the phases of administration since 1769, "a man of great honesty and integrity who had remained poor while his brethren in office had amassed wealth,"⁴⁷ was passed over because he held pronounced views of his own which conflicted with those held by the Directors. Shore was appointed a member of the Supreme Council in 1787 and remained Cornwallis' chief adviser until the end of 1789. Cornwallis differed from Shore on one important point only, the question of permanence and his determination to carry out the orders of the Court induced him to override the experience of Shore. In his first Minute of June 18, 1789, Shore advocated decennial settlement and maintained that a period of ten years would be fully adequate to enable the zemindars to attend to the development of their

estates; he feared that a permanent settlement would only tend to perpetuate abuses, which might otherwise be abolished at the end of the ten years' term. Cornwallis, in his Minute of September 18, 1789, affirmed that the Court of Directors were determined to make the settlement permanent, provided that their servants did not betray the trust placed in them. Shore's proposal, limiting the term of settlement with the proprietor to ten years, implied that at the end of the term settlement would again be made with the proprietor, subject to such assessment and such obligations as the experience of ten years might prove to be necessary. Cornwallis did not attempt to argue with Shore on this, the essential part of Shore's case. Cornwallis was no champion of the old zemindar families. He wrote, "It is immaterial to Government what individual possesses the land, provided he cultivates it, protects the raiyats and pays the public revenue."⁴⁸ The penalty for failure to pay the revenue had already been determined by Shore and accepted by Cornwallis, viz., immediate sale of the whole of the defaulting estate.

In his second Minute on the same date, Sept. 18, 1789, Shore delivered a reply to Cornwallis and suggested the grant of conditional ten-year leases in favour of men of known capacity who would promote cultivation by bringing more land under the plough by a speedy clearance of the jungle. He pointed out that a permanent settlement would perpetuate abuses in the case of bad but capable landlords. In his third Minute of December 21, 1789, Shore stated that the permanent settlement would result in an unfair distribution of the assessment because in the absence of a survey, the settlement must be made on the basis of indeterminate boundaries and unascertained areas and profits. He argued that, in case of a decennial settlement, at the end of ten years the revenue would be less than at the beginning and maintained that Government should retain the right to recover that loss at least by a fair redistribution of the assessment. His other important argument was that if the zemindar was to be treated as a proprietor in the sense intended by Cornwallis, Government would not be justified in interfering in the relations between the zemindars and cultivators.

A few days after he wrote this Minute, Shore left for England. Cornwallis replied in his Minute of February 3, 1790. He did not agree with Shore's opinion that the revenue would tend to decrease. He thought that the profits of the zemindars would increase so rapidly that the Government revenue would be fully safeguarded even against the effects of drought and famine. He believed that the ability of the proprietor to dispose of his lands at will would consolidate his position and the power to sell or mortgage would safeguard the interests of Government. Replying to Shore's second argument, Cornwallis maintained that Government must retain the power of interfering in the relations between the landlords and tenants.

Cornwallis never succeeded in returning a convincing reply to Shore's arguments. From the beginning of the controversy, Shore appealed for further experience and warned against the undue haste in perpetuating an experimental and untried scheme in the provinces, the conditions of which even the most experienced men in the Administration had failed to understand. On February 10, 1790, the rules for the Decennial Settlement of Bengal were issued and on March 22, 1793, in accord-

⁴⁴ *Fifth Report*, Ed. by Ascoli, p. 170, para 9.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171, para 44.

⁴⁶ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁷ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁸ *Fifth Report*, p. 473.

ance with the orders of the Court of Directors despatched on September 19, 1792, the Decennial Settlements of Bengal and Bihar were declared to be permanent,

The permanent settlement was not received submissively. Ascoli says⁴⁹:

"Contemporary official correspondence proves that the larger zemindars were very strongly opposed to the measure . . . The main points of objection were the amount of revenue assessed, and the means that had been adopted for the enforcement of payment. The zemindar was faced by the immediate prospect of being liable to pay a revenue, which, in view of the difficulties of realising rent from his tenants, was very heavy. Over his head was brandished the axe of sale, ready to descend and destroy him if the smallest arrear accrued; it was the law of sale that rendered the Permanent Settlement unpopular."

By the time the permanent settlement was introduced, it was abundantly clear that the people of Bengal were not going to accept the British Company as their natural Ruler and pay revenue submissively to them as they had done to their own monarchy. They denied the British administrators all knowledge of revenue matters and non-co-operated with them to the best of their ability. Sir John Shore's Minutes show that even the most astute administrator with the wide experience felt a degree of helplessness in the face of this systematic non-co-operation and hesitated to impose any system in this country which might prove unnatural to the people of the land. Even Warren Hastings faltered. But the Directors were impatient and wanted to increase the revenue at any cost so that the expenses of wars might be met and more dividends might be declared. They decided upon permanent settlement with the biggest loophole in it which, we may say, was left purposely open for the loyal zemindars to enter. The rent payable by the zemindar was permanently limited without permanently limiting at the same time the rent payable by the cultivator. Cornwallis might have contemplated a permanent assessment or fixed rent from the ryot to the zemindar of exactly the same character as the permanent settlement with the zemindar. But this was not attempted either by Cornwallis or by the Directors. It was Sir John Shore who sought to secure some safeguard for the peasant against zemindary oppression. In his Minute of June, 1789, he wrote⁵⁰:

In relying therefore on the example of good faith which the Government gives to the zemindars, we ought not, while the example is taking effect, to abandon the ryots to caprice or injustice, the result of ignorance and inability. . . . At present we must give every possible security to the ryots as well as, or not merely, to the zemindars. This is so essential a point that it ought not to be conceded to any plan.

This shows that Shore did not want the ryots to become tenants-at-will under the zemindary settlement. The loophole in the permanent settlement scheme was left open in spite of Shore's warning, and this significant fact leads to the only conclusion that it was deliberate. It succeeded in its main objective, the revenue of the Government was now fully secured and the collection

was easier, but it worked at a tremendous cost to the sons of the soil. The rights in wrongs had now become vested rights.

The assessment on the zemindar was high enough to make the corresponding levy on the peasant unbearable for him. The peasant's second stable source of income through cottage industries was being destroyed by means of the unfair competition of imported goods made in England. The land became the cultivator's sole means of subsistence. The oppressive rent killed all initiative of improvement of agriculture and extension of cultivation took place only when the prime motive of self-preservation demanded it. Within two decades the oppressive nature of the rent was apparent and even an Imperialist like Lord Grenville remarked, in the House of Lords debate on the renewal of the charter, on March 16, 1813, "No system of taxation could be more detestable in a country than a tax upon the abilities and industry of the husbandman. This system left to the agents of the Company all the villainous oppression of the Mahomedan government and imposts were levied upon the cultivators of the ground according to their discretion." The oppressive and ominous character of the land tax was well understood but the greed of the Company goaded them to continue their predatory policy and to impose a tax which pressed on the people. It was seen later that the apprehensions which led Grenville to utter those memorable words were fully justified. In 1873, the Bengal Board of Revenue reported that under that settlement, the majority of the zemindars were impoverished; the conditions of a large proportion of ryots were bad, and the only class that had signally and chiefly benefited was that of the moneylenders, who thus crowned the pinnacle of England's honour and glory from the permanent zemindary settlement.

The great mischief of the permanent settlement was perceived by others as well. Sir Edward Colebrooke wrote on July 12, 1820⁵¹:

The errors of the permanent settlement in Bengal were two-fold: first, the sacrifice of what may be denominated the yeomanry, by merging all village rights, whether of property or occupancy in the all devouring recognition of the zemindar's permanent property in the soil; and secondly, in the sacrifice of the peasantry by one sweeping enactment, which left the zemindar to make his settlement with them on such term as he might choose to require. Government indeed reserved to itself the power of legislating in favour of the tenants, but no such legislation has ever taken place; and on the contrary, every subsequent enactment has been founded on the declared object of strengthening the zemindar's hands.

In his Minute of February 3, 1790, Cornwallis had asserted⁵²:

"In order to simplify the demand of the landholder upon the ryots, or cultivators of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of the government upon the former; this done, I have little doubt but that the landholders will, without difficulty, be made to grant pottahs to the ryots upon the principles proposed by Mr. Shore for the Bengal settlement."

⁴⁹ Ascoli, *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁰ *Fifth Report*, p. 486, para 531.

⁵¹ *Revenue Selections*, Vol. III, p. 167.

⁵² *Fifth Report*, p. 486.

Colebrooke's comment shows that the wishful thinking of Cornwallis did not materialise.

It was expected that the zemindar, having the advantage of all the revenue from bringing waste lands into cultivation, would conform to the law which prohibited him from increasing the ryot's rent. But the strained relations between the zemindar and the ryot, and the multitudinous suits for enhancement of rent, have long since dispelled this illusion. Sir Frederic Halliday wrote⁵⁶, on September 2, 1856 :

"The intention of the permanent settlement was to recognise and confirm existing rights in the land, to prevent encroachment on those rights for the future. The effect of the settlement was, however, to erect into landowners men who were mere tax-collectors, and to give them almost unlimited power over all the old village proprietors, thus exposing to hazard a vast mass of long existing rights and creating new and unknown rights of property where they had never been before. The consequences of this have been deeply injurious to the great body of real proprietors whose rights were sacrificed on the occasion; and the bad consequences of the measure may be traced at the present day in many of the evils which penetrate into and vitiate so much of the constitution of our rural societies. The only chance of breaking any part of this system down (and every breach of it is a blessing to thousands) is through the purchase of zemindaries by Government at auction sales . . . Every zemindary so purchased is a population redeemed and regenerated."

Enhancement of rent had been similarly condemned by Sir John Peter Grant. Sir John wrote⁵⁷, on February 10, 1840 :

"The right to enhance according to the present value of the land differs not in principle from absolute annulment of tenure."

It was expected that the zemindars, with a fixed land tax (and it might be added, with the acquisition of a new proprietary right in the properties of millions) would lay out capital in improving agriculture. The testimony recorded is, that the zemindars have done little or nothing, the ryots everything, for the extension and improvement of cultivation. The Court of Directors themselves observed⁵⁸, on May 9, 1831 :

There is scarcely any fact to which there is more frequent testimony in your records that the improvidence and prodigality which characterise the zemindars. On the subject of their inattention to the improvement of their estates, the following declaration of Mr. Ernst, in his answer to the questions which were circulated in 1801, may serve as a specimen of the body of evidence which fills your records : "I have never seen or heard of a zemindar in Bengal who took any measures for the improvement of his estate on a large and liberal scale. Landholders do not carry their views beyond granting waste lands on the terms which are customary in the pergannah; they hardly ever encourage cultivation by digging a tank or making advances to the ryots." . . . The words of the Board of Revenue are : "The ryots generally clear and cultivate the lands at their own expense. The period of exemption from rent may in some instances exceed that specified in the talookdar's grant, but the burthen of expense, generally speaking, falls on the ryot."

Mr. Holt Mackenzie stated⁵⁹, on April 18, 1832 :

The system must oppose a serious obstacle to the successful cultivation of new and better crops. The zemindar, who is neither agriculturist nor owner of the soil, and stands in a position little favourable to the growth of enlightened and liberal ideas, must be expected to act as a tax-gatherer, and as a short-sighted tax-gatherer nipping in the bud and seeds of improvement. And we cannot hope that any new or increased demand for the produce of the country can be met with that promptitude which might be expected if the occupants were secured in their property, so long as the contractors for the Government revenue were on their watch for every new occasion of exaction, and the ignorance or inefficiency of our courts permit them unjustly and arbitrarily to tax the industry of the country."

Frequent ejectments had become a source of unmitigated curse to the peasant. Harish Ch. Mookerjee, Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot* and Sambhunath Pandit wrote⁶⁰, on September 27, 1851 :

"Frequent removals of habitation (ejectments) are proverbially injurious to the industrious classes of the Bengal peasant, who builds his own hut, irrigates and manures the land at his own expense, and owes his landlord nothing but the use of the bare natural powers of the soil, who is absolutely without a reserved capital, and is almost always encumbered with a family ; a single removal completes the ruin."

Justice George Campbell wrote⁶¹, on June 1, 1864 :

"The great zemindar, as a rule, (and the exceptions are most rare), does not spend a farthing on the improvement of his estate. He neither himself cultivates and introduces an improved agriculture, nor does he prepare farms for his tenants to build farm-houses, fence fields, drain and plant,—he does nothing whatever of all this, he performs none of the functions of a landlord in the English sense ; he merely permits ryots to cultivate at their own expense and takes from them the dues to which the law entitles him, or more if he can get it."

Among the foremost results of the permanent settlement may therefore be placed the destruction of those rights of millions of cultivating proprietors which in theory were recognised in the Proclamation of the Zemindary Settlement. The Select Committee which submitted the Fifth Report, stated that in India "subordinate rights were found to exist, which justice and humanity required should be protected, before the privileges of the zemindars, under the new system, were declared fixed for ever." But this was not done. On August 1, 1822, a Government Resolution⁶² stated :

As far, therefore, as concerns the ryots the perpetual settlement of the lower provinces must be held to have essentially failed to produce the contemplated benefits with whatever advantages it may have otherwise been attended.

As a natural consequence of the permanent settlement, the ryots' rights were destroyed ; they passed away *sub silentio*. By permanent settlement the country has profited nothing. The ryots have lost heavily. The zemindars have benefited but little. The bulk of the zemindars today are poor and mostly in debt.

(Concluded)

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 64, App. IV.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, App. IV, p. 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

⁵⁹ *Revenue Selections*, Vol. III, p. 336.

⁶⁰ "Zemindary Settlement in Bengal", App. IV, p. 61, para 8.

⁶¹ *Ibid*.

⁶² *Ibid*, App. IV, p. 63.

RESEARCH : THE FOUNDATION STONE OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL SUCCESS

Du Pont Research Laboratories—A Great Example

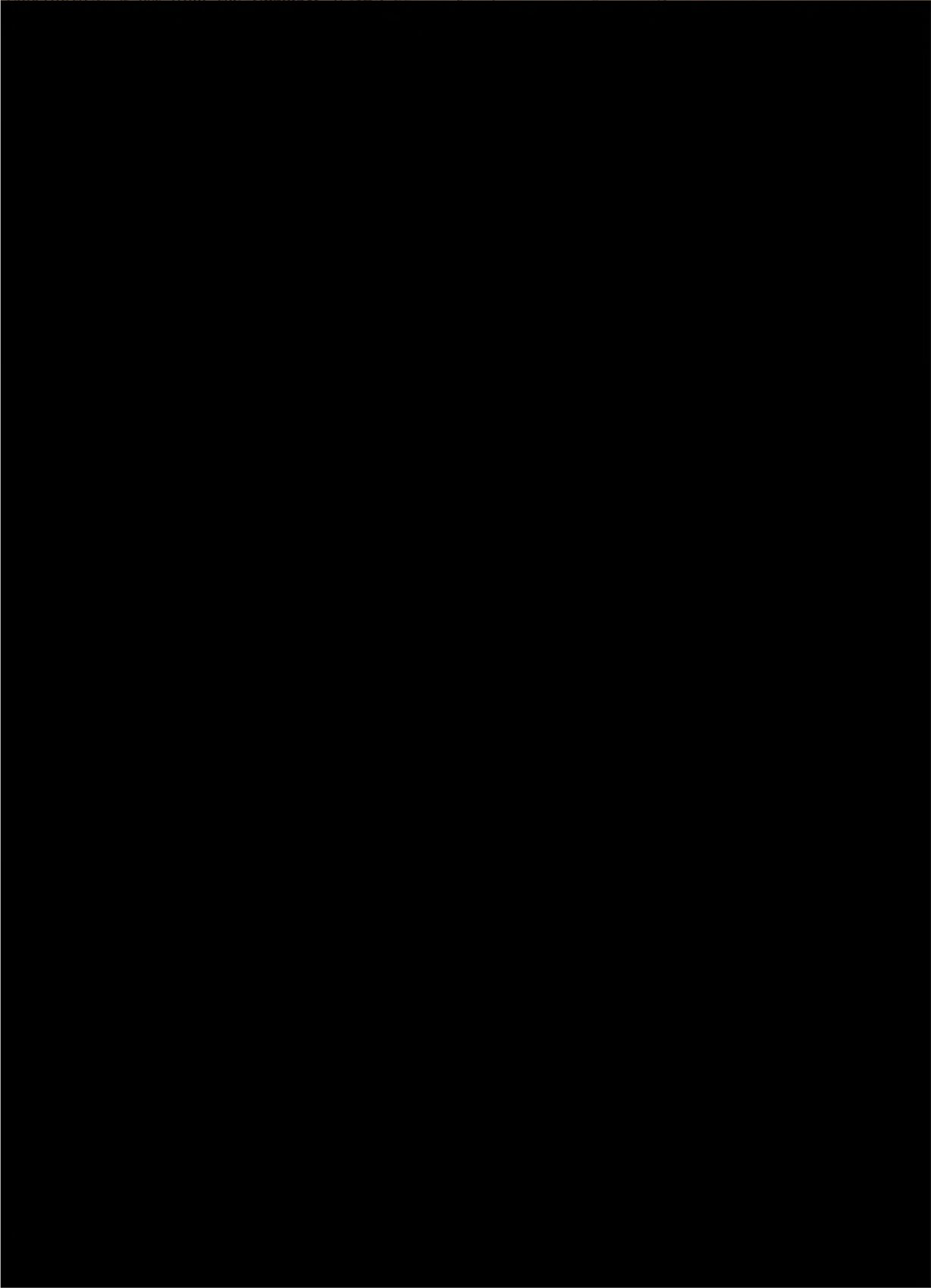
WHEN a great industrial laboratory devotes itself to fundamental research—the study of science instead of its commercial application—the results are unpredictable. Nylon, for example which in peacetime made the most glamorous of women's hosiery and now in a dozen forms is an essential war product, is one of the results of such pure research

CENTRAL CHEMICAL DEPARTMENT

In addition to these specialized laboratories is the Central Chemical Department, with laboratories at the experimental station. This department, because of its independent position, is not troubled by daily problems



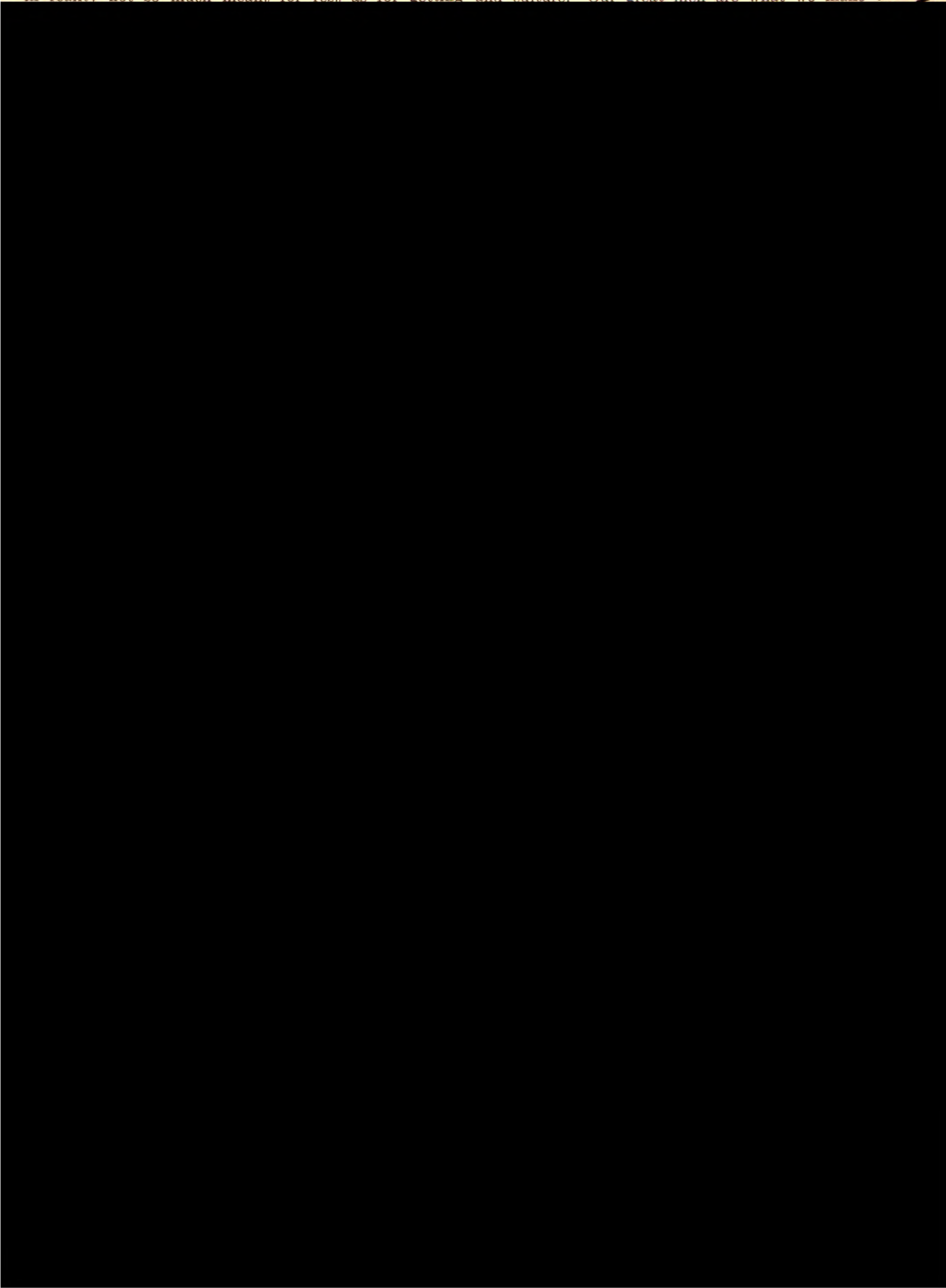
Superfortress a list from the Chamber Works, admit- yet peel off easily leaving a clean surface. Before the



Scientific tests of DDT led to its use to kill body lice which carry typhus. This material is credited with preventing a typhus epidemic in Naples. Investigations on the ability of DDT to kill other harmful insects are now under way. Although DDT was developed by others, du Pont participates in its manufacture, and the company's improved production methods recently made

Pont will be able to turn quickly, when the time comes, to the work of contributing to a better living standard. Some idea of the volume of new products created by industrial research can be gained from the fact that in 1942 nearly one-half of du Pont's sales consisted of products that either did not exist in 1928 or were not then manufactured in large commercial quantities.

in reality not so much meant for rest as for getting and culture." Our great men are what we make them



COOPER UNION OF NEW YORK

A Free School for the Advancement of Science and Art

good health and recreation help make good students and has established a thousand-acre camp in the country where Cooper Union boys and girls may go on weekends to paint and relax out-of-doors.

The founder of this great institution, Peter Cooper, was born in New York 152 years ago. Famous as a



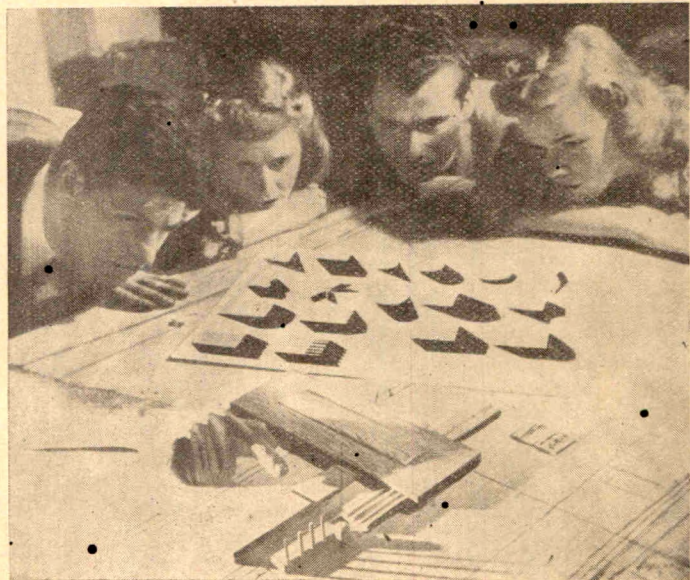
An American student sketches before a giant painting, one of the art treasures in the museum of Cooper Union



American students build wooden instruction models which illustrate assembly line techniques in modern industry at a class in industrial design at Cooper Union

The Great Hall of Cooper Union is famous in the history of political education and reform. Free lectures for the public are given here by world famous scholars and scientists under the auspices of the Department of Social Philosophy. Here in 1860 the great Abraham Lincoln gave the famous address which led to his nomination for the presidency in the following year. Here, also, John Tyndall, the English physicist, gave lectures on light which stimulated the building of scientific laboratories in American universities. For nearly a century the Hall has carried on its tradition of free speech before intelligent, enthusiastic audiences of mingled nationalities such as those which still gather there for discussion and enlightenment.

Cooper Union, true to its great liberal traditions, has equipped students in special skills to help the United Nations to victory. During the war the school offered special speeded-up courses in all phases of engineering for men prior to their entering the armed forces. Women were trained in industrial design and camouflage for war, as well as in science and engineering, in order to replace men in industry. The school offered special war-training courses at night while retaining daytime war jobs.



American students in a class in war camouflage at Cooper Union are shown how to disguise a building through the study of shadows

pioneer industrialist, as an inventor and as a philanthropist, his social ideals were a century ahead of his

Parthian settlers in India (who are not known to South Indian History) must have been citizens of the kingdom of Asoka; and there would be nothing surprising therefore in their "conforming to the king's morality" and adopting the Buddhist faith (like the Andhras). The Andhras occupied the country to the south of the Vindhya. The early Parthian settlers, considering the country of their origin, must have settled in Konkan and other parts of Western India and must have been the neighbours of the Andhras. This probably throws light on why the two races or tribes were coupled together in the Edicts.

It may be noticed that the present writer has referred to the "Paaradas" as early Parthian settlers, as if there were later settlers from Parthia. Undoubtedly there were such later settlers; and they are known in ancient Indian History as the Pahlavas. The *Harivamsa* refers to the Pahlavas as wearing beards; and hence they must have come to India after the wearing of

beards became the rule in Parthia (i.e., during the Sassanian period of Persian history). That they were Parthians is suggested by their very name, for, as stated in the article already referred to on Persia in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (at p. 578), the "Palhavi" language is merely the language of the Parthians. The "Pahlavas" were also known in India as "Pahnavas" (as stated by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao in his work *Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*). This is significant, as showing that the name of the original ruling clan amongst the Parthians was either given to or adopted by both the early and the later Parthian settlers in India. It may be here added that it is not impossible that after the downfall of the Andhra Empire, some of the later Pahlavas emigrated to Thondaimandalam and founded a kingdom there and were known as Pallavas, adopting Sanskrit surnames such as "Varman" and issuing charters and grants in Sanskrit and Prakrit in the Tamil country of Thondaimandalam.

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THE INDONESIAN FERMENT

By PROF. K. K. GAJRIA

THE efforts made by the Indonesians to secure freedom for their own country and to prevent the re-establishment of the Dutch imperialistic rule over their territories, have attracted the attention of the entire civilised world. Indonesia or the Dutch East Indies are a group of islands, nearly two thousand in number, over which the Dutch have ruled for nearly three hundred and fifty years. These islands are, at least, sixty times the size of Holland. The population of Indonesia approximates to seventy millions, over which eight millions of the Dutch have perpetuated their imperialism. The majority of the inhabitants of Indonesia are Muslims. For the Dutch, these islands have proved to be a veritable gold mine, a sort of prolific magic hen which lays millions of golden eggs. The Dutch East Indies are very rich in both mineral and vegetable resources. Apart from sugar, rice, tobacco and tea, the colony has huge rubber plantations, petroleum wells, and tin and coal mines. It has been estimated that more than 20 per cent of the world's supply of tin comes from these islands. Until the fall of Holland, they were ruled by the stout burghers of Netherlands, to whom they pumped a steady stream of invigorating wealth. Writing about the enormous natural resources of these islands, John Gunther, the celebrated author of *Inside Asia*, mentions the following facts:

"The dominating fact about the Netherlands Indies is that, like Croesus and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., they are rich. They are the Big Loot of Asia. They are packed tight with natives, under the steaming sun, who both produce and buy wealth. In the old days, the days of the Dutch East India Company, trade was a simple business of profitable barter: glass beads which cost little, for spices and cinnamon which brought profit. Nowadays it is—or was—a tremendous international process. The Netherlands Indies can pour out an illimitable stream of copra, sugar, rice, tea, coffee, oil, iron and gold. They produce normally 95 per cent of the world's supply of quinine, 30 per cent of its tobacco,

22 per cent of its tin, 85 per cent of its pepper and 10 per cent of its petroleum. If necessary they could totally supply the world's rubber." (*Inside Asia*, 1942 edition, page 227).

The Indonesian Archipelago includes Sumatra, Java, Madura, Celebes, Billiton, Bali, Lombok and large portions of the island of Borneo. Of these islands Java is one of the most densely populated regions of the world—the density of population being nearly 700 persons per square mile. With an area less than that of Great Britain, it has a population of about the same number, viz., forty million souls.

After giving these few facts and figures about Indonesia and her people, I shall now describe the origin and development of the national movement in these islands. The national movement in Indonesia had started long before the outbreak of the Second World War. The leader of the Indonesians, Dr. Soekarno was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1929 for leading the national movement. Dr. Soekarno is a colourful personality and is the idol of the people. The Indonesians consider him to be their saviour. In his eyes they find solace and from his speeches they derive vigour and energy. He occupies the same place and enjoys the same respect among the Indonesians, as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru enjoy among the Indians. Against this man the Indonesians will not tolerate a word. The Dutch, however, consider him to be a "Quisling", who, according to them, worked hand-in-glove with the Japanese and made violent speeches against the Allies, during the days of the Japanese occupation of these islands. A correspondent of *The Daily Express*, of London describes Soekarno as a "cool, graceful, self-possessed figure—smooth-spoken and rapier-minded." His righthand man and Vice-President, Dr. Mohammed Hatta, is said to be the real brain of the party. Dr. Soekarno, however, brushes aside suggestions of Japanese collaboration. He said to the same correspondent:

"We hate the Japanese and all totalitarian

systems, but I admit that we are so determined about our independence that we were ready to accept it even from dirty hands.

The Indonesians, in common with the people of other Asiatic countries, were preparing themselves for a national struggle all along. In the beginning of the twentieth century, specially after the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, surging tides of nationalism were gaining momentum in every Asiatic country, and a whole continent was being awakened from its slumbers and shaking off its inferiority complex. These national movements, naturally, could not leave the people of Indonesia unaffected. In 1918, in response to the vigorous demand of the Indonesians, the Dutch thought of establishing some sort of self-rule—of course, keeping the central citadel of power in their own hands and surrendering only the out-houses. A hotch-potch assembly, called "Volkrasad", consisting partly of nominated and partly of elected members, was established to discuss the budget, and advise the Government on matters of general importance. This was to be the first step towards the development of responsible government—Indian History repeating itself in Indonesia. By the constitution of 1918, powers of a limited nature were given to the Indonesians. The control of trade, finance and defence continued to remain in the hands of the Dutch and the powers transferred into the hands of the Indonesians were rather nominal. The administration of justice for Europeans continued to remain in the hands of the Europeans. In the defence of their country the Indonesians were not given their proper share. The majority of the services, both in the army and the civil departments, were manned by the Dutch. Even after three hundred and fifty years of Dutch rule 95 per cent of the Indonesians continue to remain illiterate. 75 per cent of the total investments belong to the Dutch and 61 per cent of the total exports go to Holland. It is interesting to note that the wages of the Indonesian labourers ranked from eight annas to twelve annas per day, while with the sweat of their brow, rubber, sugar, tin and other exports went into Holland in a regular stream to raise the standard of living of the "White Sahibs" there.

The first open revolution in Indonesia against the Dutch imperialism took place in 1926, but it was ruthlessly and silently suppressed. The outside world was kept completely in the dark. Be it said to the credit or discredit of Dutch diplomacy, that this fact of the Dutch suppression of the Indonesian national movement remained a closely guarded secret as against the outside world, and the people outside remained completely ignorant of the political earthquakes and rumblings that were taking place inside Indonesia.

In 1933, when the national movement gathered momentum and brought about sufficient political awakening among the masses, the Governor-General was empowered to declare the national party an illegal organization (like the Congress Party in India), to put a ban on the holding of public meetings and taking out of processions. These harsh and repressive measures succeeded in strangling the national movement for some time. In October, 1936, however, a resolution was moved before the Indonesian Assembly to give "Dominion Status" to these islands. That resolution was passed on the 15th June, 1937. Fortunately for the Indonesians, the Muslims there, unlike the followers of the Muslim League in India, are imbued with the

spirit of nationalism to such an extent, that the policy of "Divide and Rule", on the part of the Dutch imperialists was out of the question. Even the Eurasians voted with the national party. It is interesting to note that the Indonesian leaders draw their inspiration and guidance from the Indian struggle for independence under the dynamic leadership of persons like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Soekarno in collaboration with Dr. Mohammed Hatta has succeeded in building up the national will on firm foundations.

When these islands were occupied by the Japanese in 1942, the Indonesians, who had fought the Dutch Imperialism with unflinching determination and single-mindedness of purpose, were brought face to face with new masters. The Indonesians, however, under their two leaders, Soekarno and Mohammed Hatta, told the Japanese in unequivocal terms that they were out to establish self-government for themselves. At this time Queen Wilhelmina of Holland also made a declaration promising complete independence to the Indonesians after the cessation of hostilities. The Indonesians, on several occasions, had to resist the Japanese who wanted perpetuation of their militarism; but the Japanese who had raised the slogan of "Asia for Asiatics", tried to satisfy the Indonesians by handing over complete control over internal matters to the accredited leaders of the people. Thus, during the period of the Japanese occupation of these islands, the Indonesians enjoyed full independence in internal affairs, and the Japanese only ran their war-time administration for the successful prosecution of the war against the Allies.

After the defeat of the Japanese and their consequent surrender, the Indonesians established their own national government and made an appeal to the Allied nations to lend their support to it by giving it full recognition. Drs. Soekarno and Hatta made a public appeal to the British Government:

"The Indonesians", they said, "are fully confident that the British nation and all other democratic peoples will render their assistance to us for the preservation of the independence of this young republic, which had declared its willingness and preparedness to co-operate with the United Nations in the construction of a World Peace and Justice based on mutual respect."

This appeal of the Indonesian leaders, however, has fallen on deaf ears. Major C. R. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, like his predecessor, Mr. Winston Churchill, also believes in supporting tottering imperialism everywhere, and giving them artificial props to give a longer lease of life to them. Mr. Churchill had declared, sometime ago, that he had not become the King's First Minister to "preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." Major Attlee goes a step further, and displays a missionary zeal in preserving intact not only British imperialism, but, also, Dutch imperialism over the politically awakened Indonesians. The Indonesian leaders asked for bread and they received stone. They appealed for the recognition of their newly born republic, but what they have received is British bayonets and British bullets. It is a pity that Indian soldiers are being used for enslaving the brave people of Indonesia, and perpetuating in their islands the hated rule of the Dutch imperialists. From all over India strong protests come against this policy of using Indian troops for the suppression of the national movement in a sister Asiatic country. Maulana

Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Indian National Congress, has also registered his vigorous protest against this policy. In a statement, which he issued sometime back, he said :

"Things in Indonesia and Indo-China have come to a point when the Indian National Congress will have seriously to consider what steps to adopt to prevent the use of Indian men and materials against Asiatic peoples fighting for their freedom. Indians, who are fighting for their own freedom and democracy, cannot but sympathise and fall in line with the struggle of the Indonesians and the Annamite nationalists. The character of this true people's war has been instinctively recognised both by the workers and the exploited classes of the world and their imperialist masters and exploiters. We, therefore, find the dock and the port workers of China and Australia refusing to load munitions and other war materials for use against these East Asiatic nationalists, and on the other hand, the British, the French and the Dutch imperialists joining forces for restoring the status 'ante bellum'."

We must, however, realise clearly that to-day

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DECIMALIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

By H. L. RAY, M.I. Chem. E., A.B. (Harvard), Dr. Ing. (Berlin)

RECENTLY the Government of India in their circular No. F2 (76)-F (44) have asked for public opinion regarding decimalization of coinage. This is only a half measure. Decimalization should be adopted for all weights and measures. Movement for this purpose is an old one, and the Indian Science Congress in 1934 accepted a resolution, proposed by Dr. S. K. Mitra to the same end. The wordings of the resolution and a short history of the movement in India and other countries of the world contained in the proceedings of the Congress are reproduced below for general information.

Resolutions proposed by Prof. S. K. Mitra, D.Sc. :

(1) That considering the diverse systems of weights and measures in use in different parts of India, this Committee is of opinion that it is high time that the government of this country do take steps to standardize the system and adopt for this purpose the Metric System which is in use in most of the civilized countries of the world and make its use compulsory in all government and private transactions.

(2) That a committee of five members to be called 'The Metric Committee of the Indian Science Congress' be formed to devise ways and means to press upon the Government the urgency of the reform in weights and measures by the compulsory adoption of the Metric System throughout the whole of India.

Attempts made by the Government of India to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures in India :

Indonesia is not so much under Dutch control, as under the control of Indo-British troops and the Japanese. It is really unfortunate for the Indonesian nationalists, that in their country, the Japanese enemy is joining hands in this unholy work with the Allies to maintain law and order, till Holland is able to send enough troops to re-establish its rule over the Indonesians.

The position of the Indian troops which are called upon to suppress the national movement in Indonesia is peculiar. They are under military discipline and run the risk of being court-martialled if they disobey the orders of their military officers. On the other hand, their sympathies are with the patriots who are fighting for their mother-land. India has no desire to get a bad name in East Asia for her nationals, by fighting for western European imperialism, and it is imperative that the Government of India should withdraw Indian troops and leave the Dutch and the Indonesians to fight among themselves. But if the British Government cannot escape participation in the measures taken or to be taken for the suppression of the Indonesians, then, let that dirty and unpleasant work be done by British troops and not Indian troops.

In 1867 a Committee was appointed by the Government of India to deal with the question of unification of weights and measures in India. The Secretary of State in approving the terms of reference of the Committee forwarded to the Government of India a report of the representations made by a deputation from the Metric Committee of the British Association on the subject of the introduction of the metric system into India. The Committee appointed by the Government submitted its report in 1868 and its majority recommended the adoption of the English standard of weights and measures and length. Three members of the committee, Colonel Strachey, Colonel Hyde and Mr. Graham, however, submitted a strong note of dissent urging the adoption of the metric system.

In 1870 the Indian Weights and Measures Act was passed (Act XI of 1870) for gradual introduction of the metric system into India. The Secretary of State, however, refused sanction to the Bill, because it was thought to be too extensive, and ordered revision of the Act.

In 1871 a new Act was passed (Act XXXI of 1871) making the 'seer', the primary standard of weight equal to one kilogramme and the volume of one seer of water (i.e., 1 litre) the primary standard of capacity. In order to introduce the decimal system the Act further ordained that all subsidiary units should be integral multiples of the primary standard and should be expressed in decimal parts. Lord Northbrook's Government, however, recommended that the introduction of the provisions of this Act should be subject to the consent of Railways. The Railways, on being consulted, could not come to a unanimous decision about the simultaneous adoption of the new measure

of the weight, and the Act, though still in the statute book, is entirely a dead letter.

In 1875 the Government of India decided that the Indian maund of 40 seers (each seer 80 tolas) should be standard in use on the Guaranteed State Railways. (Resolution No. 21-R, dated 9th Oct., 1875.) This is the origin of the so-called Government 'seer' of 80 tolas. Previous to this in 1870 the Indian Coinage Act (Act XXIII of 1870) defined a tola as 180 grains Troy being the weight of a rupee. The Indian Railways Act (Act IX of 1890) also adopted similar definitions of the maund and the seer.

In 1889 the Measures of Length Act (Act II of 1889), in which the British Imperial Yard was made the primary standard of length for use in India.

Between 1890 and 1913 the policy followed by the Government of India had been to prescribe, as necessity arose, standard weights and measures for particular districts or groups of districts similar to those adopted by the Indian Railways and Government departments.

In 1901 the Secretary of State forwarded to the Government of India copies of a paper presented to Parliament regarding the adoption of metric system of weights and measures in European countries and suggested that the first step in India would be to accustom the public to the new weights by adopting them on Railways, at Customs Houses, and in Post Offices. To this despatch the Government of India replied that though they recognized the advantages of the decimal system yet they were averse from taking any action in the matter at that time owing to serious obstacles in introducing any new measure and preferred to wait before proposing a change until the United Kingdom had decided to adopt it.

Between the years 1901 and 1913 the various Provincial Governments made attempts from time to time to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures in their respective provinces and corresponded with the Government of India for the purpose. The Government of Bombay in particular appointed a Committee in 1913 to discuss the question as far as their province was concerned. Some of the Chambers of Commerce and Trades Associations also addressed the Government of India pointing out the urgency of the reform and making various suggestions.

In 1913 the Government of India decided to reopen the question of the feasibility of securing the use of uniform weights and measures in India and appointed a Committee to enquire into the whole subject.

In 1914 the Committee of Weights and Measures submitted its report. For weights they recommended the standardization of the Indian system (maund, seer, chatak), for length the British system (yard, foot, inch), for areas of agricultural land the same system (acre, etc.), for small areas the squares of any authorized measures of length and for capacity the volume of 1½ seer of water at 30°C as the primary unit. One of the members of the Committee, Mr. A. Y. G. Campbell, I.C.S., submitted a minute of dissent in which the wholesale adoption of the metric system was strongly urged.

No substantial effect has been given by the Government either to the majority report of the Committee or to the minute of dissent owing probably to the Great War which broke out immediately after the publication of the report.

Countries in which the use of the Metric System is compulsory :

Asia : Philippines (1860), Indo-China (1911), Siam (1923), Japan (1924).

Europe : France (1794), Belgium (1820), Luxembourg (1820), Holland (1820), Spain (1860), Italy (1861), Germany (1872), Portugal (1872), Austria-Czechoslovakia-Hungary (1876), Switzerland (1877), Norway (1882), Yugoslavia (1883), Rumania (1884), Sweden (1889), Bulgaria (1892), Finland (1892), Iceland (1907), Denmark (1912), Malta (1914), Greece (1922), Poland (1924), U.S.S.R. (1927).

South America : Chile (1884), Columbia (1854), Porto Rico (1860), Brazil (1862), Ecuador (1865), Peru (1889), Bolivia (1893), Uruguay (1894), Venezuela (1914), Guiana (1910).

North America : Cuba (1854), Mexico (1906), Haiti (1921), Costa Rica, Panama, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador (1912).

Africa : Algeria (1843), Tunis (1895), Portuguese East Africa (1910), Congo (1911)

Metric System is legally optional or partially compulsory in the following countries :

Canada, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Great Britain, Ireland, Irish Free State, Paraguay, Turkey, United States.

Looked at from a philosophical and mathematical point of view "Decimalization" is a few thousand years old counted from the introduction of the decimal system of notation and that of the invaluable zero, and its place of origin is India. This system has advanced civilization by a good few centuries. For testing the truth of this statement one is simply to compare it with the cumbersome Roman system previously prevailing in Europe.

Decimalization of weights and measures and its use in everyday life amongst the common people was first started in France in 1794, the time of the French Revolution. Since then gradually it has been accepted by most countries of the world, English-speaking countries being the important exceptions. Even amongst them the system has penetrated into some of the items, e.g., dollars and cents in U.S.A. coinage.

Up till now no valid reasons have been advanced by any one against decimalization of weights and measures. Human nature, as a rule, is conservative and fights shy of any change. Main objection against it is the temporary dislocation and inconvenience during the first year or two. Moreover, it will involve some initial expenditure; the existing weights and measures will become so much scrap. Weighing machines will require only slight alteration, re-marking of the scales. We can roughly calculate the cost to be incurred for bringing this change into effect. The population of India is about 400 million and assuming that for every 400 people there is one set of weights in use, the total cost of converting these into scrap and replacing them with new sets of weights according to the metric and decimal system including the incidental expenses would be about Rs. 20,00,000. Besides this expense there will be the temporary trouble of getting accustomed to the new system. Every other objection against decimalization is more imaginary and insignificant than real.

The advantages of the metric and decimal system have been explained many times all over the world and admitted. But still there is opposition against the introduction of the system amongst English-speaking people,

and India is politically and mentally dominated by them. Why should we not at least shake off this slavery of the mind? For a fresh consideration of the matter it is worthwhile to review the situation.

From the educational standpoint it is found that the time devoted to the teaching of arithmetic to the school students can be halved if the weights, measures, and coinage be decimalized. And considerable saving of time in higher studies can be achieved by the introduction of this system. Similarly calculation involving weights and measures will be more directly accomplished with the help of slide-rule and logarithmic table. The amount of man-hour saved in one year will more than compensate for the money spent once only for the conversion of weights and measures for the change over to the new system. Moreover, the school-children will be spared the tedious task of committing to memory the various tables of weights and measures—foreign and Indian. In Bengal various units of weights, measures, and money are designated by different symbols. Legislators who can bring about the decimalization will earn for themselves the blessings of all future generations of school-children.

In English text-books on physics, chemistry and other pure sciences the metric system (which is based on decimalization) is generally used but English text-books on Engineering use the British units. The consequence is confusion and unnecessary work of conversion of one unit into another. There is no method in this madness.

We are, in the words of Goldsmith, though vanquished still arguing. Decimalization is slowly penetrating into our affairs. In the Land Revenue Survey periodically carried out by the Government of Bengal

the unit of area is the acre, and the areas of individual plots of land are denoted by hundredths of an acre. In sports in India under the Olympic rules lengths and heights are measured according to the metric system.

At present different parts of India use different units of weights though the law prescribes only one. With the introduction of decimalization there should be only one unit which should be strictly enforced.

The Government of India at present have asked for opinion regarding decimalization of the coinage. But why this half-measure? There is one good thing about coinage; it has at least uniformity throughout the country. As regards weights and measures the country is like a veritable tower of Babel. To add to the confusion the British units are also used in the form of pounds, hundredweights, tons, miles, yards, fathoms, inches, acres, gallons, pints, ounces, grains, etc.

In the reform proposed the first point is decimalization and the second is the choice of the units. Against the first objective there should not be any objection, India being the originator of this system of numeration. Regarding the second point there is a possibility of difference of opinion. But considering that different parts of the world are coming closer together by means of easier communication and that international trade and commerce will go on increasing, the adoption of the metric units will be more advisable. It will also bring about uniformity of units between pure and applied sciences.

India along with the rest of the world will be passing through vast changes in the immediate future and this change of units of weights and measures is a small part of the whole process. The initial inconveniences must be accepted as an inseparable accompaniment of every new birth.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Lingua Franca For India

In an article in *The Modern Review* for August, 1945, Mr. Md. Shahidullah, M.A., D.Litt., has made a number of proposals for solving the linguistic problem of India. While I fully endorse his remarks regarding Hindustani, it is hard to see why English should be our *lingua franca*. U.S.S.R. has undoubtedly recognised all the different languages under the Union, but it has also made Russian the *lingua franca* of the Union. We too must do the same. No multi-lingual country of the world has made a foreign language, the vernacular of no part of the country, its *lingua franca*. English is certainly the international language but for that reason it has not been made the *lingua franca* of even such small countries as Belgium and Switzerland, or of Canada. If countries like U.S.S.R. and China can manage without making English their national language, surely we too can make an Indian language our *lingua franca* or national language. An Indian language like Hindi will anyway be infinitely easier to learn by Indians than English. Also our present dependence on English, which is due to our alien education and alien rule, need not continue. U.S.S.R. and Japan have not abolished or neglected English but they do not depend on it for

All-U.S.S.R. or All-Japan purposes. Many provinces of India are of the size of Japan. If Japan can impart the highest scientific and technical education in Japanese without being the loser for it, surely our provincial languages can be so developed as to make English unnecessary for the highest education. It is also possible to make the *lingua franca* of India the medium of higher and scientific education throughout the country just as in U.S.S.R. There is no reason why in a free India the present place of English in the curriculum up to, say, the Matriculation stage should not be given to the Indian language which we may accept as our *lingua franca* or national language.

Above only the arguments (scientific?) given by Mr. Shahidullah in favour of English as *lingua franca* have been discussed. As a matter of fact, there are other very substantial arguments against English as *lingua franca*, not the least of which is that, in the words of Pt. Nehru, "The entire genius and atmosphere of the language is foreign and not Indian." English is not a vernacular of India. Not more than 1 per cent of the population understands it while about half the total

population of India can easily understand and speak Hindi (Hindustani).

The surprising thing, however, is that while Mr. Shahidullah advocates that English, the international language, should be the *lingua franca* of India, he wants Urdu (and not English) to be the international language from Morocco to China. He says :

"As for Urdu it has a distinct advantage over Hindi. Being written in a modified Arabic script and having a number of Arabic and Persian words incorporated in it, it can serve the purpose of an international language like Esperanto from Morocco to China."

The inconsistency is too apparent. Also he conveniently forgets that Sanskrit (together with its script Devnagari) and Pali have so profoundly entered the life and language of the people of Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, French Indo-China, Malaya, Java, Sumatra, China and Japan through Buddhism, cultural contact of India with these countries for thousands of years and colonisation of many of these countries by ancient Hindus, and even to-day have so much interest for them, that Hindi, being written in the same script as Sanskrit, being derived from Sanskrit and having a large number of Sanskrit and Prakrit (Pali included) words incorporated in it, can serve the purpose of an international language from Karachi to Tokyo, comprising half the population of the world. Sanskrit is one of the three great languages of the ancient world with original literatures (Sanskrit, Greek and Chinese). On the continent too Sanskrit has profoundly affected the life and language of the people and together with its script is even to-day much more popular and much more widely known than Persian or Arabic. Professor Macdonell says :

"The intellectual debt of Europe to Sanskrit literature has been undeniably great. It may perhaps become greater still in the years that are to come."¹

Sanskrit is the corner-stone of Indo-European group of languages. The similarity between the original roots of European languages and Sanskrit is so striking that many philologists are inclined to the view that the latter is the mother of the former. In the matter of script too², Sir William Jones says :

"Devnagri (old Nagri i.e., Brahmi) is the original source whence the alphabets of Western Asia were derived."³

So which language—Hindi or Urdu—can serve like Esperanto from Madrid to Tokyo ?

Moreover, while on the grounds of script and vocabulary Mr. Shahidullah has proclaimed the advantage of Urdu over Hindi as an international language from Morocco to China, he does not seem to be prepared to concede on the same grounds the same—rather much greater—advantage to Hindi over Urdu as the *lingua franca* of India or the language of inter-provincial intercourse which is much more important

than international intercourse. All the Indian languages that matter except Urdu (for Kashmir, N.-W.F.P. and Sind have adopted or are adopting Urdu for all literary and administrative purposes and so Kashmiri⁴, Pashto and Sindhi⁵ are under the shadow of Urdu and need not be considered separately) go to Sanskrit for words of higher culture, such words are common to them all and Hindi, the language of Madhyadesha, is the natural inter-provincial language for the speakers of these languages, specially of the Sanskritic languages, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Punjabi (Gurmukhi), Gujarati and Marathi. In the matter of script too, Devnagari is also the script of Marathi and in its slightly modified or rather cursive forms it is the script of all the other Sanskritic languages. (While Mr. Shahidullah has grouped together Urdu, Sindhi, Kashmiri and Pashto scripts as Persico-Arabic, he has separately enumerated Bengali, Oriya, Gurmukhi and Gujarati though the difference between them and Devnagari is merely a result of separate treatment of Devnagari in different regions and for one knowing one of them it is a matter of only a few hours to learn any other of them.) Even the scripts of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam are phonetically the same as Devnagari. Moreover, Devnagari is the script of Sanskrit, the classic and religious language of India, for which Prof. Max Muller says :

"Yet such is the marvellous continuity between the past and the present in India, that in spite of repeated social convulsions, religious reforms and foreign invasions, Sanskrit may be said to be still the only language that is spoken over the whole extent of that vast country. . . . Even at the present moment, after a century of English rule and English teaching, I believe that Sanskrit is more widely understood in India than Latin was in Europe at the time of Dante."⁶

Mr. Shahidullah's statement that Devnagari is not widely known outside the midland of India is absolutely misleading. Dr. Chatterji calculates that the Perso-Arabic script at a liberal computation cannot claim more than 30 millions, mostly in North-Western and North-Central India, but Devnagari, in its pure, unmodified form, is in use among 140 millions and more. From the statistical point of view, on the basis of census of 1931 the question can be presented in this way : Out of 10,000 men in India :

(a) 7,235 speak languages of the Sanskritic family, the literature and vocabulary of which have been shaped mainly by Sanskrit ;

(b) 4,053 of these use languages which are written in the Devnagari script ;

(c) 2,662 use languages which are written in some

4 "Kashmiri is a Dardic speech profoundly influenced by Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit." (Dr. S. K. Chatterji).

5 "Sindhi, though it bears many marks of Arabic and Persian influence and is written in a form of Perso-Arabic script, is nearer the original Sanskrit than any other Indian language." The Persian script was adopted in 1857. Before that Devnagari was used. Many old Sindhi books, written in the Nagari script, are preserved in the libraries of Sindh. Shah Abdul Latif (1689-1752), described as the *Shakespeare of Sindh*, has used Sanskrit words profusely in his famous *Risal* (Poetical Works) ; out of 20,000 words used by him in all his works, more than 12,000 words are Sanskrit. Regarding the unscientific attempt of the present Sind Government to Arabise Sindhi arbitrarily and forcibly, vide, Swami Jagadishwaranand's article in *The Modern Review* for August, 1941.

6 India : What Can It Teach Us ? p. 78.

1 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 42.

2 Urdu script is most unsuited for typing, quick printing and other modern appliances. Turkey has given up Turkish script in favour of Roman. Other Middle-East countries may do likewise. Then the Urdu script will not have even that advantage which Mr. Shahidullah has supposed. No Indian language will have advantage over another on the ground of script if his proposal that all Indian languages should adopt the Roman script materialises.

3 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 423.

form of Devnagari, that is, in all 6,715 persons can easily accept the Devnagari script.

So both in the matter of script and vocabulary, Hindi possesses tremendous advantage over Urdu in India, and if the use of Urdu and not English can be advocated for international communication from Morocco to China, certainly Hindi and not English can serve as the inter-provincial language or the *lingua franca* of India.

Regarding Mr. Shahidullah's proposed division of India into three linguistic zones, it is hard to see why the official languages of India west of Bengal should be two—Hindi and Urdu. What shall be the common language of this zone? If this zone can have two official languages Hindi and Urdu, surely the whole of India can have two official or national languages, Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Shahidullah says :

"For one knowing Hindi it is a very easy matter to master Urdu in a few months and vice versa. There is no harm in having two official languages in the same province as in Canada."

The same will apply if both Hindi and Urdu are national languages. In fact, there should be no need of duplicating work, wasting time, money and energy by having both as national languages. Only one—Hindi—should do. If Mr. Shahidullah can ask speakers of such highly developed languages as Marathi and Gujarati to accept Hindi and Urdu as official languages in his Hindi-Urdu zone, surely he can ask speakers of Urdu in India to accept Hindi as national language of India. Turkey is getting rid of unnecessary Arabic and Persian words from her language and Persia is similarly reviving native Persian words in place of the alien Arabic. If speakers of Urdu cannot Indianise their language Urdu, certainly they can accept an Indian language Hindi as national language like Russian in U.S.S.R.

If India must be divided into linguistic zones, each zone or territorial unit must have a single official language. It is one thing for people in different provinces or zones having different official languages but quite another for people in the same province or zone rather in the same locality or in almost adjoining houses having two official languages. The analogy of Switzerland or Canada does not apply in the Hindi-Urdu region. Every administrative unit must have a single official language, which should be the predominant language of the unit, to serve as the language of administration, of the Assembly and as the common language of the unit for higher purposes. At least the two-language zone—the Hindi-Urdu zone—of Mr. Shahidullah must be broken up into two—one comprising Bihar, C.P., U.P., Rajasthan, Gujerat and Maharashtra having Hindi as official language and the other comprising the Punjab, Kashmir, N.-W.F.P. and Sindh having Urdu as official language. If speakers of Marathi and Gujarati can accept Hindi as official language in the Hindi zone, the few speakers of Urdu in the Hindi zone and the few speakers of Hindi in the Urdu zone can also accept Hindi and Urdu respectively as official language. They can learn Hindi and Urdu respectively in a few months according to Mr. Shahidullah himself. In this way infinite complications, tremendous duplication of official work, waste of time, money and energy would be avoided. There is also no reason why Southerners should adopt both Hindi and Urdu as official languages. Either they should select a Southern language for this purpose or, if adoption of a Northern

language by them is necessary for cultural link-up, they should select a single Northern language in their discretion, Hindi being their choice in all probability. The Bengali zone may also accept Hindi as official language. In any case, the inter-zonal language of these zones can be Hindi, the language of the mid-zone and also otherwise most suited for this purpose.

Regarding reform of Urdu script advocated by Mr. Shahidullah, I must submit that reforms in scripts are very difficult to carry out. For all his efforts, Bernard Shaw has not been able to introduce any reform in the unscientific and incomplete Roman script. However, there is no harm in trying. But changes of script suggested by Mr. Shahidullah are beyond the realm of practicability. Bengalis cannot be expected to accept Devnagari in place of Bengali script for their language. Moreover, the entire Bengali literature will have to be re-published in Devnagari which is an impossible proposition. The same applies to other languages. Roman is also out of question *vis-a-vis* Devnagari. If China has not given up its most cumbersome script in favour of Roman, it is impossible for an ancient country like India proud of her civilisation to prefer the unscientific, incomplete and foreign Roman to her Swadeshi, complete and most scientific Devnagari, the mother of most Indian and many foreign scripts. If there are any changes of script that can be put forward with any show of justification they are that Sindhi should revert to its original script Devnagari, and Urdu, which is a form of Hindi, should give up its unscientific and foreign script in favour of the Hindi script.

In the light of the above discussion, the alternative suggestion of Mr. Shahidullah that Sanskrit and Arabic may be made national languages needs little comment. Arabic never was and is not a vernacular of India. To-day Sanskrit and Arabic are the mother-tongue of none in India. Sacred language is a different thing. Arabic is as sacred for Russian, Chinese, and Persian Muslims as for Indian Muslims but for that reason it is not the national language of Muslims in those countries. Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, is not the national language anywhere in Christendom. Most important of all, all Hindus are prepared to accept Hindi and all Muslims are prepared to accept Urdu as national language. So if communal considerations have to be taken into account, nothing is gained by substituting Sanskrit and Arabic for Hindi and Urdu. Difficulties are not lessened but multiplied hundred-fold for very obvious reasons. Then there can be no linguistic zones. In the smallest administrative unit both Sanskrit and Arabic will have to be made official languages rendering it impossible for administration to carry on. Moreover, Sanskrit and Arabic are fundamentally different while Hindi and Urdu are not so. One knowing Sanskrit cannot as easily acquire Arabic as one knowing Hindi can acquire Urdu and *vice versa*. As more and more Hindus will express themselves in Hindi and more and more Muslims in Urdu, better understanding between the two communities will be equally promoted by knowing both Hindi and Urdu. So if we must have two national languages, let them be Hindi and Urdu rather than Sanskrit and Arabic and let every unit in the Hindi-Urdu region select one of them for administration, official work and other common purposes; though I would again emphasize the claim of Hindi to be the one inter-provincial language or the *lingua franca* of India.

PT. RAVI SHANKER SHUKLA, M.A., PH.D.

KAUTILYA, THE INDIAN MACHIAVELLI

The Mauryan Polity in Retrospect

By D. R. DUTT, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

We may here pass in brief retrospect over the political philosophy of Arthashastra, the monument of Mauryan polity, of which the authorship is attributed to Chanakya who is also designated by the name Kautilya. The author of this treatise lays no claim to being the founder of a new political school but admits his obligations to as many as ten previous writers on the subject, from whose works he has profited largely and borrowed quite liberally. So even in this field, of which the sole credit has hitherto gone to the ancient Greeks, they will, we are afraid, have to yield the palm to their Indian cousins.

There should really be no two opinions about the authorship and date of the Arthashastra since Chanakya was a puissant historical personality and ruled the destinies of an empire. But since it has become customary with some of the European historians to indulge in something of a hair-splitting controversy on the subject, we are perforce obliged to refer briefly to it. Keith, to whom no logic is puerile and no argument fallacious if he can by this means spoil India's credit for her achievements, beats the record of his perverted distortions by declaring that since Patanjali makes no reference to this work it must not have existed. He is not quite content with ridiculing himself thus by his oft-repeated trick of argument from negation but seeks further to find some Greek affinities in the work itself so as to discover a foothold however slender, for the purpose of deliberately post-dating it. The attempt is too weak-kneed and should be treated with the contempt it deserves. Scholars like Jacobi and Meyers and Sanskritists like Shama, Shastri, Ganapati Shastri and Law have all upheld the traditional view regarding the Arthashastra, which is quite sufficient for disproving any fantastic theory that men like Keith may prefer to advance.

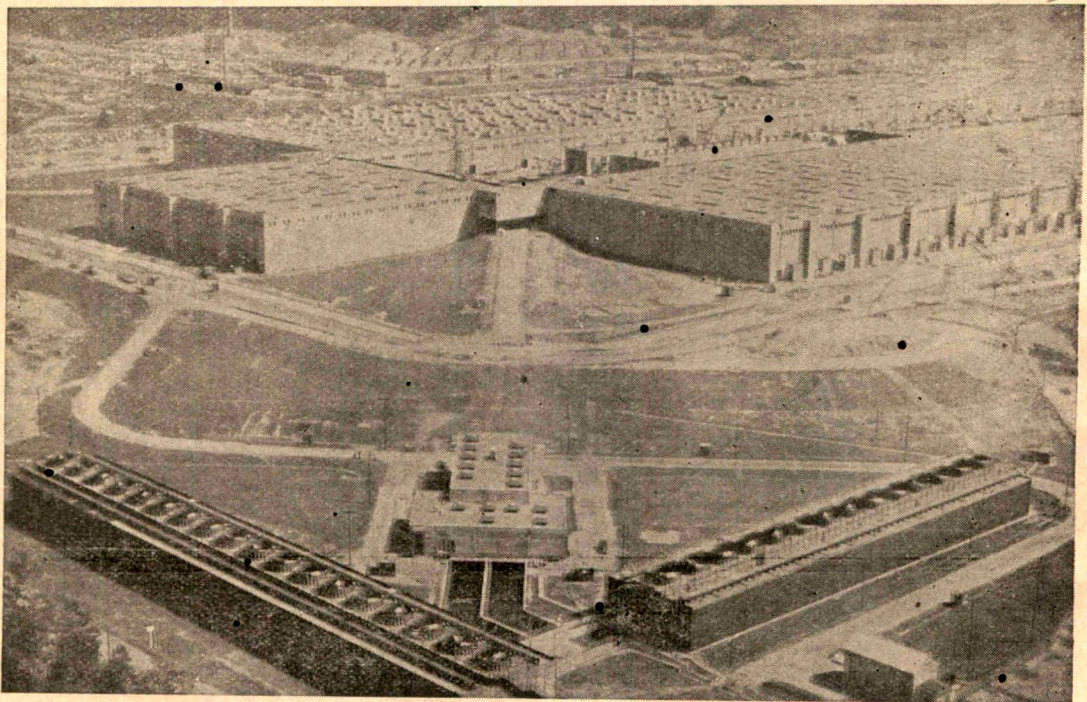
After this rather enforced digression we come to the work itself. The thesis of the work is split up into fifteen well-defined sections. The first one of these deals with the breeding and education of a prospective ruling prince such as would fit him out for the onerous duties ahead. He is to be conversant with a knowledge of things both human and divine. Besides, a faithful performance of the peculiar duties attaching to his caste, under the bending sickle of the compass of his intelligence should come trade and industry, politics and criminal administration, economics and agriculture and other pastoral pursuits in general. It next drifts to a description of the king's ministers and the council, elaborating a good deal on the functions of the spies. These are to keep the sovereign well-posted with all manner of information, more particularly such as would help him in safeguarding his person as well as realm. A vigilant eye must pursue every detail of the slightest development along the borders. Then follows a chart on the duties associated with his position as the administrative head of the state. Elaborate precautions are pointed towards his conduct in the zenana so that no lurking assassin or intrigue can touch his person there. The next section embodies a minute parcelling out of administrative duties under different heads. The third deals with the province of law while the fourth covers the numerous penalties that should not only fit

the crime but also exercise a deterrent effect in addition. It is curious to notice in connection with the last that cheating in whatever form, be it from a dealer or a trader, an astrologer or a spiritualist, a black-marketeer or an adulterator, a false weigher or unfair measurer, invited upon itself dangerous penalties. In section V some shrewd expedients are suggested for getting rid of the ministers who have virtually served their turn and by continuing longer in office are likely to prove detrimental rather than useful. It ends with some clever ruses and devices, which, however, are only to be resorted to in time of real need for replenishing the depleted state treasury. In the sixth the seven main props of administration, namely, the King, Minister, Land, Fort, Treasure, Army and Ally, come in for treatment. There is also a fine theoretical dissertation on inter-state relations. Next section (VII) concerns itself with peace, war, neutrality, attack, alliance and wavering attitude. Book VIII deals with the causes that make the land a prey to hastening ills. Among these are mentioned the self-indulgence and other vices to which monarchs are known so often to succumb and the distress that results from the calamitous visitations of nature such as fire, flood and the like. The next two sections (IX & X) deal with war, for the successful prosecution of which, manoeuvring treachery and deceit are considered as necessary as military prowess. Once a war has been declared, the king becomes primarily the leader of the host and has to imbue the soldiery with something of his own fire and flame. In addition to the armed forces he has to equip a suitable propaganda machinery through the employment of astrologers, priests and bards. Ways and means are next (XI) suggested for sowing the seeds of dissension and discord in the ranks of the enemy through cunning artifices and the employment of decoy women, who are to become conquerors with more than their eyes. The twelfth unfolds a scheme of things whereby a weak king can reinforce himself for a career of aggrandisement by summoning to his aid spies and secret agents, harlots and poisoners, etc. These are to operate from within the coveted territory as saboteurs and fifth columnists in general. Section XIII informs us about devices whereby the morale of a besieged people is to be undermined by a propaganda which aims at showing that the invader is the recipient of God's peculiar pleasure and is fully in the know of all that is happening within the walls. The spy who has earlier wormed his way into the confidence of the enemy king could, when the latter is hard pressed, entice him away to listen to the soft, seductive logic of a supposed miracle working ascetic, and when off his guard quietly despatch him there. In the possible alternative of winning through a forced assault, the conquering hero directly on supplanting the old regime, should be ready with a vast scheme of pacification which will earn him a place in the affections of the subjugated people. He is above all to show himself to be one of them by according due deference to their religion and social customs and by shedding off every tinge of alien predilections. He should flourish his favours about rather liberally, grant a general amnesty to all those who had fought against him and make him immune from exacting





DDT, the powerful insecticide, is used at the American seaside resort of Jones Beach near New York City in the form of an experimental oil-fog spray to exterminate sand flies, fleas and mosquitoes



An air view of the Clinton Engineer Works at Oak Ridge in the southern U. S. State of Tennessee where atomic bomb production is carried on

impositions. All his efforts should be directed towards excelling the deposed monarch in virtue. The penultimate section embodies instructions of a miracle working variety. We are told how a man can make himself invisible, see in the dark, tread unharmed through live embers, change his physiognomy and put men and beasts to sleep at will. Recipes are provided for causing death, blindness, madness, etc. All this is fantastic and even shocking. But in the light of what our own civilised world is witnessing, we have perforce to make ourselves shock-proof. The book concludes with an enunciation of thirty-two methodological principles bearing on its main thesis.

The foregoing review of its contents shows that it embodies a frank and ruthless exposition of statecraft and has hence been likened to the work of the notorious Florentine, whose Prince has enjoyed such unabashed popularity in Europe for the past 400 years and has come to be an eternally prescribed text book in the varsities. The main difference between the two is that whereas the former is very much in the nature of a theoretical dissertation the latter pursues a historical method. Another point of difference is that Arthashastra being the work of a Brahman theologian as well as politician does not succeed in bringing about a complete divorce between politics and morals, which is so characteristic of Machiavelli.

"The state, we may say with Machiavelli and Mussolini, is all in all, but the Arthashastra means something quite definite by the State, namely, an order of society which the State does not create but which it exists to secure. The ways of King, for the text assumes that the rule must be royal, are dictated by the necessity of preserving his power; as Hobbes logically and deliberately, so the Arthashastra implicitly argues, the King's duty of securing the welfare of the system of which he is protector, gives to him a morality of his own. Mere *raison d'état* cannot justify everything nor over-ride everything. Moral sanctions are ever there to point a limit to a ruler's sovereignty."—Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 455-56.

He does, of course, many times trespass the bounds of the accepted canons of the Hindu ethics but he seldom preaches an utter neglect of moral principles.

Arthashastra, in the words of Ganapati Shastri, is "a method of Government by which a king should rule for the welfare of his millions of subjects, cautious and dexterous in preventing treachery; watching over the conduct of subjects and officials."

The King's will, though regarded supreme, was to be conditioned by definite moral sanctions. He was enjoined to guard against avarice, pride, anger, drunkenness and insolence. He was to shun as the very devil the four special temptations: Hunting, Gambling, Drink and Women. He was in the last resort but a leader of the people and hence the interests of those who were to be led must be a matter of paramount consideration with him. He was above and beyond all a protector of his people and any neglect of public weal left him open to serious punishment such as the last Nanda had courted for himself by his continued and gross misdemeanour. Kautilya drew out a chart of king's daily duties with such austere rigidity that it must have been honoured more in breach than in observance. Practice must have varied a good deal

from the precept, as what Kautilya was so sedulously putting down was intended to evolve an abstract theoretical system for universal and permanent application. Machiavelli, on the other hand, portrayed the Prince as he had found him in flesh and blood in the person of the unscrupulous Caesar Borgia.

The four objects of government according to Chanakya were the acquisition of territory, its preservation, its extension by further annexations and finally the proper utilization and enjoyment of all that had been gathered in. It will thus be seen that the Arthashastra and the Prince were both treatises written for the 'new prince', the usurper, the self-made tyrant who has not been born to power but has risen to it. Not having the support of traditional loyalty and affection, he was to be guided by precepts in order to maintain himself in the seat of authority. This was the function that these two political philosophers, flung so far apart in point of time tried to discharge in order to prop up the new regime in the seat of authority. Both are equally concerned about devising means by which their respective heroes could gain complete domination of the state and keep their iron grip securely fastened on all that pertains to its governance and administration. The protection of the King's person is with both an object of earnest solicitude. In the absence of the habitual loyalty of an affectionate people to a legitimate and long-standing dynasty, a counterpoise had to be found if any insidious attempts, aimed at effecting a change of masters, were to be successfully thwarted nay nipped in the very bud. Kautilya's circumspection would not exclude from suspicion even the princes of the royal blood who are to be employed far from the capital and preferably on the frontiers. All conceivable thorns in the side of the state are to be eradicated so that they do not develop into a malignant tissue importing a menace to the state. The methods suggested are appallingly drastic.

Kautilya and Machiavelli are both at one in suggesting that the new sovereign should make himself feared so that through weak courses and pusillanimous conduct he does not make himself an object of contempt. His work according to them would be easier if the family of the dethroned monarch is completely wiped out. He is, however, not to touch the property of his subjects since the sores of the disinherited fester for ever. The paeans of his glory and might should be trumpeted abroad and all acts of clemency or of generosity should redound to his personal credit and let the odium of all dirty deeds fall upon his ministers and other functionaries. A heart of flint and an iron heel are the essential hall-marks of a great ruler. Weakness, vacillation and undue brooding over what ought to be done are sure to send a ruler down the vale. A pretence of virtue and of straight-dealing must be maintained at all costs but even a suggestion of being soft-hearted is to be totally avoided. Whatever has to be done must be done thoroughly and well with a show of full force as the snake is not to be scotched but killed. Kautilya further believed with Machiavelli that the severities that become necessary and unavoidable should be inflicted all at once and not administered in small doses as their moral effect will thus be utterly lost and which is more important besides, that a prolonged state of insecurity and suffering can betoken a real danger to the State. The weapons of fraud and force both should be in the armoury of a successful ruler or as Machiavelli

would put it, he must have the slyness of the fox combined with the strength of the lion.

Power politics are alike the keynote of both and hence their insistence on the proper organisation, maintenance and equipment of the armed forces. Be prepared for defence but never be afraid to strike at the first opportunity. States prosper best through aggrandisement. The martial spirit of a people is thus prevented from going into decline. Neighbouring states should be prevented from developing into formidable rivals. When two large states are at war it is futile to sit on the fence as passive spectators. You are thus despised by your friends and foes alike. The former feel betrayed while the latter interpret it as a sign of your inherent weakness. And the victorious power is not likely to spare you, it will swallow you up if it feels it to be manageable proposition. How truly applicable to the neutral states of today and the lesson inculcated here has been brought home to them but alas too late!

Machiavelli's advice could well have been followed today. He suggests that while making war on a nation do not give an impression that you are out to wipe out the whole nation but let it be known instead that your hostility is limited only to a few individuals. And Kautilya's counsel in this respect is tuned in a similar key. Kautilya covers all the ground traversed by Machiavelli but he has much more to tell besides. And his intimate prying into all details of administration makes him Machiavelli and Bentham rolled into one.

The curious similarities between the 'cute' Florentine and astute Brahman, explored by us at some length, make it not unlikely that the latter's work was somehow known to the former. The trade contacts between Italy and India through the old land routes being a matter of familiar history, permit us in safely premising cultural contacts. Similarities between the two are too marked to be taken as mere chance coincidences. The foregoing survey is by no means to be interpreted as implying that Kautilya has furnished a

system of political philosophy for the guidance of hard-boiled bureaucrats only. There is much in fact, in his comprehensive thesis which is informed by broader humanities. The sparing of cows from being yoked for manual work and the consideration for the treatment of animal life in general are among the instances in point. Nor did his conception of an all-embracing legislation and administration seek to rule out the rudiments of self-governing institutions which were a part and parcel of the Aryan heritage of freedom and liberty. Village communities and even tribal republics were left completely free to operate their self-governing institutions. Sanitation was the people's concern and Megasthenes bears witness to the surprising degree of efficiency attained in this respect. Medical aid was well-organised and made easily accessible. Widows, orphans, the sick and the infirm were duly cared for and afforded relief. Cornering of grain, adulteration of food and monopolising of trade are strongly condemned by him. The extension of the principle of extraterritoriality to foreigners involves a singular tribute to his legal acumen. Slavery was confined to Shudras alone and no Aryan was to be made a slave. These are among the factors which help to relieve, though we are afraid very partially, the sordidness of a political cult which was ruthless in its conception and execution alike. The political philosophy of Kautilya, with but a few softening touches was harsh and even drastic. It was dictated by the needs of the time and had its vogue. But above the surge of ungenerous and even caustic criticism which has assailed his system through the ages, rises the calm, cool, contemplative figure of Chankya in its serene and austere majesty, pleading excuse and justification with every nerve and pointing with an unerring finger to the most extenuating of all circumstances, the law of cruel necessity. India had to pass through the crucible of stern politics and get properly schooled in discipline before she could emerge into a united and unified nation.

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INDIA'S NEEDS PRESENTED FOR ANGLO-U.S. LOAN NEGOTIATIONS

ANY American credits extended to Britain should make it possible for India to obtain the dollar resources necessary to enable her to purchase the American capital goods needed for her industrialization, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, said yesterday in a letter sent to Assistant Secretary of State, William L. Clayton, who is representing the U. S. Government in current conversations with British negotiators.

India does not need American money, Mr. Singh pointed out. It needs the power to convert its frozen sterling balances into dollars, he said. The industrialization of India "alone can overcome its poverty and make it a consumer of American exports," he added.

The full text of Mr. Singh's letter to Assistant Secretary Clayton follows:

"In your discussions of American aid to Britain, I earnestly hope that the urgent needs of India's 400 million people will not be overlooked.

"Poverty is India's main problem. Its standard of living must be raised if India is to develop itself and provide a market for American goods. But its standard of living cannot be raised unless India is industrialized.

Industrialization means capital goods. The only nation from whom capital goods can now be bought is the United States. And this means that India needs American dollars.

"Let me make it perfectly clear that India does not seek a loan or a gift from the United States. India has ample credit, but it is now frozen in London in the form of unusable sterling. In this connection, I hope you will give favourable consideration to the proposal made by the International Section of the New York Board of Trade that Britain no longer freeze dollar credits that might accrue to India in the normal course of trade.

"But that would only be a small beginning. It is in the interest of both India and the United States to insist that, of any credit extended to Britain, a portion be set apart which will enable India to buy in the American market all the capital goods she needs for her industrialization.

"The disturbing suggestion has been made that one of the objectives of the United States Government should be 'to get the British to agree to refund and scale down' the debt she owes to countries like India,

in the same way as the United States is planning to forego her lend-lease claims against Britain. I hope this cruelly unjust suggestion will not be entertained. To put Britain's debt to India on the same basis as its debt to the U.S. is to disregard the vast difference in the economic status of the U.S. and India.

"May I emphasize that the sterling balances acquired by India do not represent that country's surplus wealth; rather they represent the bitter sacri-

fices made by the destitute people of India during the war-sacrifices symbolized by Bengal's one million famine dead.

"Considerations of justice and humanity demand that any arrangement for American aid to Britain guarantees: 1). The necessary dollars resources be set apart for India's crucially necessary industrialization, which alone can overcome its poverty and make it a consumer of U.S. exports, and 2) an end of a freezing of currency exchange."—*India League of America*

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TOLSTOI, TAGORE, ROLLAND

Their Passage Through Purgatory

BY SUBHENDU GHOSE

It is in the nature of intellectual man, and, above all, the artist, that he observes and tries to overcome his inward crisis.—Stefan Zweig.

In *Fragments From My Diary*, Gorky has drawn an intriguing pen-picture of Tolstoi:

"Several times I noticed on his face, in his look, the cunning and contented smile of a man who unexpectedly discovers something which he has hidden away. He hides it and then forgets about it. Where can it be? He spends long days of great anguish pondering incessantly, 'Where, oh, where did I put that thing that I want so much?' He is terrified lest the people round him should notice his anguish, should get to know of his loss and worry him about it or injure him in any way. Then he suddenly remembers and finds it. Delighted at his success and no longer afraid to show his feelings to others, he watches those about him with a cunning glance, as much as to say, 'you can't hurt me now!'

But as to what he has found and where he found it—that remains a secret."

Tolstoi himself has given us a clue to the secret in his autobiographical sketches. From his *Confessions* we know that the secret was his faith in God, and the strange behaviour, which impressed Gorky and which Gorky has noted here, was a product of the struggles Tolstoi passed through in order to reach that faith.

Tolstoi was about fifty when he began to experience, as he tells us in his *Confessions*,

"Moments of perplexity, of a stoppage, as it were, of life, as if I did not know how I was to live, what I was to do, and I began to wander, and was a victim to low spirit. Later, these periods of perplexity began to return more and more frequently and invariably took the same form. These stoppages of life presented themselves to me with the same questions, 'Why' and 'What after?' The questions presented themselves to my mind with ever-increasing frequency, demanding an answer with still greater and greater insistence, and like dots grouped themselves into one black spot. . . . Life was meaningless. Every day of life, every step in it, brought me, as it were, nearer the precipice and I saw clearly that before me there was nothing but ruin. And to stop was impossible; and it was impossible to shut my eyes so as not to see that there was nothing before me but suffering and actual death, absolute annihilation. . . . Thus I was brought to feel that I could live no longer—some irresistible force was dragging me

onward to escape from life. I do not mean that I wanted to kill myself—The force that drew me away from life was stronger, fuller and more universal than any wish: it was a force like that of my previous attachment to life, only in a contrary direction. With all my force I struggled away from life and yet there was something I hoped for from it. The idea of suicide came as naturally to me as formerly that of bettering my life. . . . Such was the condition I had to come to, at a time when all the circumstances of my life were pre-eminently happy ones."

With unparalleled determination Tolstoi sought to overcome this inward crisis, wandered painfully and obstinately over the fields of knowledge to find out an explanation of the questions that tormented him. Knowledge failed to cure him of his despair, but increased it.

"I knew that from the knowledge which reason has given man, I could get nothing but the denial of life, and from faith nothing but the denial of reason, which last was even more impossible than the denial of life. By this knowledge founded on reason it was proved that life is an evil. . . . If I went by faith it resulted that, in order to understand the meaning of life, I should have to abandon reason, the very part of me that required a meaning in life. When I had come to the conclusion, I understood that it was useless to seek an answer to my question from knowledge founded on reason, and the answer given by this form of knowledge is only an indication that no answer can be obtained till the question is put differently—till the question be made to include the relation between the finite and the infinite, without which there can be no answer. . . .

What meaning is there not to be destroyed by death? The answer is, 'Union with an infinite God, paradise.'

In this way I was compelled to admit that besides the reasoning knowledge, which I once thought the only true knowledge, there was in every living man another kind of knowledge, an unreasoning one—faith—which gives a possibility of living."

During the time when his mind was occupied with the thoughts, Tolstoi's heart was oppressed by a "feeling of dread, of orphanhood, of isolation amid things all apart from me, and of hope in a help I knew not

from whom." This feeling Tolstoi describes as a searching after God :

"This search after a God was not an act of my reason but a feeling, and I say this advisedly, because it was opposed to my way of thinking ; it came from the heart."

Tolstoi had been an earth-bound man of the world, and had never before shown any great inclination towards metaphysics. To serious speculation he had not willingly turned ; he was driven to take recourse to it. From somewhere out in the dark he had received a sudden blow and clutched to save himself from falling. Caught in the vicious grip of a spiritual crisis, he desperately fought to free himself from it, and at last escaped into the foggy realm of faith and mysticism. What followed is well-known. The master-artist would "now compel

*Beauty, that spirit clear,
And every art wherein the few excel
Under a peasant smock to serve as duds !"*
—(H. Trench)

The worshipper of the living forms of nature would now glory in a mystic ethic !

Romain Rolland tells us in his reminiscences that between 1882 and 1884, for two years,—(he was then a student in Paris)—he had to go through a terrible inward turmoil :

"What a terrible trial it was ! Every moment, I feared a disaster ; though, seen from outside, the texture of life was the same. In my heart was the deepest despair—a fathomless hell ; dark demons were raging there—hidden from all eyes. I sank into a bottomless void."

The crisis had no visible cause and resolved itself in a significant manner. One day while reading Spinoza, the message of the great philosopher-saint flashed across his heart : "*Be one with the universe in full consciousness*"* and lo ! the joy of life returned to his death-ridden heart.

Our own Tagore too was not spared the trial. In the year 1913, some time before the first world-war started,—a shock of agony overtook him like a thunder-storm out of a clear, unclouded sky. The mental pain he experienced was almost equivalent to a death-agony. He had hardly expected to survive it." (C. F. Andrews) The first shock came in May, then it passed away. "But early in July", says Andrews, "the darkness again came upon his life, and seemed once more to overwhelm him. It appeared to have no external source, either in bad health or bad climate."

Let us see what Tagore himself has to say about his spiritual crisis. On May 17th, 1913, he writes from Ramgarh :

"I have been experiencing the feeling of a great expectation, although it has its elements of very great suffering. . . . To be born naked in the heart of the eternal truth ; to be able to feel with my entire being the life-throb of the universal heart—that is the cry of my soul."

On May 21st, he writes :

"I am struggling on my way through the wilderness . . . I know I must pass through death. God knows it is death-pang that is tearing open my heart. It is hard to part with the old self."

The next day, Tagore writes :

"The spiritual bath is not that of water, but of fire . . . Our soul is the last thing that we come to know ; for it is dark where the mother feeds the soul in secret. And we can see the sacred light in the intense glow of the fire of suffering . . . The fire is burning fiercely, exposing the hidden corners of my being with all their unsuspected accumulations of untruth and self-deception. Let the fire burn until it has nothing to feed upon. Let nothing be spared that awaits destruction."

On May 25th, he writes :

"My wrestlings with the shadows are over."

As Andrews tells us, they had to be resumed soon after.

In Tolstoi's case, as in the case of Tagore and Rolland, the crisis seemed to have developed suddenly, without any visible cause ;—it was a mysterious blow from the dark. In all three cases, the crisis was resolved when 'the finite' could be related to 'the infinite', when the individual's demand 'to feel the life-throb of the universal heart' was satisfied, when the isolated soul could feel 'one with the universe in full consciousness.' Like Rolland and Tagore, it was death that Tolstoi was asked to pass through. At the height of his crisis Tagore experienced 'the feeling of a great expectation', and Tolstoi too 'hoped for something' from the crisis—from the force that was dragging him onward to escape from life.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has advanced a very interesting theory regarding the spiritual crisis of Tagore. He says :

"It seems certain to me that the poet's highly sensitive nature had made him feel dimly beforehand the tragedy which was about to happen. In no other way can I account for his intense suffering."

But can we explain in the same manner the crisis that assailed Rolland or Tolstoi ? Obviously, we cannot. Mr. Andrews' theory, however, appears to contain an element of truth, as we shall see.

Speaking about 'the inner turmoil which shaped Tolstoi into a speculator, a thinker, a life-teacher', Stefan Zweig says :

"Probably it was a mere climacteric condition, fear of old age, fear of death, a neurasthenic depression which turned into a passing spiritual crisis."

But Zweig's supposition throws no light on spiritual crises in general. Rolland was quite young and healthy and had no reason to be afraid of death, when he was afflicted. How could this happen ?

Now we are in a position to look more deeply into the crisis of Tolstoi. It is the story of a watchful self, burdened with the untruths and self-deceptions it had accumulated through long years, suddenly finding itself drifting away from life elemental—call it universal, infinite or eternal, as you please. The self is asked to shake off its dead accretions and renew itself, for re-establishment of contact with the elemental forces alone can save the soul from death.

Tolstoi was an artist with 'all-seeing eyes', and, as an artist he was privileged to assimilate himself with the elemental forces, which in the then Russia manifested themselves in the masses ; as an artist he came keenly to feel what was going to happen in Russia,

clearly to see which way life—elemental life—was flowing. But Tolstoi was an aristocrat too; the untruths and self-deceptions that were inevitable in the aristocratic life of his time had become a part of his self. Now, elemental forces demanded of him that he shake off this dead accumulations of his old self, that he stand naked in the heart of the eternal truth and pass through death into a new life. Class inhibitions would not allow him to cross the Rubicon and come out on the side of the new life. Terrified by what he saw before him whenever he would allow himself to be swept forward by the elemental forces, Tolstoi sought refuge in blind faith and mysticism. To avoid the sweeping

hand of the elemental forces he bent backward into the 'moral order',—of course, unconsciously.

All the three, whose spiritual crises we have discussed here, were artists. As artists, they were called upon to assimilate themselves with the forces of nature—elemental forces, and transmute them in their mind. It was a big task, achievable only by giants with an untrammelled spirit. To perform it, they had now and then to face the problem of renewing their selves, of shedding off old blind attachments, of passing through purgatory. Rolland and Tagore succeeded; Tolstoi strove right unto death.

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• THE BENGAL FAMINE AND THE PROBLEMS IT RAISES

RAI BAHADUR BIJAYBIHARI MUKHARJI

THE Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission submitted its report which does not seem to have received the attention it deserves. The Commission with considerable amount of restraint has stated at page 107 of its report:

"It has been for us a sad task to enquire into the course and the cause of the Bengal Famine. We have been haunted by a deep sense of tragedy. A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown as well as an administrative breakdown." (Italics mine)

The magnitude of this famine must convince any honest onlooker that it was possibly the greatest single tragedy in this tragic second world war. To have a proper perspective it may be noted that against a million and a half of deaths as stated by the Commission and which is generally held by the Indian nationalists as a great under-estimate, casualties in deaths during the war in Great Britain are reported to be less than two and a half lakhs. The following casualties may be compared:

U. K.	233,042
Canada	36,018
Australia	21,415
India	23,295

Bengal Famine (according to Famine Commission) 1,500,000

This will show that in Bengal which has been all along considered as the most fertile granary of India and of the East, people died through lack of food in one single year in numbers exceeding the number of casualties incurred by Great Britain in this most terrible of terrible wars in actual fighting. It should be also remembered that in Great Britain which produces only 40 per cent of its normal food requirements and had been prevented from importing outside-food by the vigorous submarine warfare that she had to combat with the most cruel and relentless enemy constantly threatening invasion, bombing, and attacking almost every day some part or other, the Government and the people of the country so organized themselves that not a single person died from starvation. It is further reported that the organization was so effective that during the war period there had been actually an improvement in health. The question naturally arises as to what is this difference due to? Why should Bengal, producing

almost its total food requirement and capable of producing more, had a million and a half dead through sheer want of food in a year (with many men left dying through malnutrition) while England producing less than half its food requirement, under constant threat of invasion by the Germans for years, could so organize the people as not to let a single Britisher die? India has a Government which is certainly not a National Government. England has a Government which unquestionably is a National Government, where the parties combined to work for the national good. The administration of Bengal is carried on by a Governor over whose appointment Bengal has no voice and whose interests in Bengal must naturally be of a very transitory character. It has Ministers who have been appointed not by the common will of the people on the basis of a broad-based suffrage, on merits, on capacity, on competence or on unquestionable loyalty to the country but Ministers who are appointed through a constitution riddled with sectional or communal electorate which develops all the fissiparous sectarian tendencies in the nation aggravating them. It consists of men whose sectional prejudices have been developed to the maximum pitch with individual profit secured and kept alive by a widespread system of political patronage through the mechanism of a constitutional form unheard of and unknown in the history of political constitutions throughout the world at any period of human history. It was foisted on India by an authority outside India which holds the thread of the Indo-British administrative system. The moral stature of these Ministers as is natural in the circumstances has not reached a high level. The sectarian system ensures that the scum of the social organism should have a free scope for selfish ends, freer than any political society could ensure. England is governed by a Home Civil Service which consists of its own nationals with no exception. It is recruited from people who form the society and who naturally act and react to the forces in the society and whose interests are intermixed with the interests of the society and of the nation as a whole. Successive reforms and strenuous efforts of nationalists have raised the standard both of the integrity and the efficiency of the Civil Service of England. It can hardly be denied that the standard both of efficiency and of integrity of the Home Civil Service of England, whatever they might have been in the days of Lord North, are at a very high level today. Public opinion working through public bodies and a reasonably free Parliament keeps the officers

in their efficiency and integrity. Dereliction is immediately detected. We had in recent times a Labour Minister summarily ousted from office for suspected misuse of powers. It is not contended that the level reached is the highest and there is no room for improvement, but it can hardly be denied that a very high standard has actually been reached. Bengal, on the other hand, is ruled by three sets of officers in the main—the first includes the Imperial Services, the second the Provincial and other Subordinate Services and the third the Ministerial and the menial services. Throughout the nineteenth century up till now all sources of powers have been withdrawn to the hands of the Imperial Service men. It is they who interpret facts, it is they who evolve policies, and it is they who lay down principles, and get them carried out by the entire Indian Subordinate machinery of the second and the third classes. The Imperial Services again can fairly be divided into two categories—its British and its Indian members. The real powers are in the hands of a group of the former. The latter are *de jure* members of the voting group but are not *de facto* of that category. They make strenuous efforts to imitate the former and in the end imbibe their worst defects. A ruling foreigner has limitations—national as well as circumstantial. An indigenous imitator is worse. He will be less than human if he does not share in the least his country's hopes and fears. He will be more than human if he abjures all hopes of official advancements which only denationalisation can secure. The unresolved contradictions of the situation raise confusions and the Indian officer is more often than not an interesting pathological study. With all these a psycho-analyst may sympathise but the public sees little of integrated ethics or of integrated thought in their outer behaviour. Hence the higher Public Servants form a class apart—aloof, therefore, ignorant; ineffective because they are ignorant; morally and spiritually sterile because they are ineffective; uncreative because they are sterile. They lack a moral purpose and only live for the day in the dull monotony of an uninteresting routine, interested only in questions of official preferences and in chances of life and of career. The effect of this on the problems of the people is disastrous. It is this somnolent group that is in charge of the administration. It interprets facts in its own way, develops theory on this interpretation, lays down policy on its own theory, and enforces the policy through the machinery of provincial, subordinate, ministerial and menial services. These last easily realise that in this institution initiative does not pay, intelligence does not pay, individuality does not pay and they must merge themselves in that unicellular organism that is called the State in this country if they have to secure if not immortality at least a survival; if not for eternity, only for the period of the official career where only one cell has a distinctive life—the Imperial Service—that cell alone leads and functions for the whole. The standardised "behaviour pattern" of these services is uniform and striking for the last two services. Till 1920 this system has been in vogue. Such members of the "human cattle farm" (to use John Stuart Mill's phrase) i.e., of the public of India only contact the machines as have some axes to grind. They are not intended to deliberate on its running or its efficient functioning. One of the mildest proposals of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in the first decade of this century to have "an advisory council" for the District administration was negated by the Government of

India of the day. The sundry members of the public come to sneak out such favours as official patronage may secure. The life history of Muchiram Gur as painted by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee reproduces itself with amazing loyalty to traditions up to date. To that group come the members of the Bar, Professors, Zemindars, Patriots and Knights of the Garter in search of better and brighter prospects.

Since 1920 Bengal is supposed to have a popular ministry. This ministry as stated before is secured by a specially patented form of democracy with sectional representation euphemistically called the "Communal Electorate" which does honour to the authors of the scheme as a distinctive original contribution to the political philosophy or political technique for running the administration of a dependent country. That it succeeded in drawing the scums of social organism almost of each section any honest analysis of the part played by the bulk of the legislators and the ministers during the famine will demonstrate. The sample testing of the intellectual and the moral standard of groups of legislators and ministers would be an amazing revelation even to a Machiavelli should he with *Prince* come to life again for a tour of inspection of the world that he left.

In the circumstances of unhappy Bengal, the Governor comes without any direct knowledge previously acquired. He is completely ignorant of its people, of their habits, of their ways, of their problems and completely ignorant even of their language. To such a province—a province of over 60 millions of people with accumulated problems unattended for decades, accentuated by mal-administration, and confused by the immoral struggle with the growing nationalism of the last three decades—came Sir John Herbert. What his initial qualifications for the appointment were the Government of Winston Churchill alone could know. One read, however, the judgment of his fellow countryman Capt. C. Reed, after his appointment:

"Major John Herbert was a Junior Whip until the Chief Whip recommended that the Major should be given title and be sent overseas to take an extremely important Governorship. . . . Besides the fact that he is a 'good fellow' I can find nothing in the past records to indicate what qualifications he possessed for being given such appointment."

After the Bengal famine, it is probably admitted that Sir John Herbert was not equal to the task to which he was appointed by the Conservative Cabinet. That intellectually he was below par can hardly be denied, that in unconstitutional tendencies he was above par his conduct throughout proves. That he meddled unnecessarily and in every sphere is proved by his many acts. That his meddlesomeness created constitutional confusion has been referred to by many. His moral stature has been publicly impugned but now that he is dead one may draw a veil.

The Civil Services, aloof and ignorant as indicated before, were equipped just to run a machine with a maximum routine and specially when they were responsible to none of the land but to an authority which is non-Indian and unsympathetic. It is alleged that there was panic too in the class that the people of Bengal had large sections which might prove fifth-columnists in case of a Japanese attack not unmixed with a conscious dread of reaction to the policy of fan-

ning fissiparous anti-national feeling which some at least had followed since their ignoble satrap Sir Bamfylde Fuller had started the conscious State policy of courting the "favourite wife"—a term of endearment by which to the disgrace of the Mahomedan community he used to refer to it—and that love so unnatural had at last conceived and gave birth to the Moslem League. Whatever might have been the psychology, the Civil Service demonstrated its complete incompetence, long recognised by the people but carefully kept hidden under a system where the Lion, alone was left to paint himself for the edification of the world. That Indian Civil Service in the past, subject to the limitations of a non-national state, made signal contributions to bring India to the outer form of a modern state must be acknowledged. That to the distinctive efforts of some of the outstanding members thereof India has owed the blue-prints of a Modern State much better drawn than in any other part of Asia must be admitted. But the Indian Civil Service has heavily deteriorated for the last forty years. The growing nationalism accentuated by a despair which the Partition of Bengal had deepened (which Mr. Coupland in his analysis completely ignores) challenged its authority as not even the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 had done. In the struggle that has followed while finer types of British youths stayed back, those that came had their nerves frayed. In the process of fights their finer emotions withered away. The system of administration followed so far had the cracks and fissures accentuated by the struggle. The foundation of the faith of the people in the morality of the administration was badly shaken. The administrative machinery lost all moorings. It functioned in vacuo.

The ministers and the legislators were of moral and intellectual calibre far below par. They found the chances of their life. Communal Electorate is essentially immoral. It is immoral in conception. It is immoral in execution. It is immoral in function. Nothing but self-interest had been the guiding principle of their life—a sense of national wellbeing and the sense of social responsibility were emotions to which they were complete strangers. They had been encouraged to practise political patronage not only by the astute enemies but even by the political baby patriots of India. They were accustomed to distribute appointments by community which in reality meant distribution by kinship to certain individuals. They distributed contracts by community. They distributed agencies to buy up food produce from village by what they termed specially selected communal agents. Those that were in the trade were unacceptable from communal point of view.

To this administrative set-up of a Governor so equipped, of ministers so selected, of legislators controlling the ministers so elected, and above all the machinery run by the services with complete ignorance and still more incompetence, came the crisis of a threatened Japanese attack. It quailed before the magnitude of the task to which it was so unequal. It was conscious that by no stretch of imagination could it expect to have the trust and the faith of the people of this vast province. Each one of the individual and of the group who had power, vested in him, moved in an ego-centric mutually-exclusive circle away and out of touch with the people. Each did what he could in the circumstances, i.e., lived ostrich-like with its bill stuck deep in sands. Not one had the sense of responsibility to

the people who fed and kept him. The Cinderellas who came in for sentimental references when the white man's burden had to be preached—whether by Christian Missionary or Christian administrator—always kept miles away. The background of the situation was the heavy deterioration in ignorance and in incompetence of every aspect of the administration. It was the result of the system that had been followed for decades of complete indifference to the basic needs and the problems of those people.

"There was great difficulty in obtaining medical officers of satisfactory calibre to meet the emergency because medical education was never programmed to the needs of the people" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 125);

"There is a great shortage of nurses in India in normal times for it was no one's concern hitherto, to add to the number" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 125);

"Existing hospitals in Bengal were in general poorly equipped and there was a deficiency in the province of most medical supplies so that there was little to build on in the task of creating hospital accommodation" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 126);

"In Bengal the Public Health Services were insufficient to meet the normal needs of the population and the level of efficiency was low" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 132);

"In general the standard of efficiency reached by Civil Surgeons and subordinate medical personnel left much to be desired. Discipline and a sense of duty were defective and the morals low" (*Famine Commission Report*, p. 135).

The Commission correctly recorded :

"In view of the state of medical and public health organisation in Bengal before the famine, it is scarcely surprising that they failed to rise to the occasion" (p. 136)..

The more realistic picture, however, is given in Appendix I of the Famine Commission Report which shows the deplorable economic background of the vast population of a province that had been regarded in the past (as observed before) as the granary of India. The Commission wrote in the Appendix :

"Persons who derive all a major part of their income from the cultivation of land amount to 72 per cent' and the number of families thus depending is 'eight millions'. Of these—a family counting of little over five members—

1) less than two millions hold more than 5 acres each and about one-third of the number hold more than 10 acres each;

2) about two millions hold between two to five acres;

3) all others, who constitute about one one-half of all the families depend wholly or mainly on the cultivation of land, are either landless or hold less than two acres each."

So the Commission said and which the world, outside the administration Mr. Amery topped, knew. This picture, dismal as it is, does not represent the whole truth. The fragmentations of the land allotment of the family, the lack of irrigation or drainage-facilities, and deplorable rural credit, the complete lack of means for fertilizers, and the break-down in health through

malaria and other epidemics, show the accumulated debris of poverty and squalor of the people of a province where the administration was in official hands right through for over a century and a quarter. It could be shown by districts that none of their problems—essential for the very existence if not for the improvement of the people—had been tackled or solved. The inevitable effect of continued malnutrition is apparent in high mortality, low life expectations, poor physique, complete lack of energy.

"With a purchasing capacity of only about 2½ annas the average Indian is only about to meet his energy requirements with cheap carbo-hydrates like rice and cannot afford sufficient protective foods. Deficiencies in diet such as animal protein, calcium and vitamins A and C are widespread. The result is poor physique, high maternal and infantile mortality rates, and low expectation of life. . . . Malnutrition is one of the chief causes of the rapid exit of young human beings from the world so soon after their arrival in it." (Dr. John Grant's *Health of India*—1943, p. 8).

The figures above clearly demonstrate that more than half the people of the country had not enough land to grow that which might even in normal time provide their food for the year. Yet Mr. Leopold Amery never hesitated to tell the British Parliament that there were "millions of hoarders" in Bengal which had been responsible for the famine. On July 14, Mr. Amery told the House of Commons that the difficult food situation in India was due to the widespread tendency of the cultivators to withhold foodgrains from the market, to larger consumption per head as a result of increased family income and to hoarding". He later stated :

"Such answers as I gave to Parliament could only be based on official information supplied to me by the Government of India on the strength of that supplied by the Government of Bengal."

(Mr. Leopold Amery's speech at Sparkbrook, June 28, 1945)

It is true that Burma knocked off a part of supply but that was a small part—about 5 per cent for the whole of India (*vide*, Mr. Justice Braund's radio speech of April 11). It is true that part of the province had drought and part a storm and flood but even such incidents were not all uncommon. It is true that there was a threat of attack by Japan, so was England under more constant and more relentless attacks by Germany. The cumulative effect of all these might bring on hardships but surely could not have brought about the disaster that the Bengal Famine represented.

The Commission recorded (*Report*, p. 105) :

"Between the Government in office, and the various political parties, between the Government and the ministry, and between the administrative organisation of Government and the public there was lack of co-operation which stood in the way of a united and vigorous effort to prevent and relieve famine."

The Famine Commission was right but the Famine Commission did not dive deep and did not discover nor emphasise that this lack of cohesion, so essential to integrated thought and effective action, was congenital to the mechanism known as the Government of the country. It is this which marked the difference

between the effect of war in England which had a National State and this integration with that in Bengal which congenitally lacked that integration and when each centre of authority revolved round its own axis and often ran counter to each other with no responsibility to the people. There was no synthesising integrating authority or even ideology and motive. The national spur was lacking. The vain shackle institution called to-day the State in Bengal was an assemblage of selfish interests with responsibility to none. Two millions died because the whole local economy was disturbed by hordes of people animated by the spirit of "safety first and devil take the hindmost" spirit working with the authority of the Defence of India Rules and Denial Policy Schemes. All labour organisations even Governmental groups came to the market. Agents on the basis of communal favouritism unrestrained by any authority and strengthened by the powers of the Defence of India Act and Rules drew off the food that lay in the countryside with no thought for the people, their families and the children. They were no one's concern. The Government of India maintained constitutional aloofness. In vain the Anglo-Indian paper, the *Statesman*, wrote on August 8, 1943 :

"Surrounded by wheat and fat Punjabis remote from the war zone, the Government of India apparently little heeds Bengal's lamentable state. For that state Bengal in part is blameworthy. Few of any signs of innate greatness such as these tremendous days in world's history demands are discernible among provincial politicians who have manned her ministries. Most of their energies from the war's outset have evidently been bent on petty intrigue and acrimony and manoeuvre for the sports of office. Her permanent officials, whether British or Indian have shown unmistakable symptoms of infection by the pervasive provincial malaise; consequently they tend to lack imagination or grip."

Lord Linlithgow maintained a well-dignified aloofness from this vulgarly dance of death. With the dying he had no kinship. He demonstrated that it was one thing to know the affairs of India and Bengal as the dignified Chairman of a Royal Commission in India while it was an entirely different proposition to be called on to save Indians from death through sheer starvation. He never even came to Bengal.

The devastating effect of the steady deterioration in the economic and social life of the countryside was apparent to those who had been watching the countryside closely for the last forty years. The villages were being denuded of all that was best in human material who trekked to the cities. Ill-fed villagers, without education, with none left to educate or to guide them, easy victims to any disease from malaria to epidemics of cholera or small-pox through sheer malnutrition, had not a single organisation left in the rural areas to save them. The old village had either died out or migrated to towns. The throbbing village communities—which even in the third decade of the twentieth century had been seen in some form of life—had been fully broken up. The centres of economic life had shifted. The age-long village life had been completely broken up. The Duroga-cum-Naib controlled Union Boards which were superimposed centres of squabbles. Among them peripatetic circle officers moved listlessly with bagfuls of papers sent by higher placed dignitaries at Headquarters who passed them on as a relief to their conscience to report on and which the circle officers

tossed back to soothe theirs with the scribbling of such notes as they might have time to jot down with equal alacrity. To these Union Boards had gone agents of various interests from the Chairman of District Board in quest of a share of the contract or in search of a vote for the more *paying Honorary work* of a membership for legislature down to the organisers of political parties or of those who "in the interests of patriotism" settled terms of business to share the sports of such *Honorary* office as they might be helped to secure. They gathered round to the favoured agents for securing the food-grains when they functioned as such or round the officials when they in their turn went to start 'relief' centres or 'rehabilitation' centres in the very area which they had helped to be denuded of food-grains or be crushed into degradation. To the utter disappointment of the province the Congress could be of little use in most areas. It is true that a considerable number had to be within prison-bar after 1942 but the Congress should demand of those who had managed to live out, to give an account of their activities of relieving the poor. It is meet and proper that the premier national organisation should enquire into the conduct of those who had been outside prison-bar to give an account of their conduct at a time of calamity of such magnitude as Legislators, as Ministers, as members of Self-Governing bodies, and as public men outside. That profiteers and exploiters flourished was apparent. That dishonesty was widespread even the few startling cases of trials of higher officials would prove. When the Defence of India Act, the Rules framed thereunder and the ordinances which came in any number denied the citizen his rights and set up officials to interfere with most of his activities for daily life, his very existence had to be purchased. The common people had none to guide, none to look after, and none to be interested in them.

The Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan said :

"Near the dustbins of Calcutta half-starved women and children hunted in the filth for morsel of food. Their corpses were gathered up probably the next day from pavements. The social evils that followed need hardly be recounted."

The Famine Commission wrote :

"Many suffered from mental disorientation showing a very marked degree of apathy and indifference to their surroundings" (p. 117).

Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission has submitted its report. It supplemented the report by a second volume which dealt with many long-term projects for improvement of the food position for the future. India had a bigger report from a Royal Commission presided over by an individual who subsequently occupied for seven long years the highest Executive office in India and was still the Head when the million and half died which did not even stir him to pay a short visit of inspection, enquiry, and of sympathy. The Government of Bengal probably conscious of the great magnitude of the tragedy set up an Administrative Committee under Sir A. Rowlands. It has since then produced schemes for post-War Reconstruction. But neither Sir John Woodhead's long-term remedies, nor Sir Rowlands' administrative proposals, nor the post-War Reconstruction Schemes will have any effect on the people till the entire system of the Governmental machinery is re-examined and overhauled. On the

other hand, these schemes, suggestions and proposals will lead to waste of public money and public energies if this administrative set-up persists. They will only direct the attention to ineffective channels.

Bengal famine must be re-examined by a National Committee. The congenital defects in the entire constitution and in the administrative machinery must have to be more searchingly analysed and the defects removed before schemes are sought to be operated and public money spent thereon. It would be for the country to set up a Committee—

(a) to examine afresh the causes that contributed to the grim tragedy, fully utilising the materials in the report of Sir John Woodhead's Commission and collecting more ;

(b) to apportion the responsibilities for the death of the millions, and suggest punishments for the guilty ;

(c) to suggest remedies for a complete betterment of the conditions of the chronic poverty of the masses and plan out improvements, and devise ways and means to check up the execution of plans from the people's point of view with a definite schedule, and in the light of the needs of each district also check up the Reconstruction Schemes issued by the Government ;

(d) to overhaul the administrative machinery liquidate and reshape it to national purpose ; the framework must be built up even if the complete transfer of powers is not yet achieved ;

(e) to discover the part played by the anti-social forces that through profiteering, black-marketing and dishonesty accentuated the deterioration of the situation, and betrayed complete lack of social responsibility ;

(f) to find out ways and means to compel the dishonest exploiters of the situation during war, to disgorge parts for social utilities by processes which might include levy above a certain sum, details could be worked out to them in so-called war profits ;

(g) to discover the individuals in the national organisations and in public life who profited by exploiting the situation with a view to eliminate them definitely from participation in any sphere of national life except under a strict control forfeiting franchises of such citizen for life or for a period as the circumstance may determine, a people's tribunal should adjudge the guilt.

After the Famine of Orissa and Bihar in the middle of the last century (a comparatively small affair) Sir Stafford Northcote as Secretary of State for India spoke in the House of Commons (Aug. 2, 1867) thus :

"The catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, to the Government of this country and to those of our Indian officials of whom we have been perhaps a little too proud."

The problem has moved on to another plane to-day. It has an administrative and a national aspect of wider implications. The grimest tragedy in human history such as the Bengal Famine of 1943 unquestionably demonstrates to the world in general and to the people of this country in particular the existence of a state of affairs which deserves the most searching analysis and enquiry. It will be a grave mistake to assume that it was due to only temporary causes or only to causes over which human power has no control. Both assumptions are definitely untrue.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE MIND OF MAHATMA GANDHI: Compiled by R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao. With a foreword by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. March, 1945. Pp. xii + 191. Price Rs. 3.

The object of the compilers has been to present within the compass of a small volume the main outline of Gandhiji's philosophy by means of suitable quotations from his writings. The quotations have been arranged under 35 heads with titles such as *My Mahatmaship*, *Truth is God*, *My Inconsistencies*, *The Gospel of Satyagraha*, *Temples and Idolatry*, etc. These are followed by a short chronology of the Mahatma's life; while a brief glossary and references follow at the end of the book.

The compilers have taken several years to collect all the materials and have apparently exercised a great deal of care in making the extracts as brief and representative as possible. In this they have been fairly successful; but there are just a few remarks one feels inclined to make by way of suggestion. There seems to be some room for improvement with regard to the arrangement of chapters; while a few passages would perhaps have fitted better in places other than where we actually find them. Thus the paragraph at the head of page 52 does not so much illustrate Gandhiji's conception of the oneness of life as where he draws the line of distinction between non-killing and non-violence. A similar feeling was experienced on other pages too; but fortunately such occasions were few and far between.

There is, however, another question to which the reviewer would take the liberty of drawing more attention than is justified by the amount of space devoted in the book to economic questions in comparison with religious ones. But he feels called upon to do so on account of the importance of the subject, as well as due to the fact that little justice seems to be done to it by most contemporary students of Gandhism. This is with reference to the question of class-war, dealt with in Ch. 25 of the present book.

The selections made by the present compilers tend to emphasize one particular aspect of Gandhiji's views on class-conflict. This is where he wants the present possessors of capital, and of talents which have given rise to the accumulation of capital, to work on terms of equality with those whose only capital is labour. But there is another side of the same question dealt with in Gandhiji's writings. If the possessor of capital, and of talents does not voluntarily descend to that level, Labour is free to non-co-operate non-violently with him in order to convert him into the ideal of trusteeship. Under extreme cases, Gandhiji is even prepared to call in the aid of law to serve the interests of the poor. For in the state of Free India, he wishes only such interests to survive as actually subserve the interests of the poor.

Every other interest will be revised, or must subside if it is not capable of revision. This is what he said at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931.

In the future society of Gandhiji's conception, there will be economic equality; which means that every man should get what he needs for physical sustenance and for mental and moral development. There should preferably be equal wages for all forms of socially necessary labour. But if the best talents of men refuse to open up except under a system of unequal wages, he would permit that within certain limits; for he does not want society to be a loser otherwise. But then, if he had his own way, he would not allow any man to pass on the unused portion of his earnings to descendants by means of inheritance. "The only successor of a trustee should be the public" is an opinion he has expressed several times within recent years. This, coupled with his view that the means of production of the elementary necessities of life should be freely available to all, and so placed under "universal ownership" (See *Young India*, 1928, p. 381; *Harijan*, 1933, p. 366, also *Harijan*, 1940, p. 260), changes the entire face of his conception regarding property relations in the free society of the future.

The fact is that Gandhiji understands by the term class-war an attempt to destroy an institution through the destruction of its present upholders; but when we try to convert the men by non-violent non-co-operation and enlist their aid in rooting out the same institution, he does not look upon it as class conflict. Indeed he firmly stands by the right of every man to destroy every form of violence non-violently; and, as he says, violence is the essence of all forms of exploitation.

These are things which need more emphasis than has been assigned to them in Chs. 24, 25 and 28 of the book; although it must be admitted that economics and politics do not form its main burden. But where one has to deal with such questions, naturally the opinions gathered ought to be fully representative and up-to-date, as far as possible.

In spite of what has been said above, the reviewer feels happy to acknowledge that the selections do succeed in giving us a fairly representative idea about Gandhiji's views on various religious and social problems. Congratulations are, therefore, due to the compilers for the time and labour which they have devoted to the task.

The printing and get-up do credit to the distinguished house of publishers.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES 1942: By George M. Moraes. *The Examiner Press, Bombay*. 1945. Pp. 188 and plates. Price Rs. 12-8.

In the years immediately preceding the last Great World-War, yeomen's service was rendered to the cause of Indological studies by the yearly publication of two

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most important bibliographies, viz., *Bibliographie Bouddhique* issued by an international board of scholars, and *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* published by the Kern Institute in Holland. Unhappily the very useful career of both these publications was abruptly cut short just before the second World-War, to be more precise, in 1937 and 1939 respectively. It is, therefore, with genuine satisfaction that we welcome the appearance of this first volume of a new bibliography of Indological studies from the competent pen of Professor G. M. Moraes of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Ranged under a remarkably heavy list of sectional headings, comprising as many as 1974 separate entries and interspersed frequently with summaries of contents and short extracts from reviews, the present work almost justifies the high claim advanced on its behalf by the author in his Preface: "It is not merely a publisher's list, but [is] a treatise giving an adequate idea of the year's progress in research. It is intended to assist the antiquarian as much as the student of Indian Constitutional History and Law, of Philosophy and modern Economics, of Religion and Indo-Anglian literature." An added interest is lent to this work by a number of papers prefacing the bibliography and illustrated with plates at its end, which describe the results of some recent archaeological expeditions undertaken by the writers in Gujarat and in the Pudukottai State of Madras. It is aptly brought to a close by an excellent Index extending over 25 printed pages.

We may be permitted to make a few remarks in response to the author's appeal for scholarly co-operation in his Preface. In view of the extreme difficulty of classification, we think that in future issues the number of sectional headings (reaching in the present volume the formidable size of nearly forty for the main divisions alone), should be brought down to a reasonable figure. It may not be without interest to notice in this connection that the sections in the *Bibliographie Bouddhique* were only eight in number, while those included under the head India in *The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* numbered only ten. Next to the limitation of the sectional headings, we would urge greater accuracy specially in the printing of proper names. In the present volume we have such instances of misprints as N. N. Gosh (p. 2), Kiskindhakanda (p. 8), Sylvan Levi (p. 48), Ashtadasahasrika (p. 64), Rayghat (p. 66), Sadana (p. 72), Gopinath Rao (p. 73), Somokuli kings (p. 76), tapananudhata (p. 77), and Skandhasvami Bhasya (p. 105). The present reviewer's name has been twice (pp. 99, 149) mis-spelt as M. N. Ghoshal. On p. 65 we have the meaningless sentence: "The inhabitants preferred the Buddhist faith to the Hinayana school." The slips in transliteration are too numerous to be noticed.

We await the publication of the next volume with the greatest interest.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA'S STERLING POSITION AND THE WAR: By Bimalendu Dhar, M.A., B.L. Published by Co-operative Book Depot, College Street, Calcutta. 1944. Pages 165. Price Rs. 3.

Mr. B. Dhar has rendered a public service in explaining in this handy volume as to what are these "Sterling Balances" about which one reads so often in the newspapers. The man in the street is not at all clear about them and feels greatly puzzled. What exactly are "India's Sterling Balances?" How have they been accumulated? What is the total amount of these balances? How has India become from a debtor to a creditor country? What is this talk of scaling down these balances? Does Britain intend to honour its obligations and to make these balances available to India? To what extent will they be available to India for purposes of economic planning and industrialisation in the near future? Most of these questions are ex-

plained in a simple and clear manner in this book under review, which will be found very useful both by students of Economics in the colleges and by the general reader.

GURMUKH NIHAL SINGH

PIONEER WOMEN OF INDIA: By Padmini Sen Gupta. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pages 195. Price Rs. 4-12.

This book contains colourful pen-pictures of some of the leading representatives of modern Indian womanhood. The authoress, who was for a time Editor of the *India Monthly Magazine*, knows some of these personalities intimately and writes about them in an unaffected and sympathetic style. Of others whom she knows only by reputation, she writes with a commendable restraint of imagination and factual accuracy.

Anandabai Joshi "caused sensation in America by lecturing in favour of child marriage." Toru Dutt is described: "Like a flower she blossomed awhile and left a fragrance that will never die." The home of Ramabai Ranade was a "refuge for the sick and poor, the lowly and sorrowful." Lady Dorab Tata is classed as a "woman's woman with a masculine intellect". When Susie Sorabji died, "even the streets mourned her death." Kamini Roy "lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." Swarna Kumari Devi is classed "on a par with the Bronte sisters". Srimathi Atchamamba "whipped Indian women into activity". Saroj Nalini Dutt "never tried to shock people with her modernism". And, of course, Maharani Suniti Devi was "a popular figure in London Society—a favourite of Queen Victoria." Rameshwari Nehru "brought before the public the horrors of child marriage." The Nightingale of India, Sarojini Naidu, is portrayed with a lyrical brush. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit is not only Motilal's daughter and Jawaharlal's sister, but also the first woman minister in India. In her case both beauty and brains went together. Enakshi Rama Rau was the first Indian woman to interest a European audience in Indian films, and Leila Sokhey (Menaka) "helped in restoring Indian dancing to its ancient glory." Philomena Thumboo Chetty is described as "the greatest violin virtuoso of the East", and finally Leela Row is "unquestionably the first great internationally known Indian woman athlete."

There are other scintillating portraits in the gallery. There have undoubtedly been some omissions and their admirers may feel a little unhappy about the selection. The pen-pictures are, however, extremely delightful and informative too.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

THE BLIND IN INDIA AND ABROAD: By Prof. S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia), Lecturer, Calcutta University. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 255. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. S. C. Roy hardly needs any introduction. By his academical achievements in India and abroad and his subsequent activities and devotion to the cause of the unfortunates whom either fate has denied sight or disease has deprived of the unique blessing of seeing, in the form of the All-India Lighthouse for the Blind, an institution to train and rehabilitate the blind (adults), he has endeared himself to his countrymen. The book under review is a collection of his speeches, articles, radio-talks, letters, etc., relating to the cause and various problems of the blind in India and abroad. Though of a sketchy nature, the contents of the book provide ample valuable information and inspiration to the sightless as well as to those engaged in the welfare work for the blind. Prof. Roy has rightly taken the public to task for its attitude towards the blind and has very ably pleaded, citing illustrious examples, that given proper opportunities for education and self-realisation the blind will prove as useful to the society

as the seeing people. Public and Government apathy towards the amelioration of the appalling conditions of the blind have also not escaped constructive and helpful criticism. On the whole we can call this volume a general survey of the conditions and problems of the blind in India, in contradistinction to that of the blind abroad. More detailed discussion and specialised information regarding the various aspects of the problems of the blind have been left over for the author's next book, which, we earnestly hope, will follow soon.

While the air is full of talk and plans for training the war-blinded soldiers to make them ready once again for the complex programme of readjustment in life, society and the world, why not have a rather comprehensive programme for all the blind. To talk in terms of *pre* and *post-war* blind is too fantastic and absurd. All the blind need to be trained to regain their physical and psychological equilibrium so that all may equally be happy in this world. Prof. Roy's book, we suggest, will serve as a useful guide and handbook for the pioneers in this field. We also commend this book to the lay public for useful general information and instruction.

M. S. SENGAR

I CAN NOT DIE : By Krishan Chandar. Translated from the original Urdu by Kwaaja Ahmed Abbas. Published by Kutub, The Indo-Foreign Publishers. Pages 52. Price Rs. 2-4.

This is a long short story, one of the many called forth by Bengal famine, from the pen of Krishan Chandar, and was originally called *Ann Data* in Urdu. It deserves praise not only as a social document of great value but also as a rare specimen of the art of short story. It is divided into three parts, each containing a picture of the devastating famine from different points of view. The first part presents the story through the reactions of a foreign consul recorded in his home despatches. The second part depicts the death of sincere but sentimental idealism, and the third part presents the dead soul of a village musician, himself a victim to the grim human sacrifice. The story rings with bitter irony and sarcasm and is absorbing all through because of the masterly touches of characterisation and the novelty of technique.

SUNIL KUMAR BASU

SANSKRIT

ACYUTARAYABHYUDAYA OF RAJANATHA DINDIMA : Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T. The Adyar Library Series No. 49. Adyar Library. 1945. Price Rs. 3-8.

This contains a critical edition of the second half of a Sanskrit epic poem complete in twelve cantos celebrating King Acyutaraya of Vijayanagar. The author of the poem, who composed the work towards the middle of the sixteenth century, belonged to a family of poets which originally lived on the banks of the Ganges (in Bengal?) and migrated to the south at the instance of Chola kings 'for the establishment of Siva temples and proper worship of Siva and his consort.' The edition is based on as many as ten manuscripts; variants from which are recorded in the foot-notes. In a fairly long introduction the learned editor demonstrates the historical accuracy of the account given by the poet throughout the work. He also draws attention to the poetic merits displayed by the author in different places of the poem. But it is a pity that the inquisitiveness of the reader to compare the text is left unsatisfied with regard to the first half of the text which is not included in this fine critical edition, on the ground that it was published forty years back, though possibly not with the help of the manuscripts utilised in the present edition. In fact, an edition of the entire work in one

single volume would have been more useful and welcome. As regards Vijayanagar, the alternative name of Vijaynagar given by the present poet a reference may be made to an account of the origin of the town as found in the introductory portions of a Tantra digest called the *Vidyarnava Tantra* (*Indian Culture*, VI, pp. 107-9).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RAJMOHANER STRI : Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya : Translated by Sri Sajani Kanta Das. Eastern Publishers Syndicate, Ltd. 8-C, Ramanath Majumdar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

It is a faithful translation of Bankim Chandra's first novel, which was written in English. Besides the intrinsic literary merit, its historical importance is very great. In plot-construction and the delineation of characters, there is the unmistakable stamp of genius of the master-artist. One striking feature of this rendering is that the translator has followed the Bengali prose style of Bankim Chandra with considerable success, so that the reader at times forgets that he is not reading an original work of the great author.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

VAIDIK KAHANIYAN : By Baldeva Upadhyaya. Sharada Mandir, 21/17, Ganeshdikshit, Kashi, U.P. Pp. 150. Price Re. 1-12.

This is a sheaf of eleven stories, the atmosphere and environment of which are suffused with the truths and times of the Vedas. Apart from their conjuring up, before the reader, the vision and vista of light in which the spiritual stalwarts of ancient Aryavarta lived, they help him considerably in understanding the import of a number of well-known verses in the Samhita, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads. (The author has given chapter and verse of these to enable the reader to refer to the original, should he so desire). There is, therefore, an undying evergreen freshness in these "fables", as one is tempted to characterize the collection of tales, under review. Shri Baldevaji's style is simple, even though the subjects selected for treatment by him have an ethical as well as intellectual severity. The young and the old, consequently, can equally derive pleasure and profit from a perusal of *Vaidik Kahaniyan*.

G. M.

RUS. MEN TIS MAHINE : By D. G. Tendulkar. Published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-4.

Mr. Tendulkar went to Russia in 1934 with a tourist visa for staying there only for six months. But he learnt Russian and loved the Russians and lived there for full thirty months. The book under review is a Hindi translation of his diary, originally written in English, during this time. Though of petit-bourgeois instruction and upbringing, the author is not wanting in his sense of perspective, insight and objectivity in interpreting Russian achievements. He has not burdened his book with propaganda stuff produced by the Government. He has instead lived with Russian peasants, workers, soldiers, women, students and has portrayed with delicate light and shade the intimate scenes of the daily life in the Soviets. He has tried to understand the living soul of Russia and has not failed to notice the social and economic transformations transcending all barriers of tradition. The book is profusely illustrated with the author's own photographs. The translation has not been quite satisfactory and, it is hoped, will be thoroughly revised in the subsequent editions.

M. S. SENGAR

KANNADA

SATYAGRAHA : "Its History and Technique" : By Mr. R. R. Diwakar, an eminent Congress worker and writer in Kannada. Published by the Adhyatma Karyalaya, Hubli. Pages 312. Price Rs. 3-8.

In this valuable book, which is unique of its kind in Kannada, Mr. Diwakar has ably handled the subject. He has himself devoted his whole life-time for the cause of Indian freedom under the non-violent banner of Mahatmaji, being one of the staunchest of the "satyagrahis". His deep study of, and mastery over, the subject are evident on every page of this work from cover to cover. Mr. Diwakar's work is not like that of a casual easy-chair writer of theoretical or academic interest alone but it is an authentic contribution of an avowed "satyagrahi", who has a life-time of actual and active experience behind him in the field of all kinds of Satyagraha movements and has won many laurels for him, including those in the recent 1942 movement. It is, so to say, an authentic narrative of the heroic exploits—in this case also non-violent and peaceful—by a Commander, on active service, who has emerged successful through many a scathing test.

Mr. Diwakar's exposition of the origin and definition of the term Satyagraha is at once learned and lucid. His treatment of its 'history' is both scholarly and realistic with an unerring knowledge of the facts and figures. He says, while tracing the origin of the term to Gandhiji when he was launching the famous South African Satyagraha Movement, that though a principle akin to Satyagraha might be traced to olden times, and, individual cases, it was not the same Satyagraha as it is understood, and, put into practice today, which is seeking to be an all-powerful, yet, peaceful and non-violent, universal force in quest and in the establishment of the Kingdom of Truth and Non-violence. And again Satyagraha is essentially different from "Passive Resistance and Non-resistance" as the former totally eschews even the idea of violence and has constructive technique or system for its working. So the word Satyagraha which was first invented by Mahatmaji has now become a by-word in every hearth and home in India and abroad also.

And since then it has become a powerful, yet a peaceful weapon, in the hands of its non-violent followers. And further this weapon can be effectively used not only against armed and aggressive nations and tyrannical governments but also internally against aggressive or unjust groups or individuals—why even against one's friends and brothers if need be and if such occasions arise. Mr. Diwakar has delineated the history of this movement, right from the South African days up to the recent upheaval of 1942 movement to which he himself has contributed in no small a degree, very ably with facts and figures, and, faults and merits.

Lastly, he has concisely and convincingly discussed the Tantra i.e., the technique of Satyagraha, without a proper understanding of which the uninitiated and the unwary persons may commit blunders and mischiefs like Chouri Choura and Mulshi Petha, and hence defeat the very purpose of Satyagraha. In a word, in this Sacred Realm of Satyagraha with Truth as its God, its ultimate reality—Love reigns supreme with non-violence, sympathy, equality, honesty, persuasion, patience and suffering as his unflinching and never-failing ministers. The thieves like hatred, deceit, violence, dishonesty and such others have no entry here. Even that dreadful robber death has nothing to rob here! On the other hand, he occasionally adds to the glory of a martyrdom Satyagrahi. In short, this work of Mr. Diwakar is at once a Bible and an Encyclopedia for every Satyagrahi, written in a facile and forceful style and simple diction.

V. B. NAIK

MARATHI

KALKARTE, SHIVRAMPANT PARANJPYE : By Vaman Krishna Paranjpye. Published by Prof. R. S. Deshpande, Scarswat Colony, Poona, No. 1. Price Rs. 6.

While narrating the story of the life of his grandfather, the late Mr. Shivram Mahadeo Paranjpye, Mr. Vaman Krishna Paranjpye has rightly designated him as *Kalkarte*. For among the many literary and political achievements of Paranjpye, his editing of the weekly newspaper *Kal* during the eventful years 1905-8 is the most outstanding. Testimony to this is to be found to the most telling effect in Sir Valentine Chirol's *Unrest in India* and the Rowlatt Committee's Report. In those days, *Kal* was not less popular than *Kesari* and Paranjpye not less popular than Tilak. He was the only advocate in Maharashtra of complete political independence like Messrs. Aurovinda Ghose and Bepin Chandra Pal in Bengal and he was the acknowledged inspirer of the band of patriots headed by Vinayak Savarkar in those days. The author has drawn a vivid description in his own words of the irony, sarcasm, banter and parathesis that characterised his writings, which often were parables, as most of those writings are still under ban. The Kher Government in Bombay released only one-tenth of his proscribed literature. This book coming after 16 years of Mr. Paranjpye's death was a great need from the point of view of the younger generation and has come none too soon. It is very adequately illustrated with relevant photographs.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

JIVAN DARSHAN OF DIWAN BAHADUR AMBALALBHAI : By N. D. Parekh. Printed at the Khadaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 95 and 94. Price twelve annas.

Diwan Bahadur Ambalal was an outstanding personality in Gujarat in the latter part of his life, (1899 to 1914) i.e., after retiring from the Baroda State Service. Literature, Economics, Politics, Education, Social Reform, these and other matters claimed his attention and by his wholehearted devotion to these questions aided by his massive intellect and singular individuality, he has left an impress on Gujarat, which can never be wiped out. Independence of views and their lucid exposition won him a place for himself. The book is divided into two parts, the Preface by Dr. Hariprasad Desai, who had the advantage of coming in close personal contact with him, and who, in a nutshell, sets out the salient features of his career in a very interesting way, and the second part by Mr. Parekh who goes into greater details. Both writers are not blind to his faults and they have not been steered over. That is very creditable to them, as biographers are expected to be fair.

BHARATIYA SHILPA AND STHAPATYA : By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 120. Illustrated.

All that is worth knowing about ancient and mediæval Indian Architecture and Sculpture is described here in simple language, and in the spirit of a devotee. The beauty of the specimens of these two, Architecture and Sculpture, has been reproduced in the apt language of an admiring pilgrim, whether the specimens belong to Buddhists, Brahmins or Muslims. All parts of India, including Ahmedabad, have passed under the review of the writer, and he has done his work in such a way as exhilarates the reader and compels his admiration.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



'An Iron Image With Feet of Clay'

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

With all his good intentions and well meaning efforts Sir Ardeshir Dalal is realising that he is a mere cog in the Imperial Machinery. His speech, explaining the progress of his reconstruction plans at the last General Policy Committee Meeting, was a song of frustrated energy.

Referring to the scandalous protection enjoyed by British Capital in our country under the present constitution he bewails helplessly that "It is not possible for the industrial development of India to proceed unhindered so long as these constitutional provisions remain on the statute book."

Once this night-mare of British domination is disposed of, the prosperity of the people will be assured by their industry. The country will turn green as after a spring shower. What is holding them down is this terrible foreign yoke and exploitation.

After our experience of the use made of the Reserve Bank his talk of an Industrial Finance Corporation gives us the creeps. The fewer the organisations under British rule the better. Every institution they start in that line proves a halter on our industrial progress. The Reserve Bank had proved itself during this war to be a good sponge to soak up every drop of blood left in the country. To this has been added a Tariff Board!

Sir Ardeshir had been detailed out to plan the economic activity of a country of 400 millions. Even the little thought that he has given this subject will hardly touch one or two million. The masses have been left severely alone.

The only attempt in this programme to encourage people's activity has its motive in the demobilisation scheme of the forces.

Practical planning need not wait for the academicians to make up their minds. Such planning is as old as society.

It is pre-thought-out development of society to an accepted ideal whatever it be.

Any plans intended for the welfare of the people should have the economic activity of the masses as the centre. Their diet has to be balanced. Food-grains, vegetables, fruits, gur, milk and its products should have priority over all other production. Industrial and money crops must yield place to these. Plans should allow for the production of a copious supply of all other necessities of the people such as clothing, building materials, etc. Production should not be looked at as an end in itself. Distribution of wealth must naturally be an outcome of production. Cloth, sugar, oil, building materials, etc. produced by a mill restricts distribution however much the quantity may be greater than the production by village and cottage industries. People must produce for themselves by processes easily accessible to them. This should be the centre of all plans. Then should radiate from this as being accessories to it all other organised industries. Steel rolling mills will supply the raw materials needed by a village smith. Forests will be planned to supply the needed seasoned timber for the carpenter. The irrigation canals and

tanks will water the fields and village roads will be built with the bullock-cart as its patron to meet its needs. The plans will be people-centred and so will have their own ballast and equilibrium. The plan that Sir Ardeshir is thinking of puts the cart before the horse and is material-centred. He is planning for materials and not for the people. It is, therefore, too heavy like an iron image with clay feet. This will topple down any moment. Such a social order will have to be buttressed with violence as Russia and Germany have proved beyond dispute.

No plan is worth the sacrifices a planned economy entails unless it visualises life as a whole and provides for the development of all the faculties of man. Man is more than a mere animal to be contented with a well regulated dairy life of cattle to be fed, watered and grazed at regular times and sumptuously, we need much more than this and that cannot be provided by merely organising large-scale production of goods which Sir Ardeshir is striving hard for, even if he should succeed in his efforts.

The State

*G. H. Bradley observes in *The New Review*:

The Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of a State: 'organised political community with government recognised by the people, commonwealth, nation.' In the light of the above definition, it appears to me to be contradictory to speak of a 'Capitalist' State, using Capitalist in the sense of dominance by private interest; or of a 'Communist' State, using Communist in the Marxian sense of dominance by the proletariat.

As is clear from the definition, the State exists for one common good, i.e., for the good of the individual as such and for his collective good in the community. Therefore, any system which limits itself to or concentrates on one particular class or section of the community cannot claim the title of State: not in the English language anyway. Again, the State must be an organised political community; therefore to speak of progressing to a point in the history of the State when such organisation and the control it implies ceases to exist, is to destroy not only the State, but the community with it. A community cannot exist without the organisation and control which are implied in the term 'State'. Destroy the State and you destroy the community, and with it the wellbeing of the individual.

Many people visualise the State as existing under one of the two false conditions mentioned above, namely, Capitalism and Communism, with a cloudy notion of some vague system called 'democracy' fluctuating between the two.

Capitalism favours the placing of a maximum of property and ownership in the hands of a few for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the community.

The lower and working classes are reduced to a bare minimum necessary for their existence and the maintenance of a certain standard of production. Wealth and power are concentrated in the hands of a few, namely, the capitalists. Under this system the lot of the worker is well below the standards worthy of

his dignity as a man. Often his only chance of self-betterment lies in taking advantage of whatever measure of competition exists between the several capitalists, and trying to force a higher rate of remuneration by bargaining in much the same way as the auctioneer does. But frequently the capitalist can forestall labour in this matter by agreeing with his fellow capitalists not to outbid them in the labour market; and the working man is faced with accepting an unjust wage, or going out on strike and risking all that it entails.

Communism, on the other hand, aims at the destruction of the Capitalist system, which is laudable, but sets up another class, albeit larger, in its place.

Broadly speaking, the oppressor becomes the oppressed, and the oppressed becomes the oppressor. So that now we have a minority suffering under a majority (at least, that is the theory, practice appears to be somewhat different) where formerly it was the other way about. But herein lies a danger. The new power is not only the industrial power, but is the governing power as well. So that any revolt against the industrial system existing under the Communist regime, is a revolt against the government. That is why Russia dislikes Trade Unions as much as capitalists. So that under this system the worker is in much the same position, only slightly worse, than he was under the Capitalist scheme. Because his new ruler is a capitalist par excellence, equipped with an army, navy, and police force to see to it that he remains satisfied with what is given him. And more is taken away than is given, for private property, which was at least a right under the old Capitalism, is denied him under the new. 'And the last state of that man shall be worse than the first.'

But as neither of these systems can be reconciled with the definition of the State, they should not even be taken into consideration when a State is to be set up. It is obvious there are good points in both, that is why people have been blinded to their evils. The real solution lies in the 'media via', not in a compromise, but in a reasonable and right system that exists autonomously between them; for right usually stands between two extremes.

That system consists in a correct and conscientious application of the definition of the State.

The State must exist for the good of all; minorities or majorities must not be oppressed nor saddled with unjust or immoral burdens.

The rights of the individual must be respected and fully safe-guarded in and by the State, and that right implies the right of private property, the right to a just and sufficient wage, and the right to rear and educate children. The State must take every precaution to safeguard the family, for that is the basis on which it rests. Any infringement of the rights of man, which is a denial of God's authority, is a destruction of the very right by which it exists.

Pakistan Means Continuation of British Rule

In the course of his address delivered at Sir Parshurambhau College, (as published in *The Indian Reader's Digest*) Dr. M. R. Jayakar says :

There is a school of thought which expresses the opinion that if Muslims want Pakistan let us get rid of them by giving it. Are they sure that this severance would appease Muslim League finally? The history of appeasement of the Muslims in the past does not

create the hope of a permanent and happy settlement. Gandhiji admitted a division of India as between two brothers, but the Muslim League leader rejected it with scorn. Are we sure that he will not demand a corridor between the north-east and north-west Pakistan to be always kept inviolate and inviolable necessarily by a British guarantee which will have to keep an army of occupation to keep the corridor free of access to Muslims. The Sapru Committee had a sub-committee consisting of Sir H. P. Mody, Dr. John Mathai and Mr. P. R. Sarkar. The first two made a report which makes it clear that Pakistan cannot afford the expense of post-war reconstruction or post-war defence and such post-war expenses will have to be met by Hindustan. If Hindustan does not give this help, Pakistan may claim it from the British or a foreign power.

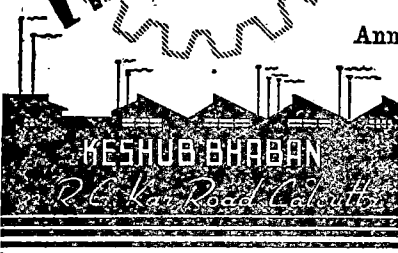
If the British give it, they will demand guarantees and the old history of the East India Company will be repeated. If a foreign power gives it, it will be for a substantial hold on the affairs of the country. The scheme promises adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards. It is no use being deluded by this talk. If such safeguards can be successfully devised for 45 million non-Muslims in Pakistan, why can't they be devised for 90 million Muslims in India?

The "word mandatory" is used, but who is to enforce the mandate in case of differences. If safeguards are broken, a treaty will not save them, because who is to enforce the treaty? If the British come in under guarantee, as the Muslim League leader some times suggests in his speeches, they will demand a guarantee and the history of the past is sure to be repeated. This is the worst feature of the scheme of Pakistan. Rightly examined, it will mean the perpetuation of British domination, whatever professions the sponsors of this scheme may be making today. At the bottom of his idea lies the notion of hostages and reprisals that Pakistan will hold the non-Muslims,

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especially the Hindus, as hostages for the treatment given to 20 million Muslims in Hindustan. It does not take much political foresight to realise that it means perpetual strife and tension and eventually war. It is clear that, whatever the sponsors may say, if the British have to give Pakistan, they will have to give it by force and maintain it by similar force.

The French Contribution to World Culture

Each one of the really great nations, each one really of the spiritually constituted human groups, has something to give to the human spirit considered as a whole. In his article in the *Aryan Path* Denis Saurat speaks of French prose as an "instrument of universality":

The originality of the French up to the fifteenth century is really in their religious architecture. The great achievement of the French after the fifteenth century is in literary prose.

The great Gothic cathedrals created by the French are the Western equivalents of Hindu architecture.

Behind this French contribution to world art was the spirit of the Middle Ages which reached its highest expression in France. The French are the only nation, except perhaps again the Hindus with Asoka, who ever had a saint as a successful king: Saint Louis, Louis the Ninth of the Capetian dynasty is the most splendid human flower of the Middle Ages and his reign represents the one success of Christianity in the political field. In him and in his time emerges the real characteristic of the French spirit—universality. Christianity in this period naively and sincerely believed itself to be the one universal faith and also the one universal system of logic and philosophy. The other nations or races were merely in the dark and had merely to be enlightened. The theology of Saint Thomas Aquinas is in the intellectual field what the reign of Louis the Ninth is in the political field. But, of all the splendours of that period, what is really left to us as a tangible fact is the splendour of the French cathedrals and the philosophy that they embody. Mostly also, it must be confessed, we look at the cathedrals as ignorant people, feeling their splendour but not understanding their meaning.

A more permanent triumph of the French, therefore, is in their second achievement: literary prose, which is an instrument of world culture, which the *elite* of all nations either have learnt to use or will learn to use as an education.

The position of prose writing is somewhat peculiar in the world of the spirit. Real poetry is a direct infusion of the Spirit into human language and conditions, and it cannot be taught.

Prose should be, and good prose is, the clear and exact expression of man's desires. It is, therefore, more difficult for mankind to achieve good prose than to achieve good poetry: in poetry man works with God's help; in prose he is on his own. Yet how necessary it is for man to understand exactly what he wants when he is by himself, away from God, free! Man being a freed individual it is essential to him to come to a clear understanding of himself, with himself. Therefore, prose is an indispensable part of his equipment.

Appropriately, the first real constructive prose in Europe was translated from the Greek. And Amyot's *Lives of Plutarch* marks the grafting of the French tradition upon the Greek achievement. Boileau was to say a century later that there was one thing which passed in art both the ancients and the moderns and that was the French prose style of Pascal in "Les Lettres Provinciales." After Amyot's tuition of Greek art, one of the greatest minds that mankind has ever had, Pascal, put all the power of his creative spirit into the shaping of French prose. After him Moliere, Bossuet, La Bruyere and many other masters polished and refined the instrument. That they succeeded is proved by the fact that what is probably the greatest achievement of the European intellect, Leibniz's *Monadologie*, was written in French in 1714. That the greatest mind of Europe, a Saxon, German-speaking and Latin-writing, should achieve the most perfect expression of his most complicated and subtle thought in French is a culminating fact. And if there were none of the other innumerable reasons, it would be necessary for the world to learn French to have direct access to Leibniz's *Monadologie*. Since in no other language, in no translation, can his exact meaning be understood.

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It will be said : That is too high a model for the common cultured man;—that is true.

But the French instrument was so nearly perfect that it could then also be used by the common man.

Voltaire was the common man, as his protest against Leibniz in *Candide* well shows, and no man has any excuse for not understanding Voltaire. Anatole France is as universally accessible as Voltaire.

It must be pointed out that there is in the world at present no other universal prose—that is to say, no kind of prose that can be truly studied and, if not imitated, at least adapted, by any cultured man in any language in the world. English has an amazing collection of the works of great poets from the time of Chaucer until to-day. English also has an unbelievable accumulation of great prose from Francis Bacon again to the present. But, and this is the important point, each great English master of prose writes his own prose—writes his own English, and it is peculiar to him and you cannot learn to write English prose. Each new writer of prose in English, if he is to be good, is condemned to invent his own art : to create his own instrument. That is the price that the English have paid and are paying for the predominance of their poetry, which overshadows all their achievements, however, great, in prose. But in French literature you go to the poets only for amusement or pleasure or joy. The prose tradition is so continuous, so solid, that poetry has never been allowed to break into it and break it up. For the two solid centuries of their highest culture, the seventeenth and eighteenth, the French have practically no poetry (except as fragmentary illumination in prose writing). Then the forms of mind and thinking of the French were settled and remain now as they were. Therefore any man anywhere who wishes to learn how to write prose must study Pascal, La Bruyere, Voltaire, Stendhal and Anatole France.

Thus we come back to the cathedrals. But there was of course far too much of the world that the cathedral makers did not know about. And far too much of their own thought that the rest of the world could not understand. Their universality was a desire and a dream. So the French spirit turned to the other medium of speech and, as the world evolved and came nearer and nearer to understanding all its parts, in each of its parts, the French produced this new instrument of universality—French prose.

Reminiscences of an Artist

South Verandah : The Last Phase

The following is an extract from *Jorasankor Dharey* by Abanindranath Tagore translated into English form the original Bengali by Kanti Ghosh and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

... Mother's time came and she left us for good. Then the call came for Dada, the eldest of us three, and he went away too.

The crowd began to melt away till there were no familiar faces to be seen in our South Verandah. Nor were heard any more the old familiar voices.

Myself was the only one left in that vast solitude—a lonely figure contemplating the ruin of all hopes, unable to shake off the burden of memory. Brother, friends, companions, pupils who used to come there in daily round—all had gone. And in the empty verandah I was left alone—to make toys, to tinker with dry twigs and broken wires—the only diversion left in a drab existence.



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Into that life came Phelabati. She came from nowhere. A speck of child-humanity with no claims to attention.

"Who may you be," I asked.

"I am Phela," she answered.

Only that and nothing more.

"Oh, are you? You are welcome, my girl."

My welcome was sincere. I was glad. When I am playing with thrown-away things, then comes my Phelabati—the rejected one. (*Phela* literally means "thrown-away".)

"But where are you from, Phelabati? Where do you live?"

"Over there—"

And her finger pointed to the crossing of the lane at no great distance.

"And whom have you got at home, Phela?"

"There's my mother. Her name is Kaumudi."

"And your father's—"

"Basanta."

I was wondering whether this little neighbour of mine was a real fragment of humanity or—a phantom.

"What may you be wanting here, Phela?" I asked uncertainly.

"Might I play in the verandah for a while?"

"Why not?"

She chose her corner and began playing with broken trifles—like myself.

"Will you have some sweets, Phela?" I ask by and by.

She nods assent. Radhu the maid turns up her nose but she brings the sweets nonetheless and some water in an earthen cup.

Phela eats the sweets, drinks the water and places the empty cup in a corner with gentle care and then resumes her play.

"How did you like the *sandesh*, Phela?"

"Your sweets are a bit sticky. What my mother gives me are much better—dry and crusty."

And that is that.

She comes daily. I offer her sweets and try to run up an intimacy. She sits in her own corner and I in mine and we both play—with thrown-away trifles.

I make toys out of them which fill the small cabinet by my side.

"Shall I dust them for you?" she asked one day.

She began dusting them every day and would caress them as if they were her living playmates.

"Would you like to have one of these, Phela?"

"No, what shall I do with them?"—was her indifferent reply. "I would rather have those small stone pebbles."

"Yes—"

"For my brother to play marbles with." She added promptly.

She would sometimes ask for old newspapers for her father to make paper-bags with for the shop-keepers and occasionally small empty tins for her mother to keep spices in.

Thus she came every day and I got used to her coming. She would approach with stealthy steps dropping from where I never knew.

I only knew she was the playmate of my lonely days. And I was content. She came unbidden, offered herself and asked for nothing in return. She was indeed Phela—a speck of being carelessly thrown into the world, ignored by all, rejected like the broken toys and the torn paper we were playing with. We gathered those trifles and played together—I, an old man and she, a child—in that South Verandah of ours.

She expressed a desire one day to see the inner apartments of the house.

"Would you have them shown to me?" she asked hesitatingly.

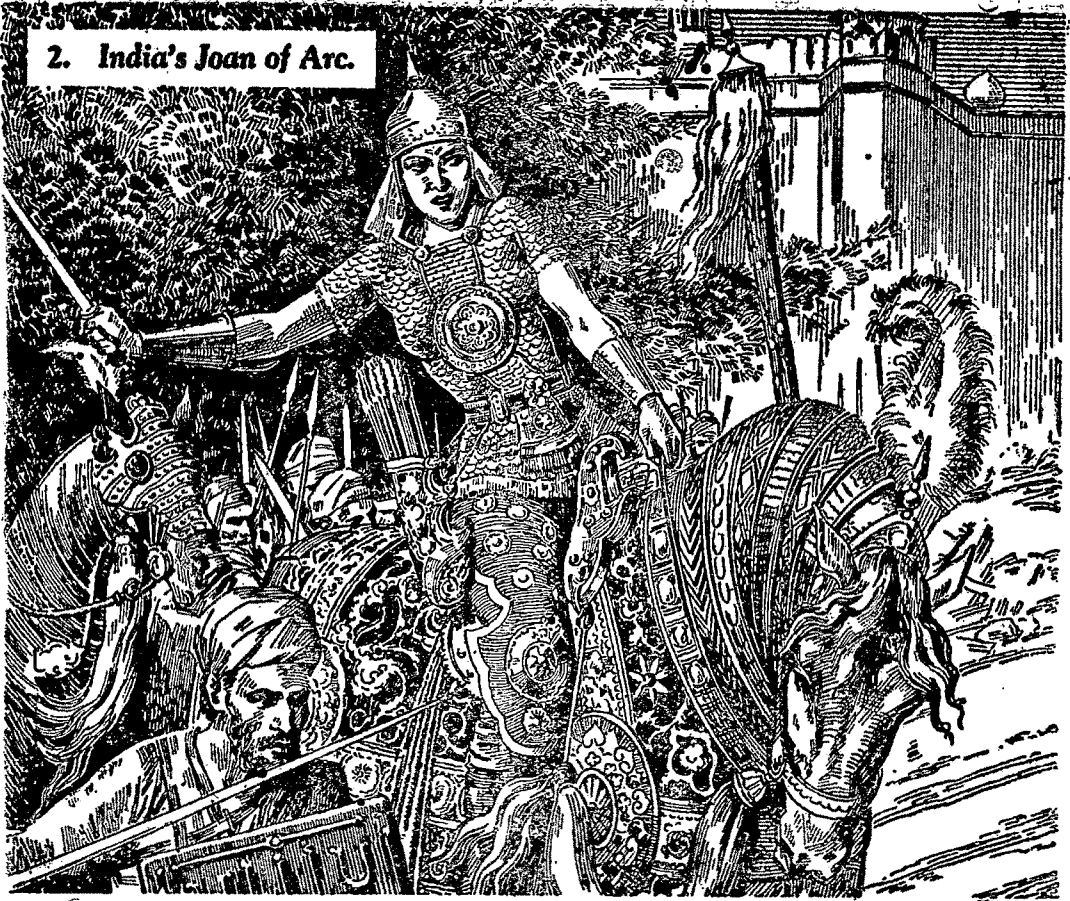
Radhu the maid took her to Parul my daughter-in-law who showed her round and feasted her well.

She had a good look-in. Saw everything with minute care. I was told.

That was her last entry in the South Verandah. And mine too.

I took to bed after that. And in my sick-bed I heard that the house with its South Verandah, laden with the memory of generations, had passed into the hands of Marwaris. I, being an invalid, had been allowed to stay on for a month longer!

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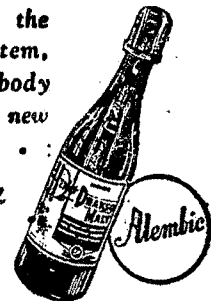
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Wavell Proposals

John Haynes Holmes writes in the Editorial Comments in *Unity*, August, 1945 :

What is happening to the new government proposals in India is uncertain as I write. What began as a veritable spate of propaganda news, highly favorable, of course, to the plan offered by Lord Wavell, suddenly shut down into censored silence the moment Indians began to offer criticism. So I do not know what is going on—and I am not much interested either one way or the other. For the British offer is unimportant, and it makes little difference whether it is accepted or not. What it proposes is that the Viceroy's Executive Council be reconstituted so that all the offices save that of Commander-in-Chief be occupied by Indians, these Indians to be chosen by the Viceroy from "leaders of Indian political life", as named or nominated by Indian groups or parties. This sounds like something real—until it is remembered that the so-called power of the Council is anything but real. Under this suggested agreement, the Viceroy is to retain all his present constitutional prerogatives as set forth in the Government of India Act of 1919. This means, among other things, that the Viceroy can veto, at his discretion, all decisions of the Executive Council, and on the other hand, can himself initiate and certify by decree any action of his own. He remains responsible only to the Secretary of State for India in London. The Executive Council, in other words, however reconstituted, is still purely an advisory body, with no real power of its own. So why get excited—least of all imagine that the independence of India is at hand? The government of the country is as much in British hands as ever, especially in the extensive and populous native states which are not touched by this proposed reform. How little change there is in the situation is shown by the much-touted release of Indian leaders from prison—those heroic men and women who have been held in bondage, without indictment, trial or conviction, in defiance of the Chief Justice's ruling as to the illegality of the whole proceeding, since August, 1942. It is true that a few of the more prominent of these leaders, including Nehru and Azad, have been released. But the great majority of them, numbering thousands, are still behind the bars. Uma Shankar, writing in the *New Leader*, sees "no alternative to acceptance save inactivity or another civil disobedience campaign." But what if it is accepted? "The cause of Indian independence and freedom is not furthered by it. There will merely be a temporary truce to the struggle against imperialism."

• England, Ireland and India

In an article entitled "England, Ireland and India" in *The Catholic World*, Francis McCullagh observes :

Mr. Attlee's greatest asset is his transparent honesty and humility, and before long these qualities may manifest themselves in a way that will swing the British public round to adoration of him. It will then be seen that though he may seem weak, he is not weak. On the questions of India and Ireland he will probably do more good in a day than Mr. Churchill has done in all his life.

In the numerous warnings which he addressed to Eire during the war, Mr. Churchill exhibited himself as a bellowing bully, and, as I shall show later, he had much to do with the partition of that helpless little

country after the last war. I will also show, that had he remained in power, he would probably have partitioned India as he partitioned Ireland. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, was to be the Sir Edward Carson of the occasion, and the few thousand Indian Moslems enrolled in Mohammed Ali's fake organization were to carry out, after careful rehearsals, all the Hitleresque liturgy of Carson's "stern and unbending Covenanters," their solemn oath on the Koran, their ceremonial unfurling of the flag of the Prophet (green flag this time, curiously enough; not orange), their stage parades with real rifles and all the rest of their tomfooleries, while Mr. Churchill stood stiffly at the salute as the banners of Islam went past.

The Indian question must be tackled, however, for if it is not, it will force itself on the attention of the House as the Irish question forced itself on the House after the last war, and, as Mr. Churchill holds very strong views on India, it will probably be the occasion of the fiercest Parliamentary conflicts of modern times.

Mr. Churchill must have been thinking of India when he emphatically repudiated the Atlantic Charter, soon after signing it, by his famous declaration that he had not become the First Minister of His Majesty's Government in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. This meant that, so long as he was Premier, not an inch of British territory in the Far East would be handed over to the natives who had so long been clamoring for independence, and its importance was enormously increased by the applause with which it was received by the English people and by a large section of the American press.

A hundred other examples of this imperious temper could be given, but I have only space for one. The last time Mahatma Gandhi was in London he was lionized and, though *en deshabille*, as usual, despite the English weather, expected, it was said, to be invited to Buckingham Palace. On hearing this, Churchill who was not in office at the time and did not expect to be ever again in office, publicly expressed his indignation and disgust at the effrontery of "that naked fakir" daring even to think of an audience with the King of England.

All of which goes to show that Mr. Churchill, now seventy-one years of age and more hardened than ever in his imperialism and pride of race, would have been hardly the man to solve the Indian question.

Some thirty years ago when Mr. Asquith introduced his Home Rule Bill which would have placed the Ulster Orangeman on the same level as the Catholic

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Irishman in a common legislature at Dublin, Churchill connived at an illegal conspiracy hatched by personages no less important in the realm than Sir Edward Carson; Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Field Marshal Lord Kitchener and scores of other officers belonging to the Irish Ascendancy clique, to defy and nullify that Bill by dividing North-East Ulster from the rest of Ireland. Is it not possible that, up to the time of the elections which have thrown them both out of power, he and Mr. Amery Secretary for India, were conniving in the same way at the present amazing defiance of the Moslem Carson, Mohammed Ali Jinnah? Such a gamble would appeal strongly to this descendant of Marlborough, whose whole political life has been a series of gambles.

What a pity he did not try a greater and a nobler gamble, one that would have made England less dependent on Stalin than it is now! He could have imitated the Americans who gave unconditional independence to the Filipinos with the result that the Filipinos fought bravely for them when they were attacked, helped them in every way when they were prisoners, ran an excellent underground service for them during the Japanese occupation, and finally helped them to eject the invaders. What a difference there is between the books written by Carlos Romulo and those written by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru!

This is not the first time that the British have shown a "craven fear of being great." Had they been large-minded enough to give George Washington a commission in their regular army when he asked for it, and treated their American colonies with less injustice, snobbery and distrust there might have been no Saratoga, no Yorktown, no Declaration of Independence, and no Republic of the United States.

By a generous offer to India, Burma and Malaya, Mr. Churchill could have, at one stroke, erased a reproach from the name of his country, raised himself to a pedestal as high as that occupied by Abraham Lincoln, and called into existence an army twice as large as Russia's, an army which would have been strong enough to drive the Japanese out of Burma, Malaya and China; and thus relieve the Americans of a heavy task and spare American mothers the agony of bewailing another million dead.

Indian Students in America

A Staff Correspondent of *America-India Feature and News Service* writes:

For the first time in the history of India, the biggest batch of Indian students arrived in New York on board the M.S. Gripsholm, on the evening of 2nd August, 1945. It carried about seventy students from different parts of India, Bombay alone contributing as many as 40 of them. These included also 13 girl students out of which two will carry on studies in technical subjects. Most of the other girl students will either study Sociology, Domestic Science or Psychology. Almost all the boy students will carry on technical studies. Quite a number of students will be studying Chemical Engineering, and a few will study Electrical Engineering or Aeronautical Engineering. A few are interested in Bio-physics, Bio-chemistry, Medicine and Surgery. As many as 30 students will be going to the Mid-western Universities, Michigan University alone will take as many as 15 boys and 5 girls. Out of the 25 students going to the various Eastern Universities, 10 will stay in New York studying either in the Columbia or the New York University and a few will go to Boston, Cornell, Ohio and Pittsburgh. Of the 10 students who will be going to the Western Universities, 5 will be studying in Minnesota alone.

The National Red Cross Society of America, Mr. Sundaram, the Educational Adviser to the Government

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of India, the Hindusthan Students' Association, the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York, the Watumull Foundation and the Committee of Friendly Relation among Foreign Students took care of the students immediately they got down from the boat and arranged their accommodation in the different hotels, Y.M.C.A.'s and the International House.

At a meeting of the newly arrived students held on the 3rd August in the Home Room of the International House, Probodh Mittra on behalf of the Indian students in America and Mr. Sundaram, the Educational Adviser to the Government of India welcomed the new arrivals. Dr. Tarak Nath Das of the New York City University and one of the most prominent oldest Indian resident of the United States, in an inspiring speech frequently interrupted by loud applause reminded the boys and girls of the vast responsibilities that are hanging ahead for them to face. He reminded them of India's appalling poverty and told them that India can not afford to pay for their high-priced western education, if they are not going to pay back to their motherland in hundred-folds what they are spending here for their education. This he emphasized must be in the shape of concrete service to the country by increasing the standard of national efficiency by removing social distinctions, false sense of prestige and her ultimate slavery. From his experience of work among the students all over the world Professor Das stressed upon the students the need of organizing among themselves, a strong and co-operative body as long as they remain in the United States as students. He said that each one of them are little ambassadors of India and whatever they do and tell the people of this country will go to form the opinion of America towards India.

While deploring the large onrush of unqualified or immatured students, he said that all those rich parents of India who are encouraging to send their wards to foreign countries for education even though they are immature, are doing a definite disservice to the country. They should know, he continued, that the money that they are spending or rather wasting in this way, which they think belongs to them, belongs really to those hungry and toiling millions of India who hardly get enough to keep themselves from starvation.

Swami Nikhilananda of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York also invited the students to participate in a variety entertainment that was given by the centre on his behalf by welcoming this new batch of boys and girls from India.

The old and new students assembled in a general meeting convened by Probodh Mittra of Columbia University to consider plans and proposals for the re-organisation of the Hindusthan Students Association. Probodh Mittra (Columbia University, New York), Mrs. W. Safia Ahmed (Columbia), Mrs. Britha Sellizi (Teachers' College, Columbia), Allen Currimbhoy (Columbia) and G. B. Pant (Harvard) were elected to form a central executive committee for the All-America Hindusthan Students Association. Probodh Mittra, the Convener of the Association was also elected the corresponding secretary for India and the outside world. It was decided that all those Indian students who wish to get any information or help in the way of their admission to any educational institution in the United States should write personally to him, care of Columbia University, New York, 27, N.Y., U.S.A. Also all those persons and organizations who want to get any information of the Indian students in America or wish to co-operate in their cause should communicate with him in the above address. Persons wishing to get information by air mail or cable must remit the cost in advance. It was decided also to hold regional conferences and conventions during vacations and to propagate Indian news, Indian culture and Indian arts in America.

On behalf of the Watumull Foundation a lunch was given in the Ceylon-India Restaurant to the Indian students. Prominent among those who spoke were Dr. Tarak Nath Das, Dr. V. Kokatnoor, Dr. Krishnalal Sridharani, Professor Schyler (Columbia), Mr. Overton (Michigan) and Mr. Sundaram, the Education Adviser to the Government of India in Washington. Miss Josephine McLeod, the octogenarian old lady, and the only living western associate of Swami Vivekananda blessed the boys and girls. Mrs. Tarak Nath Das also gave some practical suggestions to the boys and girls for living in America.

The Indianization of China

Under the above caption in *China*, Chen Han-seng reviews the book entitled *A Short History of the Chinese People* by L. Carrington Goodrich, published by Harper & Bros., New York and London. In the course of the article he says :

Professor Goodrich's contribution relates to the period of A.D. 200 to 600, during which Buddhism came to its own in China. Readers should feel grateful to him for his emphasis on this period and his remarkable diligence in mustering the historical data. To acquire a good understanding of this period, however, readers should also read Hu Shih's lecture on "the Indianization of China," delivered at the tercentenary celebration of the founding of Harvard University. Hu Shih and Goodrich supplement each other on this subject, as the former has abstracted a set of sociological formula and the latter has collected data to support it, both are necessary in the study of history.

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Buddhism gave to China all that India and the neighbouring lands which it had already won had to give. Thus, Hu Shih ably summarizes the Indianization of China as follows: "The ideas of the world as unreal, of life as painful and empty, of sex as unclean, of the family as an impediment to spiritual attainment, of celibacy and mendicancy as necessary to the Buddhist order, of almsgiving as a supreme form of merit, of love extended to all sentient beings, of vegetarianism, of rigid forms of words and spells as having miraculous power, these are only a few drops in that vast flux of Indian religious and cultural invasion in the third century." Hu Shih formulates the four successive stages of Indianization as wholesale adoption, official persecution, domestication and appropriation. These have been adequately described by Goodrich.

From the second to the seventh century, of these who served in China and helped in the translation of Buddhist texts, 76 came from India and Ceylon, 30 from Persia and other regions in western Asia, 16 from Khotan, Kucha and other regions in central Asia, and 2 from Java and Cambodia. This was of course only a fraction of the total Buddhist missionary population in China. The tide from peninsular and central Asia was overwhelming; and by the third century the Chinese people both in north and in south began to imbibe the spirit of Buddhism. In about 220 a temple capable of holding 3,000 people was completed in Hsuehchow, northern Kiangsu with a gilt statue of Buddha. The donor of the *stupa* distributed food for the multitude at the temple, and provided them with straw matting which covered half a mile on each side. An Indian in 250 made the first translation of the 250 articles in the monastic rules, evidently complying with the growing demand of Chinese congregations. By 519 the famous Buddhist Hui Chiao compiled the "Kao tseng Chuan", containing biographies of 500 monks, both Chinese and foreign.

A Chinese monk left in 259 for Khotan, where he remained until his death half a century later. He was the forerunner of some 168 known individuals who made such pilgrimages between 259 and 790. Of these, the most famous ones were Fa Hsien in 405, Hui Sheng in 518, Hsuan-tsang in 630, and I-Chiang in 690. During the period of 965 to 980 no less than 157 Chinese monks visited Gandhara, Magadha and Nepal.

How could there be such wholesale adoption of Buddhism? Hu Shih has not dealt with this point in his lecture, but Professor Goodrich has given it a correct explanation. "The growing anarchy of the third century must have brought about widespread destruction of libraries, schools and places of worship, and scant opportunity for men to be trained in literature, history, law and ritual. The civil examinations, the backbone of the Confucian system of correct government, partially collapsed." (p. 69) "The Chinese torn and embittered by the sectional warfare at home and probably also disgusted at the depths to which official morals had fallen, were ready to welcome a faith that brought comfort in a time of stress and seemed to answer every need." (p. 61) "One reason for the striking success of the Buddhist missionaries was probably the fact that they captured both the minds and hearts of the Chinese without resort to force." (p. 62).

This ill-digested alien religion alienated the sympathy of the more nationalistic critics in the country, and anti-Buddhist persecution began in the fifth century. In 446 the Taoists proscribed Buddhism in the northern court of Wei; in 510 a high official of the Tang, by the name of Fan Chen, wrote an essay entitled "Destructibility of the Soul"; in early Tang the official feeling ran so high that the Buddhist pilgrim I-suan-tsang had to leave the capital, Ch'ang-an, secretly for India in September 629; by 714 no one of good family was permitted to have any contact with

Buddhist or Taoist priests, and in that year 12,000 monks and nuns were secularized by the government decree.

Han Yu, a staunch Confucian scholar and essayist, spared no energy in condemning Buddhism. By the government decree of 845, undoubtedly under his influence, 4,600 temples and 40,000 shrines were destroyed and 260,500 monks and nuns secularized. Millions of acres of arable land which used to maintain the livelihood of Buddhist priests, were confiscated. Images of Buddha made of gold, silver, jade and other precious materials were handed over to the board of treasury. The bronze images were put into the charge of the superintendent of salt and iron, who smelt them for the minting of coins. The iron images were given into the charge of the prefectural magistrates, who cast them into agricultural implements. When the last and most severe persecution came in 955, some 30,340 monasteries were destroyed, only 2,700 of the most artistic ones were spared.

The fact that in 1021 there were no less than 397,645 monks and 61,240 nuns proves how well Buddhism in China has survived all persecutions. By this time China had already domesticated Buddhism. Taoism, with its philosophical naturalism and nihilism so close to a number of ideas of philosophical Buddhism, was instrumental for this domestication. In a period when the official religion—Confucianism—was in disrepute, the two parallel movements had much in common. They tended to enrich each other, and Buddhism, incomparably the richer, was the greater giver. It soon became a fashion to translate Buddhist terminology into words bodily taken from the sayings of the Taoist thinkers. As Hu Shih pointed out, such borrowed terms are never exact. *Nirvana*, for example, was not *wu-wei*, and an *arhat* was not a *shien-jen*. "But that was the best that could be done in the early stages of intellectual and philosophical borrowings."

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Taoistic interpretations furnished the bridge of cultural transmission and made the new ideas of India more easily acceptable to the Chinese people. In fact the Indian priesthood gradually became the model for the Taoist, except for the Buddhist requirement of celibacy. Finally, the doctrines of the transmigration of the soul and of casual retribution through successive existence were accepted, and India's 33 heavens and 18 hells were taken over and given Chinese names and Chinese presiding deities.

Goodrich tells the story of a dispute between the Taoists and the Buddhists, which also illustrates how the process of domestication went on. "Popular belief held that after Lao-tzu (the founder of Taoism) supposedly left China he went among the barbarians in the west and became the Buddha. One Buddhist, finally deciding to spike this legend, wrote *The Record of Central Asia*, in which he maintained that Lao-tzu had come to Kashmir and paid homage to a statue of the Buddha. A Taoist who refused to accede to this assumption of priority rewrote this book about A.D. 300 under a different title: *The Conversion of the Barbarians*. According to it, Lao-tzu went to India and there became the teacher of Sakyamuni." (p. 67)

Buddhism in China later broke up into many sects, three of which have been most outstanding. These are the vulgar sect of Amidist, the scholastic sect of Tien-tai, and the philosophic sect of Dhyana. The Amidist is the only Buddhist sect that persists today among the common people in China. It is also called by the name of Lotus or The Pure Land. Founded by Hui Yuan (334-416) it has blended together all the Chinese, Indian, Nepalese and Iranian influences. It teaches reliance on faith rather than action, and faith is to be demonstrated by the constant invocation of the names of Amitabha. It was a significant fact that Hui Yuan was formerly a Taoist who continued to use Taoist figures of speech after his conversion. With the Amidist Indian psalmody was particularly well developed.

Tien-tai was eclipsed by the Dhyana, but it still exists. Founded by Chih Kai (538-527) and Hui Sau (d. in 577) it stresses the importance of studying the sacred canon. "The mind of Buddha is in everything, but instruction is imperative if one is to be aware of it and able to put it to serve." (p. 104). But this sect is not one-sided, for it also involves such diverse elements as ecstasy, ritualism and self-discipline.

In contrast to the scholastic sect of Tien-tai is the meditative sect of the Dhyana, which name has been translated into Chinese as *Ch'an* or *Zen*. Often it is called the Chinese Zennism. It was founded by Tao Sheng (397-434), under the influence of the famous Indian translator Kumarajiva (344-413) who had studied the Hinayana at Kashgar and the Mahayana at Kashgar and Kucha. Tao Sheng believed in "sudden enlightenment" and Hui Neng (d. in 713), the founder of Southern Zennism, further emphasized the idea of "Buddhahood within you."

"The whole Zen movement from 700 to 1100", said Hu Shih, "was a revolt against Buddhist verbalism and scholasticism, but it was also a movement to Sincize Buddhism by sweeping away all its scholastic verbiage and giving special prominence to the idea of salvation through one's own intellectual liberation and insight." In the opinion of Goodrich, Zennism (Chinese for Dhyana) drew heavily from Taoist tenets and practices and probably represented the finest flowering of Indian culture in Chinese soil. (p. 67) At any rate, by 11th century the process of domestication was complete. Buddhism in China was nearer to primitive Buddhism than any Hinayana or Mahayana sects had ever been.

When our author states that the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) was notable for the fusion of Buddhist and Confucian thought and for Buddhism's gradual subsidence from its high place as the most inspiring influence in Chinese life (p. 155), he does not quite

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realize that Neo-Confucianism, as expounded by Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and other Rational Philosophers, was simply an appropriation of Buddhist thought. Chu Hsi, the last and greatest teacher and scholar of the Neo-Confucianists was deeply affected by Buddhist and Taoist teachings during his formative years. He accepted the doctrine of the universality of all existence, the idea of universal reason and of salvation through reason and righteousness. "In every human mind there is the knowing faculty; and in everything there is the reason." He secularized much of the Buddhist ideals of Divine Reason and of suppression of human desire. "Death by starvation is a very important thing." Thus, that human and commonsense atmosphere so frequently felt in the writings of Confucius and Mencius, was done away with by these Rational Philosophers.

After 1158 Chu Hsi devoted himself largely to developing this Neo-Confucianism in voluminous writings. As these writings became required reading for every literate Chinese, after the 14th century, China was truly Indianized. Whereas Pre-Buddhist China believed in fate and predetermination and lived in a simple and natural humaneness, Post-Buddhist China aspires after the indestructible soul, believes in the karma, retribution and salvation, and attempts to live with a feeling of moral austerity and self-righteousness.

Because of the extensive Buddhist pilgrimages both in and out of China, throughout the centuries, Indian cosmology, mathematics, music and medicine have been introduced into China. Long, long before the Indian National Congress Medical Mission to China, medicine played a conspicuous part in Buddhist proselytism in China. Jivaka effected a number of miraculous cures. One of his disciples, an Indian, even had women patients in Loyang. (p. 88) Indian architecture was adopted with the construction of numerous stupas along with carvings similar to those preserved in Taxila and Peshawar. Needless to say, Buddhism has affected Chinese language and literature. From the polysyllabic Sanskrit some 6,000 to 7,000 monosyllabic Chinese terms have been formulated. "The story of the wanderings of Hsuan-tsang had such great appeal to the imagination of romanticists and playwrights that legends based on it have been told and acted countless times. At the hands of Buddhists and Taoists, the short story, heretofore (A.D. 650) concerned solely with fairies and magic, began to deal with everyday life and even with love,

and many of them were written in the vernacular" (p. 136) Professor Goodrich's contribution towards the understanding of the period of 200 to 600 is highly praiseworthy. After reading his book one is able to know how various ideas and institutions have travelled from India to China—from dice gaming, elephant chess, puppetry and polo, to Buddhism.



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